

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Imperialist war accelerates
major trends in world politics

— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 65/NO. 44 NOVEMBER 19, 2001

U.S. gains military foothold in Central Asia, Berlin sends troops

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Washington has secured use of military bases in Tajikistan, widening its military foothold in Central Asia, another step in asserting the domination of U.S. imperialism in the region. Use of the bases will aid Washington's war in Afghanistan and its drive to establish a protectorate there.

In a steady escalation of the conflict, U.S. B-52 pilots carpet-bombed the country as part of a relentless assault that has now lasted more than 30 days. Larger numbers of U.S. military forces are operating in the country, pushing Northern Alliance opposition forces into battle and preparing a ground war.

German chancellor Gerhard Schröder announced November 6 that Berlin will send a 3,900-strong force of "elite" combat troops, medical units, military vehicles, transport planes, and ships to the region. The

German government, which has not deployed its forces outside of Europe since World War II, is now in command of NATO forces in Macedonia. Schröder ruled out involvement of the German air force in the bombing of Afghanistan at this time.

The Turkish government, a member of NATO, has declared its support for the overthrow of the Taliban government, and has agreed to send a 90-man unit to northern Afghanistan. The Turkish armed forces have gained experience in guerrilla warfare through their repression of rebels fighting for Kurdish nationhood in mountainous southeast Turkey.

The decision on the bases followed meetings between U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Tajik government officials at the beginning of November in which Wash-

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West Virginia picket protests abuses by coal companies

BY TONY LANE

PITTSBURGH—Eighty people in West Virginia protested at the offices of Massey Energy, a major coal producer, over the danger posed by slurry ponds maintained by the company, as well as dust and other hazards generated by Massey and its subsidiaries. The protest took place on the anniversary of the Oct. 11, 2000, collapse of one of the company's slurry ponds.

A year after 300 million gallons of coal slurry spilled into streams in Inez, Kentucky, covering up stream beds and destroying aquatic life in the watershed, polluting dozens of miles of the Tug River and affecting

water supplies for up to 60 miles downstream, the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) finally issued a report on the disaster.

Coal giant Massey Energy, whose subsidiary Martin County Coal operated the slurry pond, was let off with a slap on the hand. MSHA cited Massey for two "unwarranted failures," violations of federal mine safety laws that the agency said contributed to the spill. The company could draw fines of \$55,000 for each of those citations. Last

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'Release the detainees!' says action in New York

BY ANGEL LARISCY

NEW YORK—Chanting "What do we want? Release the detainees! When do we want it? Now!" more than 50 people picketed across the street from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) building in Manhattan on November 1 to protest the detention of more than 1,000 immigrant workers imprisoned in the wake of September 11 as a part of the U.S. government's war against Afghanistan. The picket line was called by New Yorkers Against the War.

Those who marched also called attention to the October 23 death of a Pakistani worker from Queens, Muhammad Rafiq Butt, the first of the detainees to die in custody. According to officials, Butt, who was taken into custody for overstaying his visa, died of a heart attack.

Monami Maulik of Desis Rising Up and Moving (DRUM) addressed the crowd, noting, "Since the passage of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act the number of immigrants

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Miamians organize nationwide fight against political firing of candidate for mayor



Militant/Eric Simpson

Above, Mike Italie, second from right, outside Goodwill Industries at November 6 press conference called to protest his political firing. Inset, supporter campaigns among Italie's co-workers at the garment factory.

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL
AND CINDY JAQUITH

MIAMI—"Goodwill Industries has violated the First Amendment right to free speech by firing me for advocating

political ideas the employer doesn't agree with," said Michael Italie, a garment worker and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of this city, at a November 6

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Books for working people and youth fighting imperialism and its war

The Guevara Talks to Young People

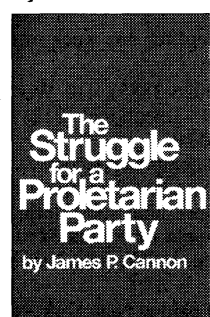
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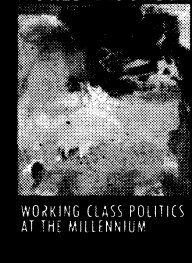
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See directory on page 12

CAPITALISM'S
WORLD DISORDER



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from Pathfinder

Socialist coal miners, auto workers discuss workers' resistance

BY JOE ALLEGRO

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Socialist coal miners from three states and auto workers from Detroit met here October 13–14 to generalize their experiences carrying out communist work among miners and auto workers and to discuss how to deepen their political work on the job and participation in working-class struggles.

The connections between the assault by the superwealthy U.S. ruling class on working people at home and abroad was graphically brought home to the socialist workers as they met shortly after U.S. and British imperialist forces began bombing Afghanistan and in the wake of an explosion at a nearby mine that killed 13 workers September 23.

Mine workers came to the meeting from Alabama, Pennsylvania, and western Colorado, where the SWP has four branches or organizing committees in the coalfield regions. Several belong to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) while others are working in nonunion mines. The auto workers are members of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Paul Mailhot, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), gave the opening report at a joint session of miners and auto workers. The events since the September 11 attacks in Washington and New York don't "reveal anything new in world politics," he said.

Instead, the war drive and bombing of Afghanistan, combined with the assault on workers' rights at home, "are an acceleration of the trends" that have marked the deepening crisis of world capitalism since the 1987 stock market crash and the collapse of the regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe several years later. With ongoing tactical differences over how far and how fast to move, Congress and the administrations of Clinton and Bush the elder and younger have been pushing along the same lines for 15 years.

In a report to the socialist workers in the UMWA, Frank Forrestral, a member of

UMWA Local 1248 in Pennsylvania, said the experiences of members of the SWP and Young Socialists in the coal mines and mining regions in the United States are "further verification of the political space, growing receptivity, and interest in a communist explanation of world politics when we reach out to the struggles. As the rulers crank up their assault against workers around the world we are becoming a part of a broader vanguard of workers who are searching for allies and methods to fight against the bosses' offensive," he said.

Campaign against imperialism

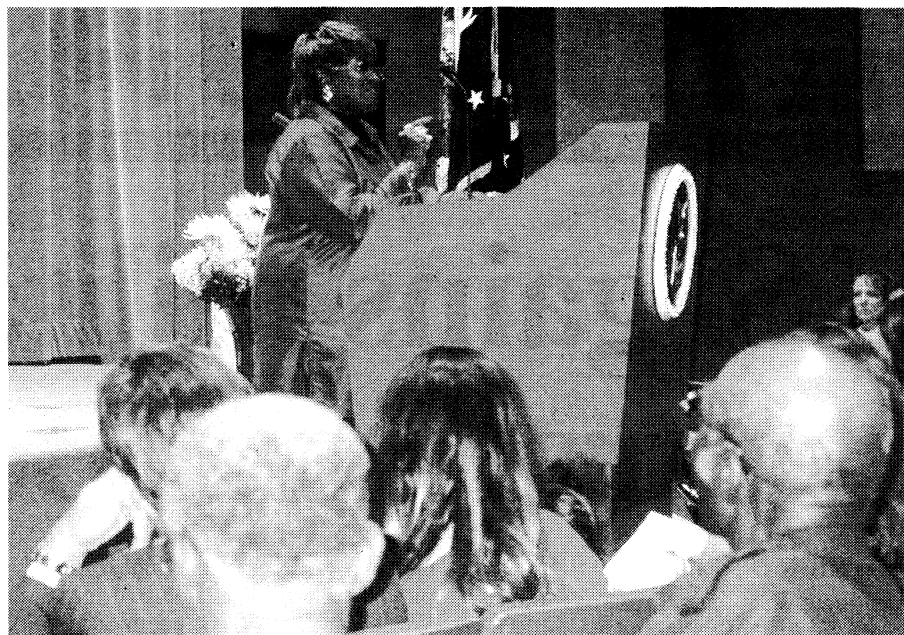
Socialists who work together in the mines meet regularly, Forrestral said, and discuss how to be part of developments in the union and industry, what political questions to bring to co-workers, how to build upcoming political events or protest and strike actions on the job, and how to expand the number of workers reading the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books, and *New Internationalist*. "Our challenge is to build political fractions and our success will be measured by how we respond to the ongoing changes in working-class politics. We often lag behind co-workers in recognizing political space on the job," he said. One indication of the potential has been the serious response by miners to Forrestral's socialist election campaign for mayor of Pittsburgh.

A UMWA miner from western Colorado said on the day Washington began bombing Afghanistan the company organized a "safety" meeting that was used to whip up support for the U.S. war. He said in spite of this he has been able to openly discuss what is behind the brutal military assault and why working people should not support it.

Top officials of the UMWA back Washington's war. The union's magazine, the *Journal*, called on all UMWA locals to participate in blood drives and fund collections, and for members to wear patriotic stickers. The magazine called for full support for President Bush.

The socialist workers at the meeting dis-

National Black Lung Association meets



Militant/Naomi Craine

Some 80 people from six coal-mining states attended national Black Lung Association meeting October 13 in Beckley, West Virginia. Above, LaMarce Moore, vice president of the BLA, speaks at memorial for former BLA president Mike South. Participants discussed organizing a march next year in southern West Virginia to defend black lung benefits.

cussed a number of struggles they are involved in, from the fight in the coal mines to defend health and safety and the social movement around black lung benefits, to layoffs in the auto industries and other struggles that continue to break out here as the U.S. government has begun its war abroad.

Ilona Gersh, a member of the UAW in Detroit, said the auto bosses have already laid off 30,000 workers, with more in the works. As in the airline and other industries, the "bosses claim that the September 11 attack has sent a crisis through the industry," she said. "But the downturn in the auto industry, apparent long before September 11, is the product of the capitalist business cycle," Gersh noted.

Health and safety on the job

"The death of 13 miners in an explosion at Jim Walter Resources Blue Creek Mine No. 5 in Brookwood, Alabama, September 23 was a result of the company turning a blind eye to warnings by miners of the unsafe conditions," said Forrestral. "Miners said that the company cut corners on roof support and rock dusting—crucial elements in maintaining safe working conditions in all underground mines—in their drive for increased profit rates."

Following the mine explosion, many of the miners placed full responsibility for the deaths on the company, which has no regard for the health and safety of miners, said Bill Tyler, who works at a nonunion mine in the state. Socialists "visited miners in the area to discuss the disaster, and brought the *Militant* and Pathfinder along with us. Through these house visits we furthered our political relationships with miners that are in a fight right now."

Beth Francis, a miner at a nonunion company in eastern Pennsylvania, said, socialist workers there are "starting to gain expe-

rience and win the respect of co-workers." She was discussing the ways in which socialist miners are beginning to do political work in nonunion mines. She noted the importance of one-on-one political discussions that are open on a broad range of political questions.

Socialists who work at a Robert Murray-owned mine in Pennsylvania described the stepped-up battle over jobs, safety issues, and union rights. Murray, the largest independent coal operator in the United States, recently lost charges it had filed with the National Labor Relations Board against the union for taking an "illegal memorial day." Miners at the Powhatan No. 6 mine in Ohio and Maple Creek in Pennsylvania recently took two memorial days, which are traditionally taken to protest company assaults on union rights or safety violations, or serious injuries and deaths.

"The question of safety on the job is part of discussing the resistance to the war against the working class at home," said Tony Lane, who works at the Maple Creek mine. "Several times this year methane levels have hit 10 percent at the mine where I work, the most explosive range. This is a direct result of the drive for production and profits, which has led to more accidents."

Alice Kincaid, a coal miner from western Colorado, described the ongoing struggle with the bosses in that part of the country. "There are not just questions about methane gas, but also about coal dust, roof support, and the maintenance of belt lines where you can get 'hot rollers' that can cause fires."

At the same time as socialist miners met in Birmingham there was a national meeting of the Black Lung Association in Beckley, West Virginia. Other socialist workers from Pittsburgh, Alabama, and North Carolina participated in that event

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THE MILITANT

Halt U.S. assault on Afghanistan!

Washington's imperialist assault on the people of Afghanistan goes hand in hand with its stepped-up attacks on workers' rights. As this war intensifies, so do the protests by working people in Pakistan and throughout the region. Get the facts you need to know each week in the *'Militant.'* Don't miss a single issue.



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Workers fight violence by New Zealand cops

BY FIONA WILLIAMS

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—The commander of the Auckland district police was forced to visit three young Pacific Island women and their families October 24 to apologize on behalf of the cops for their wrongful imprisonment.

Lucy Akatere, Tania Vini, and Krishla Fuataha were jointly convicted of attacking and robbing a 16-year-old schoolgirl of \$10 in August 1999. At the time, Lucy Akatere was aged 15 and the other two 14. They were sentenced in August 2000 to between 18 months and two years in jail. The three young women spent seven months in Mount Eden Women's Prison before being released on bail after a private investigator and lawyer hired by the Vini family forced police to reinvestigate the case.

On October 16, the Court of Appeal quashed their convictions after the prosecution's principal witness, aged 13 at the time, retracted her evidence. She said that police pressured her into confessing and implicating the three. "They kept saying if you don't say it we're going to get you another way. In the end I said it because I wanted to make the whole thing go away," she said. The young women are now seeking compensation from the police and are planning to resume their interrupted schooling as soon as possible.

As police prosecution methods have come under criticism following the case, Police Commissioner Robert Robinson blamed overwork and staff shortages and called for "more reasonable expectations from the public."

Meanwhile, police violence and intimidation in the city of Whangarei has been spotlighted by a number of recent court decisions critical of police. The *New Zealand Herald* reported October 19 that seven assault complaints have been made against Whangarei officers this year, and lawyers in the city have formed a group to "monitor police behavior." The group is offering free consultations to people who say they have been assaulted by the cops.

In October a Whangarei district court judge dismissed a case against a teenage couple accused of assaulting police. Instead he found that the pair had acted in self-defense after the young woman was assaulted by a cop.

Also last month a district court judge threw out the confessions of two young women, ruling that they were obtained by police use of threats and inducements. They had been charged with stealing a safe from a Whangarei pizza shop. The judge criticized police interrogation methods highlighted by the case.

One of the women, Sharlene Seymour, was interviewed for more than three hours without her statements being recorded—what police called a "rapport-building exercise." Police threatened that social welfare staff would take her son unless she confessed. The cops then turned on a video recorder for 32 minutes to record her statement. During seven hours of questioning the other young woman—Shannon Nordstrand—the cops threatened to implicate her mother in the theft and to charge her sister with a drug crime. Seymour is pursuing a civil case against the police for damages. "I want them to pay for what they put me through. They're getting away with too much behind closed doors," she said.

Other complaints of police violence being raised in the district include the pepper spraying at pointblank range of a handcuffed man being held in a police cell, the beating and strip-searching of a 14-year-old boy, and the punching and kicking of a teenager after a traffic accident involving a cop's fiancée.

Police defend conduct

With an internal police inquiry underway, the Whangarei police have reacted defiantly to these charges. At a public meeting in late October, Area Controller Paul Dimery blamed "lax parents" and the media for the criticisms, and accused the lawyers' group of trying to drum up business.

The head of the criminal investigation branch, Martin Ruth, who had also been criticized by a judge in 1999 for his interview methods, defended police tactics. "We're not changing a god-damned thing....

There is no written rule that says you have to frog-march someone in and make a movie," he said. "I've used excessive force, I'm human...but a lot of guys are running around with their brains full of meth [methamphetamine] wanting to fight. This is not the cafe set in Ponsonby.... It's a bloody zoo."

Police are also calling for a law change to give special rights to cops facing prosecution. This follows a ruling in the Auckland High Court October 26 lifting name suppression for Keith Abbott, the cop who shot and killed 23-year-old Maori student Steven Wallace in Waitara in April 2000. Abbott was exonerated by an internal police inquiry last year but is facing private prosecution for murder in a case brought by the Wallace family. Abbott has not been widely named in the media until now, despite the fact that an original court order suppressing his identification had been overturned on appeal.

In another case, a young Thai woman, Pimthong Udornpun, has filed a suit against the New Zealand government for NZ\$500,000 (NZ\$1=US 41 cents) for "cruel and degrading treatment." She had been held at Auckland airport for 11 hours and in police cells for 42 hours after being refused entry into the country. During this time she was unwell and menstruating and was refused access to sanitary towels and medication.

On the West Coast of the South Island, 55-year-old coal miner John Menzies has been speaking out after he was severely assaulted by four cops. He was pepper sprayed, clubbed, kicked, and needed 20 stitches. He was then arrested and charged with assaulting a cop, but a jury threw the charges out of court. Menzies was outraged when one of the cops who assaulted him, Terence Hunt, received a commendation from the police for his actions.

Communist League candidate in Australia campaigns against imperialism and war

BY ALASDAIR MACDONALD AND LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia—In the midst of what the big-business press here has dubbed the "khaki election"—a reference to the traditional color of the Australian military uniform—Ron Poulsen, the Communist League candidate standing for Parliament in the seat of Watson, has used the heightened interest in politics to speak out against Canberra's war moves both at home and abroad.

"As they beat the patriotic drums of war through the media, the imperialist rulers are seeking to advance their self-proclaimed 'right' to launch military assaults on any countries they choose to place on their hit list," Poulsen said October 8, the day after the imperialist bombing of Afghanistan began. "At the same time, the rulers are using the creation of a war atmosphere domestically to try to expand police powers, curtail political rights, and use patriotic calls to blunt workers' resistance to the bosses' attacks."

Poulsen explained that "the Howard government rapidly invoked the ANZUS treaty with support from the Labor Party as it committed warships, planes and hundreds of troops to the U.S.-led military buildup in Central Asia. Even as Canberra joins the war on the Afghan people that is creating millions more refugees, the Howard government, with Labor support, has tightened already draconian laws to justify forcible denial of entry, or detention in remote prison camps, for asylum seekers."

In response to the sinking of an overcrowded vessel and the subsequent deaths of more than 350 asylum seekers on October 18, Poulsen released a press statement that was picked up by a number of newspapers in Sydney (see *Militant* issue no. 43 for the text of the statement).

"While Canberra brutally turns away desperate working people from the shores of one of the richest countries in the world," the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted Poulsen as saying, "it is sending troops, warplanes and warships to join in the assault on the peoples

Thousands in Pakistan protest Musharraf's support for U.S. war



Mass rally in Karachi, Pakistan, on October 26 demanding an end to the U.S. war in Afghanistan and a halt to Pakistani government's support of Washington.

BY JACK WILLEY

Thousands of people demonstrated across Pakistan November 2 to protest the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan, pledge support for the Afghan people, and call for the overthrow of the Pakistani regime.

"Musharraf is a risk for Pakistan," Qazi Hussain Ahmed, president of the Jamaat-e-Islami party, told a crowd of 10,000 people in Mardan. Qazi said President Gen. Pervez Musharraf—an army general who seized power in 1999—should be overthrown. "The sooner the better," he stated.

Musharraf has supported the U.S.-led war, and has opened Pakistan's military bases to use by the United States.

Rallies also took place in the cities of Lahore, Karachi, and Quetta.

The Pakistan Muslim League, after remaining silent about the Musharraf government's support for Washington's war, decided to participate in a November 9 strike and protest actions against the government. The actions were called by several other political parties. The league was the country's leading party before Musharraf's coup.

The head of the Pakistan Muslim League, Mukhdoom Javed Hashmi, was arrested hours after his party's decision in a midnight police raid. Government officials told *IBD* news services that he was arrested for amassing "assets beyond his means." Hashmi is the third prominent politician to be taken into custody as part of the regime's attempt to keep a lid on the ongoing antigovernment protests.

of Afghanistan who live in one of the poorest countries in the world. This criminal course of attacking working people around the world is also aimed at working people at home, as the capitalist rulers try to squeeze more profit from the labour of workers and working farmers, and to push back our political rights won in decades of struggle."

The *Torch*, a local community newspaper, quoted from the statement in an article headlined "Refugees need support." The biweekly national Arabic-language paper *An-Nahar* translated the whole press statement and ran an ad for Poulsen's campaign as well. The *Valley Times*, another community paper, also ran a short article on Poulsen's campaign.

Campaigning against imperialism and its war against the peoples of Afghanistan and defending the rights of refugees and immigrants have been at the heart of the Communist League election campaign activities heading towards the November 10 polling day.

Campaign supporters have set up tables in the streets and knocked on doors in and around the working-class neighborhoods of Campsie and Lakemba, the district in which the new Pathfinder bookstore and the campaign headquarters of the Communist League election campaign are located. During these efforts they collected the 50 signatures of electors needed to get Poulsen on the ballot.

The area has a large immigrant population, particularly from the Middle East and Asia. Working people and youth responded to the campaign tables featuring placards opposing the imperialist war in Afghanistan and calling for Australia to open its borders, with 130 signing to support the campaign. Half a dozen of Poulsen's co-workers at Port Botany who live in the electoral district also willingly signed.

The petitioning effort and the many campaign street stalls set up since have served to lift the profile of the communist movement and the new bookstore. Many workers are keeping an eye out for the tables where they can get their hands on revolu-

tionary literature. Four subscriptions to the *Militant* have been sold from them.

Poulsen and other members of the campaign have also participated in several antiwar demonstrations. Held over successive weeks, the protests have attracted growing numbers. Around 3,000 attended a rally and march on November 4. Many protesters have been attracted to Poulsen's campaign and the weekly campaign newspaper the *Militant*, with its news reports opposing the war in Afghanistan and background articles about imperialism's exploitation and historical domination of the Middle East and Central Asia. To date, five participants in the protests have bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Poulsen and campaign supporters also attended a meeting on October 28 organized by five organizations in the Arab and Muslim community to discuss racist attacks over recent weeks.

Poulsen is a wharfie [dockworker] at Port Botany, and a member of the Maritime Union of Australia. During the campaign he has visited a picket line at Ansett airlines and joined thousands defending Ansett workers' entitlements and protesting the loss of their jobs. Poulsen also attended a rally at University of Western Sydney in support of Aboriginal students who have occupied the Goolangullia building to oppose the threatened closure of the Aboriginal education unit there.

Election campaign supporters also took part in a recent stop-work rally organized by nurses, 24,000 of whom walked off the job in protest at chronic staff shortages and increasing workloads.

Poulsen explained that "these fights, like those by potato farmers in Tasmania and Victoria to defend their livelihoods, are all part of the resistance by working people to the capitalist offensive at home, the biggest obstacle to the rulers' war drive abroad."

Alasdair MacDonald is a member of the Young Socialists. Linda Harris is a member of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union.

Armed troops stop Green Party leader from boarding plane

BY CAPPY KIDD

CHICAGO—National Guard troops prevented Nancy Oden, a national coordinator of the Green Party USA, from boarding an American Airlines flight from Bangor, Maine, to Chicago November 1. Oden, the Green Party candidate for governor of Maine in 1998, was traveling to Chicago to attend a meeting of the Green Party National Committee.

The Green Party USA is the "original" Green Party. Another Green Party sponsored Ralph Nader's run for U.S. president, which was also backed by the Green Party USA.

In a November 6 phone interview with the *Militant*, Oden said, "It was like they knew who I was before I got there. No one called my name or asked for my ID. The National Guardsman just yelled out, 'Get those bags over here!'"

The Green Party leader said she was the only passenger searched out of some 15 people on that flight and may have been the only person searched at the airport at that time. The Bangor airport has one gate.

"My bags passed through the X-ray machine okay," she said. "The zipper on one of my bags was caught and when I tried to help, the Guardsman shouted, 'Get your hands out of there!'"

"Then he started spouting pro-war things in my face like, 'Don't you know what they did on September 11?' and 'We have to kill them before they kill us.' He put his hands on my arm and I told him, 'don't touch me.'"

After being searched, Oden said she was taken by the Guardsmen down a hallway where she was surrounded by six other National Guard troops toting machine guns. "I thought they were going to arrest me but they just told me that I was not allowed to travel on any flights that day because I was 'uncooperative' with the bag search."

Oden said the National Guard troops were trying to "provoke me into doing something stupid, so that they could arrest me." She said they told her that her money would not be refunded, even though they had prevented her from using her ticket.

"I was treated as if I was guilty just because I'm a dissident and I speak out," she told the press. "They're looking at me like

I'm a terrorist and I'm just a peaceful person trying to go to a meeting in Chicago."

Officials at Bangor International Airport and American Eagle Airlines spoke with the Bangor *Daily News* about the incident. "She was uncooperative during the screening process," claimed American Eagle spokesman Kurt Iverson. He said that Oden reportedly would not stand still when security staff tried to wave a metal-detecting wand over her. "Obviously if they can't submit to screening, [Federal Aviation Administration] regulations require that they not be allowed to board the plane," he said.

Officials from the FBI and the FAA would not discuss why Oden's name was flagged in the airline's computer records.

In a press release Oden said she was "targeted because the Green Party opposes the bombing of innocent civilians in Afghanistan. Not only did they prevent me from boarding my flight; they also told me that my ticket would not be refunded and the airport was off limits to me." She added that someone unknown to her had also called the hotel she was to stay at and canceled her reservation.

"I was shocked that the military prevented one of our prominent members from attending the meeting in Chicago," said Elizabeth

Fund will aid publication of new Cuba title

BY RÓGER CALERO

"We are planning to raise our goal in a couple of weeks," reported Connie Allen, after seeing the initial results of the contributions and pledges from supporters of the Pathfinder Fund in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Likewise, supporters in Western Colorado report that the amount pledged in their area has already gone beyond their expectations, and "we still have a number of co-workers in the mines, subscribers to the *Militant*, and readers of Pathfinder books in the region whom we need to approach for contributions."

As we enter the sixth week of the drive, \$83,045 has been pledged by contributors

Israeli troops leave Ramallah



Palestinian students from Ramallah protest in front of Israeli tank November 6. Tel Aviv began withdrawing military forces from the city after setting up occupation force for nearly three weeks. Zionist troops still encircle and blockade city.

Fattah, a Green Party USA representative from Pennsylvania speaking at a press conference here. "I am outraged that the Bill of Rights is being trampled on."

Mitchel Cohen, media coordinator for the Green Party, said that the government was using the events of September 11 to crack down on dissent, freedom of religion, and freedom of association, and protested the

detention of more than 1,000 people since September 11.

Cohen said that Green Party USA positions calling for an immediate halt to the bombing of Afghanistan, opposing preventive detentions, and demanding an end to the sanctions against Iraq were the real reasons the government had violated the democratic rights of Nancy Oden.

toward the international target of \$125,000 to be raised by December 15. Supporters are stepping up their efforts to reach out to workers and youth who rely on the books and pamphlets produced by Pathfinder Press as weapons to better arm themselves as they engage in struggles against the drive for profits and attacks on workers' rights by the bosses and their government.

One supporter in Charlotte gave the fund a boost with a \$1,000 contribution. Following a long-standing tradition in the communist movement of contributing a portion of one's wages, socialist coal miners have pledged one week's pay towards the goal.

The fund will make it possible for Pathfinder to add a wealth of new books and pamphlets over the coming months to the more than 300 titles kept in print by the publisher.

Among the titles scheduled for release is a book-length interview with Víctor Dreke, a central commander of the early 1960s

Continued on Page 14

Pickets protest abuses by coal companies

Continued from front page

year, Massey reported profits of \$80 million. In September Massey told stockholders that it had spent \$36.9 million on cleanup from the spill but that \$27 million had been recovered from insurance policies.

MSHA did not charge Massey for what the government's own engineering consultant determined was the major cause of the spill: that Massey had overestimated the amount of solid rock or solid coal between the slurry pond impoundment and underground mine workings.

Massey claimed that there was 70 feet of solid barrier between the impoundment and the roof of the underground mine, but the survey showed only 15 to 18 feet. The rest was unconsolidated material or fragments of rock and coal. The report said the impoundment failure "was the consequence of mining operations advancing in close proximity to the outcrop of the coal seam." The slurry poured into the mine and broke through a hillside into two tributaries of the Tug Fork and Big Sandy River.

A Massey spokesman responded that the company "was pleased that MSHA validated the integrity of our underground mine mapping."

At the October 11 picket line, Pauline Canterbury called on Massey to stop releasing polluted water from coal slurry impoundments and to stop covering coal communities with dust from preparation plants and trucks. She also called on Massey to pay all coal truck drivers a living hourly wage. Canterbury is a resident of Sylvester, a town near Massey operations in the Coal River in West Virginia, and a member of Coal River Mountain Watch.

A dozen United Mine Workers of

America (UMWA) members and organizers joined the protest. Speaking to the crowd, UMWA member and State Delegate Michael Caputo said Massey is "only after the bottom line. Massey's environmental record is horrible. One-third of all miners killed in West Virginia this year came from Massey mines. Massey is out of touch with West Virginia communities."

The following week, a meeting on the dangers from overloaded coal trucks drew 200 people, including residents and coal truck drivers and owners. A recent fatal accident involving overloaded coal trucks prompted the large turnout.

Residents pointed blame at the coal companies. "The state needs to fine the coal companies who overload the trucks, not the drivers," one stated. Julia Bonds, from Coal River Mountain Watch in Whitesville, said, "Coal truckers barely earn a living wage. They need to be paid by the hour, not by the load."

In response to the findings of the government engineering study, UMWA president Cecil Roberts issued a press release. He asked, "Did we learn nothing from the Buffalo Creek disaster?" referring to the 1972 collapse of a Pittston Coal Co. slurry dam that killed 125 people. "Here we are 29 years later and Massey is operating a mine that has an impoundment just 18 feet above mine workings. This is frightening and disturbing. You have to ask yourself, 'Who is driving the train?'"

Roberts also issued a press release commending the West Virginia state government for holding hearings into a series of slurry spills at Massey operations. These hearings come in the wake of Massey being cited with multiple violations. Massey subsidiary

Marfork Coal has been cited 14 times since May 2000, including nine times this year. Whitesville resident Freda Williams said, "We cannot afford another Inez, Kentucky, or a Buffalo Creek in this country."

There have been other public statements on the lack of action on the safety of coal dams. Former MSHA director Davitt McAteer criticized the MSHA report on the Massey spill, pointing out inaccurate mine maps played a major role in causing the accident. He said inaccurate mine maps are widespread, and could lead to similar—or worse—impoundment accidents.

Just prior to the release of the MSHA report, the National Academy of Sciences released a study on coal dam safety commissioned by Congress. The study team said federal regulators don't know for sure that coal slurry impoundments are safe. In particular they said, regulators should review whether they are too close to underground mine workings. They reported that in 1994 and 1996 there were a string of breakthroughs into underground mine workings but that regulators did nothing to strengthen oversight.

Massey's Martin County Coal was one of these places. An investigation by MSHA engineers found problems, but the agency did nothing about them. And in the year before the spill, Massey had double the flow from the impoundment, but did not tell regulators.

Pathfinder Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	%
NY Garment District	5,000	1,065	21%
Tucson	150	28	19%
Houston	3,200	520	16%
Boston	4,000	495	12%
St. Paul	3,000	300	10%
Birmingham	2,200	180	8%
Pittsburgh	4,000	275	7%
Los Angeles	8,000	500	6%
Newark	3,300	200	6%
Brooklyn	3,000	150	5%
Tampa	600	30	5%
Washington DC	2,000	100	5%
Atlanta	3,200	25	1%
San Francisco	8,000	50	1%
Allentown	1,620	0	0%
Charlotte	3,650	0	0%
Chicago	6,000	0	0%
Cleveland	1,500	0	0%
Des Moines	1,400	0	0%
Miami	2,200	0	0%
Omaha	585	0	0%
Seattle	8,000	0	0%
Upper Manhattan	3,500	0	0%
Western Colorado	3,200	0	0%
Detroit	0	0	0%
Philadelphia	0	0	0%
Other		66	
U.S. Total	81,305	4,084	5%
New Zealand	940	10	1%
Australia	800	0	0%
Canada	0	0	0%
Iceland	0	20	0%
Sweden	0	0	0%
United Kingdom	0	0	0%
Int'l Total	83,045	4,114	5%
Total Should be	125,000	12,500	10%

'Militant' campaigners report rising sales

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Participants in the international campaign to increase the circulation of the socialist press are selling many copies of the paper, and have been frequently prompted to order extra sales bundles. Socialist workers and Young Socialists are finding that working people and youth are interested in reading a socialist newsweekly that campaigns against imperialism's war on the people of Afghanistan and the assaults on workers' rights in the United States, and champions the strikes and struggles of workers and farmers.

Through the circulation campaign, socialist workers and Young Socialists are meeting workers and youth who are attracted to joining a revolutionary proletarian party and youth organization, and who want to attend weekly Militant Labor forums in many cities.



Militant/John Steele

Sales of the *Militant*, *PM*, and *Pathfinder* titles in Toronto. Many who buy the *Militant* are deciding to purchase subscriptions.

tant Labor forums in many cities.

More individuals are also buying the *Militant*, cutting out the subscription coupon on page 2, and sending it into the paper's business office. Partisans of the paper around the country are finding that many who buy a single copy of the paper like it so much they decide to take out a subscription, or to buy and study *New International*.

Socialist workers in Houston sold five copies of *New International* in English and French this past week from literature tables, at a Militant Labor Forum, and at showings of the film *Lumumba*. "Three people who came from the movie to the Militant Labor Forum said they want to come back next week to get copies of *New International* to study," wrote Jacquie Henderson.

These experiences help point out how to continue to win new subscribers through November 18, and the potential to expand the readership of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the weeks and months ahead. The *Militant* will count all subscriptions received at the office by noon, November 21, in the final scoreboard.

A note from San Francisco gives an example of how consistent work yields sales of single copies and subscriptions.

"We sold 17 copies of the *Militant* and one subscription to the paper at a November 3 rally defending the Palestinian struggle against Israeli military occupation," wrote Bernie Senter. "That same day we also sold two subscriptions to the *Militant* at a debate between Palestinian leader Hanan Ashwari and a representative from the Israeli consul in San Jose. The next day Ashwari spoke at a meeting in Berkeley where we sold 13 copies of the *Militant*."

Senter said socialist workers in the Bay Area also sold another eight copies of the paper, a copy of *Perspectiva*

Mundial, and \$30 worth of *Pathfinder* literature off a table in a working-class district in San Francisco. A few days later they set up a literature table at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where they sold two *Militant* subscriptions, seven *Militants*, and \$85 worth of literature. "One student told us, 'young people need books like these,' and said she wants to help us set up a literature table at Cabrillo College," reported Senter.

Joanne Kuniansky from Australia reported sales over one weekend of two *Militant* subscriptions, 21 copies of the *Militant*, one subscription to *PM*, 11 *Pathfinder* titles, and a copy of the Marxist magazine *New International* no. 10. "We've had a very successful drive and are mapping out plans to make all our goals," she wrote.

"We sold four copies of the *Militant* despite being harassed by a man who declared his support for the war in Afghanistan," reported Maria Alice Andre, a Young Socialist member in Toronto. "One person, a man of Mohawk descent, stopped by to help us out. He told the harasser, 'we have a right to our opinions. Just because we don't agree with everything CNN says doesn't give you the right to attack the table.'" Andre said the previous weekend on the same corner they had sold 13 copies of the *Militant*, one subscription to *PM*, one copy of *New International* no. 7, which features the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," and one copy of *Nueva Internacional* no. 1.

From Vancouver Gabriel Charbin reported that partisans of the paper sold 18 *Militants*, three *Militant* subscriptions, two copies of *New International*, and one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* at meetings to defend Dr. Sunera Thobani, who has come under attack for speaking out against the imperialist war in Afghanistan. They sold another nine *Militants* and two subscriptions in a workers district in the city before running out of papers.

Use target week to boost sales efforts

"So far in the target week we have sold four *Militant* subscriptions and one copy of *New International*," said Francisco Picado in St. Paul, Minnesota. "Two of us are taking days off work to spend time on campuses and two other supporters of the campaign are planning to join us. The Young Socialists have decided to join the campus teams and the regional sales teams we are planning next weekend. Two workers we met during a plant-gate sale yesterday at Dakota Premium Foods told us they would buy subscriptions."

"Several co-workers who have purchased copies of the *Militant* and *PM* are considering buying subscriptions," wrote Stu Singer, a packinghouse worker in Washington. Singer said he joined others on a regional team to Georgetown, Delaware, this past weekend, where they sold five subscriptions to *PM*, one *Militant* subscription, and three copies of *New International*. "One worker who bought a *PM* subscription told us they had a walkout a week before to protest short hours at the Perdue poultry plant where he works," said Singer.

"Two soldiers stopped by the literature tables we have set up here in northeast Pennsylvania," wrote *Militant* campaigners from that area. "One of them said he had just been called up and disagreed with the *Militant*'s viewpoint, but bought a copy of the paper to read for himself." Another student at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, who also said he "disagreed, but wanted to learn more," purchased a copy of *New International* no. 7 containing the article "1945: When U.S. Troops Said 'No!'"

Supporters of the *Militant* in western Colorado and members of the Young Socialists in Tucson, Arizona, were part of a coal team that took the *Militant* to min-

ers at mine portals and in coalfield towns. Jim Spaul, a longtime coal miner and member of the National Union of Mineworkers from Great Britain, was part of the three-day team. Spaul, currently a rail worker in London, spoke to miners he met about the conditions that working people face in the United Kingdom and explained why he opposes the British government's participation in the U.S. war in Afghanistan.

The team organized sales at four mine portals and went door-to-door in coalfield towns. Team members introduced Spaul to miners who stopped to talk. Spaul told them about the strike of British miners at Rossington Coal in Yorkshire, England.

Spaul had dinner with a miner from the Twenty Mile Coal Mine and discussed Washington's war on Afghanistan, as well as the U.S. invasion of Panama with him.

In Birmingham Spaul spoke at a Militant Labor Forum along with Bill Tyler, a coal miner from Alabama and member of the Socialist Workers Party. Tyler spoke about the September 23 mine explosion that killed 13 miners at the Jim Walter no. 5 mine in Brookwood, Alabama. Another miner with 17 years at Drummond's big Shoal Creek mine attended and spoke in the discussion about the importance of standing up for safe working conditions. "I completely agree that the explosions at the no. 5 mine were no accident," he said. "This could have happened anywhere."

Spaul joined a portal sale where five miners bought the *Militant*, and a regular *Militant* reader purchased a copy of *New International* no. 7.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial subscription campaign—week 6 Sept. 22–Nov. 18

Country	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden*	18	16	89%	4	3	12	10
Australia	16	12	75%	4	3	16	11
United Kingdom	35	22	63%	10	8	20	14
Canada							
Vancouver	15	11	73%	3	4	20	6
Montreal	12	7	58%	5	4	20	7
Toronto	17	9	53%	5	1	17	10
Canada total	44	27	61%	13	9	57	23
United States							
Tucson	7	6	86%	1	1	6	1
Twin Cities*	45	35	78%	20	25	30	17
Miami	20	15	75%	20	6	25	12
Detroit	35	24	69%	10	6	30	13
Seattle	25	17	68%	10	5	25	18
Houston	30	20	67%	15	3	45	12
Boston	27	17	63%	11	7	25	0
Los Angeles	50	31	62%	30	11	25	20
Des Moines	30	18	60%	20	12	15	7
Upper Manhattan	65	39	60%	50	21	40	14
Western Colorado	30	17	57%	8	4	15	4
Newark	45	25	56%	30	7	30	8
Chicago	45	24	53%	30	7	35	11
Atlanta	36	19	53%	15	2	35	7
San Francisco	50	23	46%	25	16	40	15
Brooklyn	60	27	45%	30	18	70	34
Charlotte	16	7	44%	6	1	25	6
NY Garment Dist.	100	41	41%	50	21	55	29
Cleveland	25	10	40%	4	4	20	11
Philadelphia	25	10	40%	10	3	20	2
Omaha	11	4	36%	15	6	10	9
Allentown	25	8	32%	5	3	10	6
Washington	25	8	32%	20	4	10	3
Birmingham	20	6	30%	3	5	20	0
Tampa	12	3	25%	5	3	14	10
Pittsburgh	40	9	23%	5	0	25	4
U.S. total	899	463	52%	448	201	700	273
New Zealand							
Auckland	10	4	40%	1	1	8	4
Christchurch	7	3	43%	1	0	3	1
N.Z. total	17	7	41%	2	1	11	5
Iceland	8	2	25%	2	0		
Int'l totals	1037	549	50%	483	225	737	336
Goal/Should be	1100	825	75%	500	375	800	600
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Australia							
AMIEU	3	2	67%			1	1
MUA*	2	0	0%			5	3
Total	5	2	40%				
United States							
UAW	5	6	120%			4	1
UFCW	55	28	51%	55	42	70	32
UNITE	35	7	20%	35	7	55	5
UMWA	20	1	5%	2	0	15	1
Total	110	42	38%	92	49	140	38
New Zealand							
NDU	2	1	50%			1	0
MWU	2	0	0%			2	0
Total	4	1	25%			3	0
Canada							
UFCW	5	1	20%	1	0	8	4
UNITE	5	0	0%	2	2	3	0
Total	10	1	10%	3	2	11	4
raised goal *							

Socialist coal miners hold meeting

Continued from Page 2

of some 80 people from six coal-mining states. Women whose husbands have died from black lung discussed organizing a march next year in southern West Virginia to defend benefits that miners afflicted with the disease and their spouses are supposed to receive from the government.

Branches and organizing committees

The socialist coal miners and auto workers are also working to recruit workers and young people to the branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialists in the areas where they live. One focus of their work has been getting the local branch and *Pathfinder* bookstore established within a workers district in their cities, reaching out to struggles in the area from a solid base of workers and youth who know, support, and look to the party and YS.

Branches also organize weekly sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Pathfinder* books at plant gates, mine portals, and mills, which is something that greatly strengthens the political work of socialists employed in the mines and other industries.

Several participants talked about the progress that has been made along these lines since the last meeting of socialist coal miners when many of the participants had been

hired recently and just beginning to do political work on the job. Miners from western Colorado talked about the impact that the portal sales of the *Militant* have had where they work.

Participants in both meetings discussed the importance of meeting the national goals in the subscription drive to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* to miners and auto workers. Several pointed out how the drive is part of getting known as a socialist on the job.

Socialist coal miners also discussed, given their relatively higher wage levels, the importance of setting an example for financing the communist movement. Party members make a weekly contribution to the party based on their means, and the miners fraction discussed that socialists working in mines with union-scale wages join the "Over \$50 Club" with their first paycheck. They set a goal of getting one more member of the national miners fraction to be in the "Over \$100 Club" by December 1.

On the first evening of the two-day meeting, 30 people attended a Militant Labor Forum featuring James Harris, a national leader of the SWP and a textile worker from Atlanta, who spoke on the U.S.-British war against Afghanistan.

Washington gains military foothold in Central Asia region

Continued from front page

ington promised the regime millions of dollars in aid. Rumsfeld also visited Russia, Central Asia, Pakistan, and India. The agreement would allow the U.S. armed forces use of three former Soviet military bases in Tajikistan for bombing raids and helicopter-borne incursions into Afghanistan. A U.S.-led inspection team dispatched to the area to evaluate the bases will also examine military facilities in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. U.S. forces are already stationed in neighboring Uzbekistan.

The bases, one of which is only 30 miles from the Tajik-Afghan border, would significantly strengthen the position of U.S. air power against Afghanistan, as well as Washington's military weight in the strategic and resource-rich Silk Road region. Up to now, U.S. and British planes have mainly flown from aircraft carriers in the Arabian Sea more than 1,000 miles from Afghanistan. B-52s are based in the British colony of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Rumsfeld gained the Russian defense minister's go-ahead to use the bases before he arrived in Tajikistan. Moscow is also helping identify targets for U.S. and British bombs.

Washington and London's intensifying air assault includes carpet bombing by the B-52s, flying beyond the range of Afghan fire. Air Force cargo planes have begun targeting government troop positions with 15,000-pound "Daisy Cutters," the most powerful non-nuclear bomb in the U.S. arsenal. Designed to explode above the ground, this bomb sprays burning shrapnel for hundreds of feet, sucks oxygen out of the air, and opens a crater the size of five football fields. Anyone within 200 feet of the blast is obliterated. "They make a heck of a bang when they go off, and the intent is to kill people," said Marine Gen. Peter Pace, vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

'We wanted the villagers dead'

The Afghan government stated on November 2 that 1,500 people, most of them civilians, have died in the attacks. Among the victims were residents of the village of Chowkar-Karez, about 50 miles north of Kandahar. After AC-130 gunships bombed and strafed the village on October 22, reporters described finding huge craters, pulverized houses, bomb fragments, and 18 unmarked graves.

Washington recalls its Venezuela ambassador after Chávez's remarks

BY JACK WILLEY

The U.S. State Department recalled its ambassador to Venezuela November 1 for an "interagency review" to "discuss the current state of our bilateral relationship." This aggressive move by Washington came just a few days after a television address by the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez.

In his October 29 statement Chávez called for an end to "the slaughter of innocents" by the U.S.-led forces in Afghanistan. Holding up photographs of children killed in the bombing raids, he said their deaths had "no justification and neither does the attack against New York." The U.S. State Department called the comparison "totally inappropriate."

Foreign Minister Luis Alfonso Dávila said after a meeting with the U.S. ambassador that the government reiterates "our position of friendship and cooperation with the United States," but added, "we cannot, nor are we obliged to, remain silent about the profound and growing concern that we have about the death and pain that war causes for innocent people."

In September the Venezuelan government said it considered a 1961 military alliance with Washington to have expired, calling it "a Cold War museum piece." Venezuela's foreign minister subsequently announced the U.S. military mission would leave shortly after.

Responding to questions about targeting the village, an unidentified Pentagon official told the press that the village was "a fully legitimate target" since Taliban troops had been present. "The people there are dead because we wanted them dead," he said.

Survivors revealed the slaughter to members of Human Rights Watch. "There were no Taliban in the village," said Ahmed, a 20-year-old mechanic. "There were no tanks or Taliban cars. They just killed innocent people.... The plane saw us, and they opened fire."

In a rare report from inside Afghanistan, the November 5 *New York Times* described a visit by 26 foreign journalists to Kandahar, which has been pounded by U.S. bombings for the past month. Crowds in the central bazaar gathered around the reporters' vehicles, "cursing, shouting," reported the paper. "Stop the bombing!" some people yelled. The reporter said, "Others demanded an answer. 'Why are you doing this to us?'" Electrical power to Kandahar and neighboring Helmand province had earlier been cut when U.S. planes damaged a hydroelectric dam at Lashkargah.

At a press conference November 7 Rumsfeld expressed satisfaction with the course of the war. "There is no question that the effectiveness of the bombing is vastly improved as you have people on the ground in communication with aircraft overhead," he said, referring to the role played by U.S. Special Operations forces inside the country. Their numbers, now at least in the hundreds, are being steadily increased by the U.S. command. "We have a number of teams cocked and ready to go" into Afghanistan, Rumsfeld has stated.

Preparations for ground war

"After four weeks of fighting, the military is girding itself for the second and most complex phase of the campaign," reported the November 5 *New York Times*. "The first phase relied exclusively on air strikes. This second stage is supposed to involve raids by American, and eventually British, Special Operations forces."

While U.S. operatives have been deployed in the south of Afghanistan to supposedly link up with opponents of the Taliban government, the majority of imperialist forces are in the north, where the opposition Northern Alliance controls about 5 percent of Afghan territory. The U.S. is supplying them with food, weapons, and winter gear.

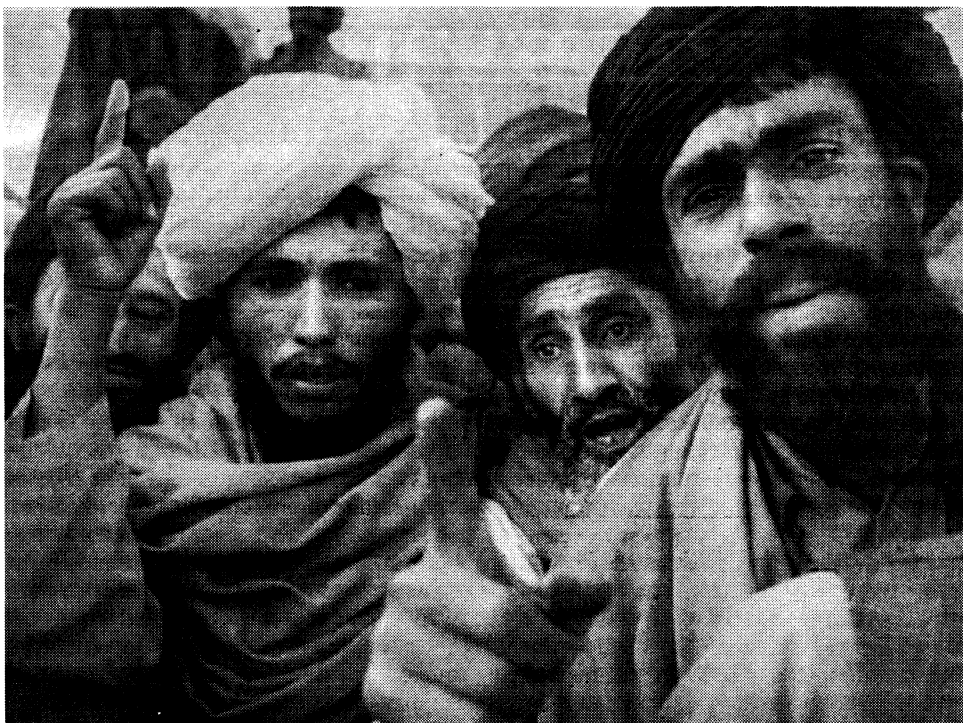
U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell made clear that the bombing will not be halted for Ramadan, whatever the expressions of concern of governments in the Middle East. "Nothing about this coalition is constraining. The president can do anything he wants," he said.

A glimpse of the stiff Taliban resistance that can be expected in the face of any ground offensive was provided by an October 20 raid on Taliban buildings outside Kandahar. The Pentagon, which has sought to tightly control the flow of war news, has reacted sharply as the facts have come to light.

New Yorker journalist Seymour Hersh reported November 2 that the 100 Delta Force soldiers who, backed up by gunships and 200 Army Rangers, attacked the compound of Mullah Omar, were forced to stage a hurried retreat in the face of heavy fire by Taliban forces. One had his foot blown off, two others also received serious wounds, and nine were injured less seriously. The Taliban "scared the crap out of everyone," a senior military officer told Hersh.

Gen. Richard Myers, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had earlier claimed that this raid "accomplished our objectives," denied Hersh's story and said that no commandos had been wounded in the raid.

"The after-action arguments in the military command over how best to wage a ground war continued last week," wrote Hersh. "We'll get there, but it's going to get ugly," one officer told the journalist. Hersh reiterated his story November 6, saying that the Delta Force was "throwing a message



Crowds of Afghans surround foreign journalists in a Kandahar market to voice their hatred for the U.S.-led war. Some yelled "Stop the bombing!" and "Death to America!"

over the fence, to the leadership, really, through me."

"British commandos are there now and they're trying to work out a different way of operating," Hersh said. "The British want to go in big. Set up a firebase in the middle of Taliban territory and say, hey, we're here, come and get us."

Bases in Tajikistan

The team inspecting the bases in Tajikistan includes officers from the armed forces in Britain and Canada—both of which have already promised to send special forces into Afghanistan—the Netherlands, and Turkey. The Turkish police have cracked down on demonstrations against the war, detaining 50 people at one protest in Istanbul on November 1. Public opinion polls in the officially Muslim country have been running at 80 percent against the deployment.

In contrast to its response to the Turkish commitment, Washington has been "hardly thrilled" by offers of military support from other European allies and rivals, according to the November 7 *New York Times*. Until now, "Washington has for the most part ignored offers of help.... The feeling is that more players mean more back-seat drivers," reported the paper, obliquely referring to the tensions and conflicts among the imperialist powers.

After initial reluctance Washington formally accepted the Italian government's plans to contribute attack helicopters, fighter jets, and an armored regiment. Rome is also considering a further commitment of four warships. Some 1,000 servicemen could be involved, said Italian defense minister Antonio Martino. The French government plans to send a smaller force comprising intelligence agents and ships performing "logistical and surveillance" tasks.

In South Asia, the Pakistani regime has declared stronger support for the brutal and protracted imperialist assault that is now unfolding, in spite of the protests that continue to shake the country (see article on page 3). As the carpet-bombing began in earnest at the end of October, military ruler Gen. Pervez Musharraf withdrew his stated

reservations about the open-ended character of the war. "One has to achieve the objective of a military operation," he said.

In late October the Pakistani secret police took their cooperation with Washington to a new stage when they seized a Yemeni microbiology student and handed him over to U.S. authorities. Twenty-seven-year-old Jamil Qasim Saeed Mohammed was wanted by U.S. authorities as a suspect in the October 2000 explosion of the U.S. naval destroyer the *USS Cole*.

U.S. rulers set new demands on Iraq

Meanwhile, the U.S. rulers continue floating reasons to target Iraq. With claims of Iraq's ties to the anthrax scare receding as an excuse, U.S. officials are now preparing to renew demands on Baghdad to allow United Nations weapons inspectors into the country, on the grounds of Iraq's alleged programs to develop biological weapons. "There have been a lot of contacts between Iraq and al-Qaeda," claimed one U.S. defense official.

The Bush administration has also assumed broad new powers to choke off funds to 22 foreign organizations that it deems to be "terrorist." The U.S. Department of State can now take "wider action against those who back the groups and...deny access to U.S. financial markets to foreign banks that do not cooperate in the crackdown," reported the November 3 *Washington Post*.

The groups include Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all identified with the fight against the Israeli occupation of Palestine; the Basque nationalist group ETA; and the Real Irish Republican Army.

As of November 5, U.S. authorities had arrested and detained 1,182 people in a roundup carried out under the rubric of investigating the September 11 attacks. The November 5 *New York Times* noted "how little information is publicly known" about the detainees, nearly 200 of whom have been held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service solely on immigration charges. The November 6 *Washington Post* reported that "of 235 detainees identified by the newspaper at least 75 had been released."

Crisis hits Pakistani textile workers

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Some 18,000 textile workers in Pakistan have lost their jobs as a direct result of Washington's war on Afghanistan. The massive layoffs have followed a drop of up to 40 percent in total orders of Pakistani cloth and clothing by U.S. importers, who say they fear shipping delays and social instability as the fighting unfolds.

Pakistan's textile industry employs 3.5 million workers, making up 60 percent of the industrial workforce in a country of 145 million people. The country exports some \$2 billion worth of textiles every year to the United States, one-fifth of the country's total merchandise exports. Other Pakistani textiles end up in the United States via garment factories in third countries.

The government in Islamabad is asking Washington to follow the lead of the European Union and reduce import tariffs, which average 17.5 percent of the costs of textiles from Pakistan. To date, White House officials have indicated they oppose such a step. Reflecting a wider debate among U.S. capi-

talists, a November 1 *Washington Post* editorial argued for "immediate trade liberalization," on the grounds that it might undermine the widespread protests sparked by President Pervez Musharraf's backing for the war.

Washington is preparing a package of grants, low-interest loans, trade moves, and debt rescheduling for Pakistan that would make it the largest recipient of U.S. aid after Israel and Egypt. "The reality is that this is a country that has behaved in a stalwart fashion during this crisis, and that is going to be recognized," said a White House official.

Among the measures under preparation is the rescheduling of Islamabad's \$3 billion debt owed to the U.S. government. London has followed suit. Pakistan's total foreign debt stands at \$38 billion, equal to 100 percent of its gross domestic product and more than six times its annual income. The debt amounts to around \$500 per person in a country where the average annual per capita income is \$450.

U.S. war accelerates world political trends

BY JACK WILLEY
AND GREG McCARTAN

With the unfolding of the U.S. war against Afghanistan, there has been an acceleration of the contradictions in world capitalism, including a slowdown in the U.S. economy, the impossibility of a stable postwar government in Afghanistan and the drive by the imperialists to establish a protectorate there, and the evolution of U.S.-Russian relations toward Washington's increasing its military and political weight in Central Asia.

Reports at the beginning of November

NEWS ANALYSIS

show that the U.S. economy declined in the July-September period, the first negative growth in eight years, and many bourgeois economists say a recession has begun. Business spending on new plants and equipment fell by 11.9 percent in the third quarter, a figure that was actually better than the second quarter of the year.

Official unemployment figures for the United States—widely acknowledged as underreporting the numbers of those out of work—climbed steadily in 2001, up to 4.9 percent in September and 5.4 percent in October. Japan, already in an official recession, shows no signs of recovery, and an economic slowdown is affecting the European capitalist economies as well. Joblessness in France, for example, rose for the fifth consecutive month, hitting 9.1 percent in September.

The economic downturn is marked by deflationary pressures, and headlines such as "Hints of Dreaded Deflation in U.S. Data" are cropping up in the capitalist media. The government's quarterly report on U.S. growth noted that there was a 0.4 percent decline at an annual rate in prices for personal consumption expenditures. It was the first quarterly fall in nearly half a century. A report issued by the National Association of Purchasing Management showed the pricing power of manufacturing companies is at the lowest level since 1949.

"Is the U.S. Economy at Risk of Emulating Japan's Long Swoon?" asked a feature article in the *Wall Street Journal* November 7. The piece noted the Federal Reserve's decision to cut the benchmark interest rate to 2 percent, its 10th cut this year. The article notes high consumer debt, a continued bubble in the U.S. stock market just "wait-

ing to deflate further," and excess industrial capacity as signs of more trouble ahead. Industrial capacity in use in September was 75.5 percent, the lowest level since 1983.

"As companies are saddled with excess capacity, they have little incentive to borrow to expand," the *Journal* points out, "no matter how low interest rates fall," and no matter how big a tax break they get from Uncle Sam.

The *New York Times* noted the problem for the employers in a deflationary period. "Cutting wages is very hard to do, so corporate profits get squeezed, leading to more layoffs and more falls in consumer purchases, which lead to more layoffs and on and on." Both papers worried that if inflation falls below zero, the Federal Reserve will lose its ability to influence the economy by lowering interest rates, something known as a liquidity trap.

No shift in ruling-class policy

But given these trends there has yet to be a move by any wing of the U.S. ruling class or its two parties, the Democrats and Republicans, to either change their "strong dollar" policy or press for a shift toward a massive public works program along with extended and supplemental unemployment benefits.

U.S. president George Bush is pushing a plan to spend a miserly \$3 billion to extend unemployment compensation from 26 to 39 weeks. The only catch is that it will cover only workers who were thrown out of work after September 11 and who live in states where the unemployment rate shot up 30 percent since that date. Workers in New York, New Jersey, and Virginia are automatically covered by the proposed extension.

Due to the attacks on the social wage over the past 15 years under successive Republican and Democratic administrations on the federal and state level, only 39 percent of unemployed workers currently receive any benefits, down from 50 percent in the mid-1970s.

The impact of the world's largest economy going into reverse is especially felt in semicolonial countries. The effective default by the government of Argentina is just

one sign of the devastating impact of the downturn in the world capitalist economy (see article page 16).

An imperialist protectorate

As the dominant imperialist power coming out of World War II, Washington took the course for the most part of finding rising capitalist or privileged layers in oppressed countries around the world that they could work with. This was a shift from the imposition of colonial regimes that marked the European imperialist powers in earlier decades.

Washington expected them to police workers and peasants and maintain conditions that maximize the ability to draw wealth into the coffers of the imperialist banks, corporations, and bond holders, as well as to take the side

such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and many in the Middle East where there are relatively weak governments, the threat of uprisings by workers and peasants has made them unstable and unreliable for imperialism.

A growing chorus of bourgeois voices and opinion columnists have been urging the "Western democracies"—their code words for the imperialist powers—to step in and establish stable governmental structures in what they termed "failed states," especially across Africa and Asia.

Washington's policy has more and more been to seek to impose military protectorates, such as it was driving to achieve in the 1990-91 war against Iraq, in order to advance imperialist interests, even if disguised with a United Nations fig leaf and flag. In both

Bosnia and Kosovo, for example, imperialist military forces are the muscle for United Nations administrations empowered to have say over governmental decisions, up to removing officials if they so choose.

In Afghanistan, Washington quickly dropped its pretension of patching together a coalition government that would replace the Taliban regime. The lack of a cohesive alternative has eliminated any chance of a stable, post-war government. Instead, U.S. imperialism's goal is a protectorate, and United Nations general secretary Kofi Annan has already offered the services of that body to give it an "impartial" cover.

Central Asia

In a move to strengthen its strategic military weight in the Central Asian region, Washington struck a deal October 7 with the president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, to station U.S. troops and use a military base in

Uzbekistan for at least the next year. Already, some 1,000 U.S. light-infantry troops are stationed at Khanabad, an Uzbek military base about 90 miles from the Afghan border.

They are the first U.S. ground troops to be deployed on any territory of the former Soviet Union. The agreement builds on military cooperation and training of the Uzbek military by Green Berets, Navy SEALs, and other U.S. special forces on Uzbekistan's soil since 1996.

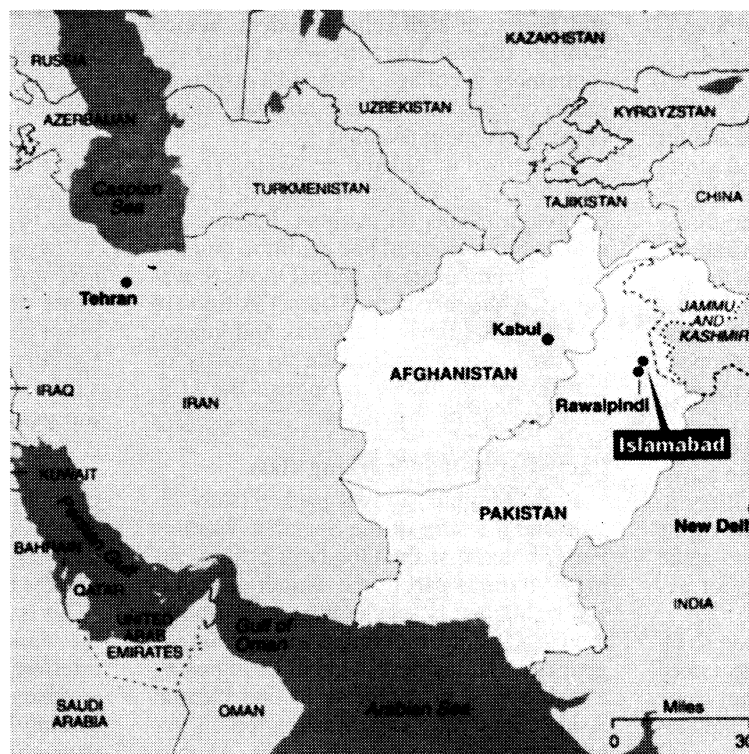
Washington made more progress in gaining a military foothold in the region in early November, when the government in Tajikistan agreed to allow U.S. forces use of its three air bases to prosecute the imperialist onslaught against Afghanistan. Similar steps are being pursued in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (see article, page 1).

These steps place Washington in a stronger position to exploit billions of dollars in oil, natural gas, copper, coal, gold, and other natural resources in the area. The Uzbek government recently signed an investment deal of some \$360 million for mining.

Since 1995, the U.S. rulers have tried to cobble together a multi-country agreement to build a 1,100-mile oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea to Turkey's Mediterranean coast, cutting out both Russia and Iran from the lucrative deal.

In early October, an Italian company drill-

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of Washington against the Soviet Union in international politics.

Over the past two decades, though, the growing crisis of world capitalism, combined with the historic inability of the oppressed semicolonial countries to develop into modern industrial or imperialist powers, has led to an extreme economic and political polarization in country after country, and the resulting social explosions. For the ruling classes in a number of countries

Fight at WTC, Red Cross fumbles, airlines profit

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—A clash between firefighters and the police at "ground zero" here shows that the cynical use of the deaths at the World Trade Center by the U.S. ruling class to further its war aims has just about run out of steam. Scenes of punches being thrown with the remains of the two towers in the background is not what Washington had in mind to further its patriotic war propaganda.

The incident began when several hundred firefighters joined a demonstration called by union officials November 2. The action was to oppose an announcement by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani that the city was reducing the number of firefighters assigned to the cleanup operation at the World Trade Center from 64 to 25. There were 343 firefighters killed when the towers collapsed. Officials of the firefighters union charged that these cutbacks would turn what had previously been declared as a recovery operation into a "scoop and dump" operation.

After a rally firemen marched to the site, pushed aside a steel fence on West Street, then marched to a second barricade surrounding the cleanup site. Police, at first taken back, responded with force, and a brief fight ensued. A dozen firefighters were arrested and five cops were injured in the confrontation.

The city has now filed criminal trespass charges against Peter Gorman, president of the 2,500-member Uniformed Fire Officers Association, and Kevin Gallagher, president of the 9,000-member Uniformed Firefighters Association. Both were released without bail. Other arrested firefighters faced additional charges including inciting to riot, second degree assault, and obstruction of governmental administration.

"I've known from the beginning from the

first night that it [the World Trade Center site] would be a burial ground," stated Giuliani November 2, and that "the majority or vast majority of people would disappear because they would evaporate."

However, as a *New York Times* articles notes, if the mayor knew this from Day 1, "he kept it to himself. From the day the towers toppled into a vast pile of rubble, he described the scene as a rescue operation and hewed to that description for nearly a month.... Indeed, emergency room employees stood eerily idle from the first hour on."

Other developments that indicate this trend include:

- A report filed by Michael Ellison in the October 26 *Guardian*, a London-based paper, said the number killed in the attack "might have been overestimated by 2,000 people.... New York city officials say 4,964 are dead or missing," while figures compiled by the *Times*, *USA Today*, and the Associated Press put the figure at between 2,625 and 2,950.

- In the weeks following the attack news reports and statements by public officials added to the national hysteria by citing figures of as many as 10,000 orphans in need of a home. The New York State Office of Children and Family Services said they were swamped with calls of people offering to adopt a "World Trade Center" orphan. The facts? There are none. "Not a single documented case of a child who lost both parents," admitted an October 26 *Times* article.

- Among those on the missing list, however, are several top executives of First Equity Enterprises, which had offices on the 15th floor of 2 World Trade Center. It turns out these executives vanished September 11, but not in the rubble. They checked out with \$105 million of funds invested with the company by 1,400 people in 14 countries.

- The Red Cross has had a number of bad moments lately, as its eagerness to cash in on the attacks has not fit the image the outfit seeks to portray.

At the end of October they announced they were suspending any further fund-raising for victims of the September 11 attack, already having hauled in \$547 million—nearly half of the \$1.2 billion pledged to all charities collecting funds. (Using the 3,000 figure as the approximate number of people killed, this averages out to about \$400,000 for each victim.) Red Cross officials finally admitted that they had raised so much money that they planned to hold as much as \$247 million in reserve, for use in future terrorist attacks. A number of other charities said the announcement should have come earlier, as the Red Cross's extensive network dominated the field, making it hard for them to solicit funds too.

Several days earlier, Dr. Bernandine Healy, said at an emotional press conference that she was being forced to quit her \$450,000-a-year job as president of the Red Cross. Among the issues in dispute between Healy and the organization's board was her handling of blood donations. According to a *Times* article, "She had been so aggressive in appealing for blood that was not needed that some red blood cells had expired." The plasma was apparently salvaged for other uses.

- Continental became the second airline company to post a third-quarter profit this year, thanks to a \$243 million infusion received from the federal government. Northwest said last week it raked in \$19 million; Continental reported a \$3 million haul despite a 15 percent drop in revenues. The government handout was part of a \$15 billion package the airline bosses received in the aftermath of September 11.

'Release the detainees!'

Continued from front page

in detention in the United States has risen to 30,000."

DRUM, which works with immigrants of South Asian descent, has been campaigning to tell the stories of those held since September 11 who have been denied access to lawyers, family members, and held without charges. Maulik remarked that arrests of immigrants will increase with the passage of the "USA Patriot Act" and encouraged those in the crowd to continue to organize protest actions and speak out against the attacks.

The "USA Patriot Act," signed into law by President George Bush on October 26, gives the FBI and other political police agencies a wider latitude to conduct spying and disruption operations and to carry out arbitrary searches and seizures. Under its provisions, immigrants can be jailed for up to six months without charges being filed.

Miamians organize nationwide fight

Continued from front page

press conference in front of the plant. The only working-class candidate in the mayoral race, Italie has been speaking out against Washington's war on Afghanistan, defending the Cuban Revolution, and championing struggles by unionists, farmers, opponents of police brutality, and other working people.

"They didn't claim that I was doing a poor job as a sewing machine operator, or that something I did on the job was disruptive," Italie said. "They fired me simply for running for public office in the city of Miami and expressing certain political positions—that is outrageous and unconstitutional.

Reaching out for support

"My supporters and I are reaching out for support here in Miami, in Florida, and across the country. We urge other defenders of freedom of speech—prominent civil libertarians, unionists, farmers, Black rights organizations, student groups, and others—to call on the city authorities, who are responsible for enforcing the law, to demand that Goodwill Industries reinstate me. We can get broad support, including among those who don't agree with me on different political issues."

He added, "If Goodwill gets away with its victimization of a worker for the advocacy of ideas, other employers will try to do the same. This is an attack on the rights of all working people. Our goal is to make it harder for bosses to fire anyone for expressing ideas they disapprove of."

Italie, who was interviewed in Spanish by Channel 51 across from the plant gate, talked with a number of his co-workers as they came out of work, and handed out a sheet explaining the facts and soliciting support.

Dozens of workers took the fliers and many gave him a friendly response. "Mike is a good worker," said a 33-year-old sewing machine operator who is originally from Haiti. He said he had been surprised when he heard Italie had been fired October 22.

"Bosses here sometimes yell at us, and then they claim we don't have a right to object to their abuse," said another worker, who said he too was against the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan.

'Trying to suppress certain views'

A number of supporters of Italie's fight attended the press conference, including Kevin Blair, an organizer for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Florida; activists in the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba and the Antonio Maceo Brigade; and other workers and young people.

Andrés Gómez, national coordinator of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, stated, "It's important to coordinate this effort and make it national. It's outrageous for a candidate to be fired and deprived of his job for expressing political views. This action by Goodwill is a dangerous one."

Sidney Royal, a retired health service worker who is Black, stated, "It's only certain views this company is trying to suppress." The company doesn't want workers to oppose the U.S. war on Afghanistan and anti-Arab chauvinism, he said.

Italie said that although the general election is over, the fight against the political firing has just begun. The mayoral race will continue with a runoff election on Novem-

ber 13 between two wealthy Democratic politicians, Maurice Ferré and Manuel Díaz.

The previous Saturday night, November 3, some 40 people turned out for a special Militant Labor Forum to protest Italie's firing. Volunteers began showing up at Italie's campaign offices early in the afternoon. Heather Page, 20, and Aldo Nahed, 24, who have been involved in the fight from the start, helped paint banners and signs and set up the meeting hall. Two students, Marcos and Janetsi Cutrera, showed up with their father, Tony Cutrera, a Puerto Rican worker who is a supporter of the Cuban Revolution. Tony and Janetsi, a high school student, helped translate defense literature while Marcos, a sophomore in college, designed a display of media coverage on the case and then videotaped the evening program.

The crowd included other young people who had attended one or more of Italie's campaign events on campus. Participants also came from an ad hoc coalition that has called several protests against the U.S. war against Afghanistan; the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba; and Alianza Martiana, a grouping made up mostly of Cuban-Americans who oppose the U.S. embargo against the island.

Part of assault on working class

Ernie Mailhot, a meat packer from Seattle and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, noted that the Goodwill bosses' firing of Italie is part of the assault on workers' rights that is accelerating as Washington escalates its imperialist war against Afghanistan. To achieve its goal of imposing a stable U.S. protectorate in that Central Asian country, he said, Washington "is going to have to use ground troops. As they bring back bodybags, they will try to whip up a patriotic war campaign to a high pitch."

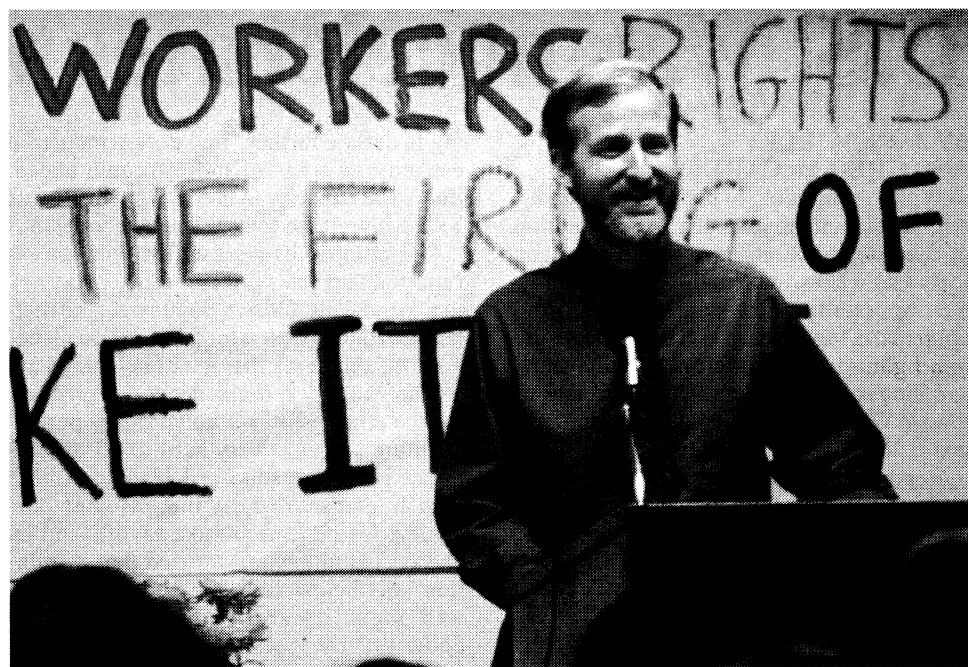
The most important resistance to the U.S. rulers' war aims, Mailhot said, is the working-class struggles that are unfolding around the country, from the strike by meat packers in Toppenish, Washington, to the protests against police brutality in Florida. In targeting workers like Italie, he added, "what the bosses are concerned about is this resistance that's beginning among our class."

Mailhot, who was active in the workers movement in Miami for more than a decade, recalled that he himself was fired from Eastern Airlines in 1987 after running for mayor of Miami on the Socialist Workers ticket. He received the support of his co-workers and his union and won his job back. Two years later, workers at Eastern waged an important battle against the company's union busting.

Italie explained that Goodwill had sent workers home early the day of his first news conference, held October 29 outside the plant, so they wouldn't be able to talk to him or the press. "They went to workers in my old department individually and told them not to take any of my literature." The company sent guards and supervisors out to instruct workers to refuse Italie's handouts. Most workers ignored the order.

Response to mayor's charge of 'treason'

The socialist candidate responded to a statement by incumbent mayor Joseph Carollo that Italie's ideas are "treasonous." Italie said such a statement is an attempt to intimidate anyone sharing his views. "The



Militant/Eric Simpson

Michael Italie speaks at November 3 Militant Labor Forum attended by 40 people

advocacy of ideas—including socialist ideas—is not a high crime punishable by law. I call on the mayor to retract his statement and for all the other mayoral candidates to join me in that demand," he stated.

"My party filed a lawsuit in 1973 against FBI spying and disruption. In more than 40 years of spying, they were never able to prove a single illegal act on the part of the Socialist Workers Party. Through the lawsuit, on the other hand, it was proved that the government's secret police had flagrantly violated constitutional rights."

The audience watched a set of videos prepared by Nahed of the three television stations' coverage of Italie's fight. Orlando Collado, representing the Miami Coalition to End the Embargo of Cuba, told those present, "This is an attack not just on Michael, but on the working class. Michael's views did not interfere with his performance of his job."

Also speaking was Max Rameau, representing Brothers of the Same Mind, an organization in the Black community that is fighting the state of Florida's denial of voting rights for former prisoners. Earlier that day, Italie and members of Brothers of the Same Mind joined a protest against the police killing of Alphaeus Dailey, shot in his wheelchair earlier this year.

Firefighters' case

Rameau pointed to the similarities between Italie's case and that of three firefighters in this city who are Black—William Clark, James Moore, and Terry Williams. The three were removed from their jobs and placed on paid leave shortly after September 11 when they removed a large U.S. flag from their truck. They said the flag was obstructing their view and noted it was a symbol of the oppression of Blacks and others. Rameau said it was a victory that the three firefighters were recently recalled to their jobs.

Heather Page spoke about what she has learned about "democracy" in the United States through the war in Afghanistan, Italie's firing, and other events. "I was brought up thinking I was free," she began. "As I got older I saw the injustices this government carries out.... We're not free. They're not sticking by any of the rights they say we have."

"They would like us to think that this reality cannot be changed. Go out and tell people we're not powerless."

Sherie Bevel, a student at Florida International University South and chairperson of the campus Philosophy Club, spoke in a similar vein. "Keep speaking out!" she urged Italie. "Let's let young people know it's their birthright to speak and think."

Juan Carlos Zamora, representing the Alianza Martiana, called for Italie to "exercise his right to speak his mind without fear."

Supporters agreed to meet the following Thursday to draw up a plan of action to win broader support. More than \$400 was raised for the defense effort in cash and pledges.

A number of supporters of Italie's fight have begun circulating a petition, which was presented and discussed at the November 3 forum, to demand that the Miami mayor and city commissioners put pressure on Goodwill Industries to reinstate Italie. Among the dozens of initial signers are eight workers at a meatpacking plant in Ft. Lauderdale. Several of these workers signed even though they do not share Italie's stance on the U.S. war in Central Asia or on the Cuban Revolution.

Italie was fired October 22 a few days after participating in a televised candidates' forum at Miami-Dade Community College, attended by 400 students and faculty. He was

the only candidate to present a working-class platform and speak out against the imperialist invasion of Afghanistan.

Goodwill CEO Dennis Pastrana told the *Miami Herald* in an October 30 article that Italie was fired "to preserve the integrity of the flag that we produce...without having influences in our organization that are contrary to the American way of life." The company, which calls itself a nonprofit establishment and received federal subsidies, manufactures military uniforms and U.S. flags. It is notoriously antiunion and pays many workers well below the minimum wage.

A constitutional firing?

The firing and the decision by Italie and his supporters to protest the political victimization have sparked a growing debate in the media and political circles.

In an article in the October 31 *Miami Herald*, the president of the Greater Miami chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Lida Rodriguez-Taseff, was quoted as saying, "Employees don't have a First Amendment right to express their political views if they work for private employers. Employers have a First Amendment right to associate with people who have political opinions they approve of." Her assertion echoed Goodwill's position.

On November 6 the *Herald* printed a letter to the editor from Marc Silverstein of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. "This political firing is a complete violation of our First Amendment rights," said Silverstein. The local ACLU chapter "has decided not to support Italie because it says it is not unlawful for an employer to fire a person for his or her political views. This is clearly unjust and must be changed. All civil libertarians and people concerned with free speech and the rights of workers should support Italie's campaign today."

John Due, an attorney and longtime civil rights activist, issued a statement objecting to the local ACLU chapter's stance. "We cannot permit so-called private organizations, such as Goodwill, which is a public charity with federal tax exemption, which has a license from the city and county to operate, to hide behind claimed private property rights to chill the expression of free speech. To claim that such a case is not winnable is the same excuse used by the Justice Department for failing to protect the human rights of civil rights activists in Mississippi in the 60s."

On November 7 the *Herald* published an article, titled "Forced patriotism is oppression," by columnist Robert Steinback, who has frequently written on issues of civil liberties and Black rights. Steinback wrote, "Italie's firing, in a word, stinks.... He was fired for what he chooses to believe" (see article reprinted on page 9).

The same day, radio commentator Francisco Aruca discussed Italie's firing during his popular morning program on Radio Progreso. Italie called in to speak about his fight and answer a few questions by Aruca. Several people who heard the program later called the Socialist Workers campaign offices to express their support.

A talk show host in Ft. Myers, Florida, called Italie after hearing the program, and arranged to do a live interview with him November 10.

Statements demanding Italie's reinstatement and donations to cover the costs of this campaign for justice should be sent to the Committee to Defend Freedom of Speech and the Bill of Rights, P.O. Box 510127, Miami, FL 33151-0127.

Young Socialists Weekend

Chicago, Illinois November 17-18

* Talk by Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member: The working-class and the struggle against imperialism today; Expanding opportunities to build the communist movement.

Panel discussion of Young Socialists campaigning against imperialism and war, supporting union struggles, and defending immigrant rights.

Meet Mike Italie, recent socialist candidate for mayor in Miami; fired from Goodwill Industries garment plant for speaking out against U.S. war in Afghanistan and for supporting of the Cuban Revolution.

Young Socialists National Leadership Council Meeting.

For more information, call the Young Socialists in Chicago at 773-342-1780.

Socialist miner joins debates in Pittsburgh

BY LARRY QUINN
AND DIANA NEWBERRY

PITTSBURGH—Coal miner and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh Frank Forrestal carried out an intensive two weeks of campaigning here leading up to the November 6 elections, presenting a fighting, working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

"My campaign is directed at working people, the unemployed, trade unionists, workers resisting employers' attacks, and youth who want to fight for a better and just world," Forrestal said at a live televised debate November 2 sponsored by the League of Women Voters where all mayoral candidates were present. "My starting point is not meeting the standards of Wall Street bond ratings agencies, but defending the interests of working people."

"I am running because working people in Pittsburgh need an alternative to the big-business parties of the Democrats and Republicans," he said. "I am the only candidate speaking against Washington and London's war—now in its 27th day—against the people of Afghanistan. I am opposed to the stepped-up campaign by the government on all levels to the unrelenting attack on our rights in this country."

In his statement Forrestal spoke out against the frame-up of Salam Ibrahim El Zaatar, a student at the Art Institute of Pittsburgh. Zaatar is being indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of trying to board a plane here with a utility knife in his carry-on bag while on his way home to Lebanon to see his parents.

"Our campaign sets an example," Forrestal concluded at the debate. "It points to the need for independent working-class political action, and at the same time it underscores the need to build a revolutionary working-class party in the United States, a party whose goal is to fight for a workers and farmers government."

Forrestal is a member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and works underground. He has joined with his union in actions against the coal bosses' drive to undercut safety in the mines, weaken the UMWA, impose speedup on mine workers, and run roughshod over communities in the coal mining region.

Over the last two weeks of the campaign Forrestal participated in a "Mayor's Night" program, and two debates, one aired live on PCNC television and replayed the following night. He also participated in a candidates night sponsored by the West End

Elliott Citizens Council.

After a debate at Carnegie Library, two workers approached the socialist candidate for more discussion. One was a technician for the debate, the other the janitor at the library. "You won the debate," the janitor told Forrestal. A Republican candidate, frustrated with the coal miner's political explanations, blurted out, "The problem isn't always capitalism!" but later told Forrestal in front of several other people that Karl Marx was right about one thing: that workers are exploited by the capitalist class.

The Socialist Workers mayoral campaign received attention in several local newspapers as well. Between interviews and comments on the campaign in editorials, the Forrestal campaign was covered in the *New Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the *Tribune-Review*, and the *City Paper*. Only one decided to print the socialist candidate's statements against the imperialist war against Afghanistan. The campaign was also mentioned on at least two AM radio stations.

At the League of Women Voters debate the candidates were asked questions on crime, taxes, and "how to make Pittsburgh safe against terrorist attacks."

Forrestal responded by saying he sees

what government officials call the "war on crime" is really a war on the Black community. In Pennsylvania, he pointed out, Blacks are imprisoned at a rate 14 times higher than whites. The socialist worker said he would fight to eliminate all taxes on working people and is for a sharply graduated income tax on the wealthy.

Forrestal encouraged working people to continue to fight for their rights and against employer assaults in the face of patriotic appeals to back the war effort by the bosses and their government. He pointed to the example of miners in Alabama who are fighting back after an explosion killed 13 miners at the Jim Walter No. 5 mine.

At one point during the program Mayor Tom Murphy boasted about creating jobs in Pittsburgh. Forrestal responded that US Airways had just laid off 24 percent of its workforce, affecting close to 2,000 workers in Pittsburgh, even while the company is receiving tens of millions of dollars in government subsidies that workers will never see.

In an interview with the *Militant*, the socialist candidate called for full employment coverage at union-scale wages for workers out of a job; a massive government public works program and shortening of the workweek with no cut in pay to create jobs; and cancellation of the Third World debt through which the big imperialist banks and financial institutions are bringing economic ruin on working people in those countries.

Throughout the campaign Forrestal has been promoting Pathfinder books such as *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, *Capitalism's World Disorder*, *Fighting Racism in World War II*, and *Labor's Giant Step* as useful tools in his campaign to get out the truth about U.S. imperialism and its wars, the true history of working-class struggle, and the possibilities for building a revolutionary leadership of working people in the United States.

At a wrap-up campaign event at the Pathfinder bookstore here, the candidate encouraged everyone present to help in the effort to get these books, as well as many other Pathfinder titles, into hands of workers, farmers, and youth, as well as onto shelves of bookstores and libraries in the area.

'Forced patriotism is oppression'

The following opinion column appeared on the front page of the Metro Section of the *Miami Herald* on November 7.

BY ROBERT STEINBACK

America: Love it or leave it.

A declaration of patriotism? I call it advocacy of tyranny.

Two local stories have tested our understanding of American values in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks.

Michael Italie, a candidate for mayor of Miami, was fired from his job at Goodwill Industries a week ago because he represents the extreme-left Socialist Workers Party.

Three Miami-Dade County firefighters who expressed their view that the American flag symbolizes oppression of black people have been so vilified by the public that they might be unable to resume their careers.

The recent surge in flag-waving and anthem-singing has stirred a patriotic fervor in Americans unmatched since World War II.

But this caffeine jolt of nationalism has obscured a more complex dimension of Americanism—that our special brand of freedom requires restraint, wisdom and courage, and not just rah-rah boosterism.

Patriotism American style can't be compulsory; otherwise, it's just oppression. Dissent isn't treason.

Italie, who didn't campaign vigorously, has supported Cuba's communist revolution and condemned U.S. bombing in Afghanistan. Goodwill CEO Dennis Pastrana, himself an exile from Castro's Cuba, fired Italie from his minimum-wage job sewing jackets for the military.

Ideology unprotected

Italie's firing almost certainly is legal. Freedom of opinion doesn't extend inside private companies, which can discriminate on any basis other than race, sex, religion or national origin and, in some locations, age and sexual orientation. Discrimination by ideology is fair game.

But is it in keeping with the true spirit of what America represents?

Italie's firing, in a word, stinks. He wasn't accused of disrupting his workplace with his ideas, neglecting his duties or proselytizing his political views. He was fired for what he chooses to believe.

"I think the man has treasonous points of view," Miami Mayor Joe Carollo said of Italie. "He would have made Benedict Arnold seem like a patriot."

That's just plain wrong.

The Constitution states, "Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

That's it. There's nothing in Article III, Section 3 about political ideology, nothing about loving or honoring the flag, nothing,

even, about loving or honoring America.

Similarly, I've been disappointed by the number of readers who have said the three firefighters didn't deserve to hold their jobs, given their views about the flag—even though they never failed to perform their assigned duties. Many readers felt patriotism is obligatory for government workers like firefighters.

Wrote one reader: "Disrespect to the flag of your country is tantamount to treason."

The Constitution says otherwise.

It's valid to argue that every American should love America. But this is a far cry from arguing that every American must love America.

Throughout most of human history, and

in much of the world at the dawn of the 21st century, dissent has been crushed by force. If we're not careful, we Americans can lapse into this same knee-jerk instinct to crush what we don't like.

Here, dissent should be met with intellect, rhetoric and reason. Americans are free to listen to all ideologies and decide which to embrace or reject. We are strong because we hear all views and collectively choose our national course.

Call this the American version of the Serenity Prayer: Grant us the restraint to avoid strangling opposing views, the wisdom to evaluate them serenely, and the courage to continue doing the right thing even when others don't get it.

New York socialist speaks to students, workers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—In the final weeks of his election campaign Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York Martin Koppel received a serious hearing from workers and students at street corner campaign tables, a number of political events, and speaking engagements.

Koppel joined his supporters in campaigning on the streets from Washington Heights in Manhattan to Sunset Park in Brooklyn. He engaged students in discussion at Hostos College, Columbia University, New York University (NYU), and Brooklyn College. He took part in a picket in front of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) offices protesting the detention of immigrant workers; campaigned among garment workers coming off the job at Bush Terminal in Brooklyn; attended a house meeting hosted by a worker in Harlem; and participated in a Young Socialists fund-raising dinner.

Among the central political points Koppel explained in the course of his campaign was the imperialist character of the U.S.-British assault on Afghanistan, how it is part and parcel of the accelerated attacks on workers' rights in the United States and worldwide, and the growing opportunities for building a movement to replace the rule of the capitalist warmakers with a workers and farmers government.

Koppel joined more than 50 other activists in picketing the INS offices in Manhattan November 1 to protest the roundup and detention without charges of more than 1,000 immigrant workers since September 11. At the demonstration he spoke with members of South Asian rights community organizations and was interviewed by WNYC radio and *Hoy*.

Several days earlier the candidate had been well received by garment workers during a plant-gate visit to Bush Terminal in Brooklyn. A number of workers stopped by the campaign literature table set up outside the

gates, purchasing four copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, two *Militants*, and one *New International*. Several spoke about the way the bosses are using the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center as justification for not paying their employees. A *Militant* article about the fight being waged by garment workers in San Francisco for \$850,000 in back pay caught their interest.

Five workers attended the house meeting in Harlem—one originally from Jamaica, and the other four hailing from the West African countries of Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, and Burkina Faso. Discussion was lively and covered a wide range of political topics, from the ideas of Malcolm X, to the decline of Stalinism, working-class resistance today, and the history of the SWP.

A 22-year-old Dominican worker was among those who attended a campaign forum featuring Koppel in Upper Manhattan. He had recently met the Young Socialists and SWP at a campaign table in Washington Heights. He has since taken part in classes hosted by the two groups on *New International* no. 7 and has expressed interest in joining the YS.

Three students participated with others in a meeting with the socialist candidate at New York University November 1. One of them expressed interest in attending the YS class series being held in the Garment District on



Militant/Angel Larisey
Above, Socialist Workers New York mayoral candidate Martin Koppel, participating in picket line in front of INS building November 1 to demand release of more than 1,000 people detained since September 11 attack. Left, Koppel is interviewed by reporter.

"Communism and Labor's Transformation of Nature," a recent series in the *Militant*.

At Brooklyn College the socialist mayoral candidate met with representatives of the Black Student Union and the Puerto Rican Alliance who plan to sponsor a meeting for Koppel on November 20. The administration had given them flak about having a candidate speak on campus. Koppel explained that he would be eager to come back for an event after election day because the socialists' campaign to win support for their political perspective continues 365 days a year.

U.S. rulers expand military aid to Colombia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As it drives forward with its war against Afghanistan, Washington is also stepping up its military operations in Latin America, also under the guise of "fighting terrorism." The Pentagon is building on steps begun under the Clinton administration to station troops and equipment at military bases in Ecuador, El Salvador, and the Netherlands Antilles and deploying forces throughout the region for military exercises. One focus of this campaign is increased military collaboration with and support to the regime in Colombia.

At the end of October, the Bush administration announced it will provide the Colombian government with "counter-terrorist aid" in addition to the multibillion dollar military package already given to the regime allegedly to fight drug trafficking. An October 26 Associated press release said that this latest round of military aid will be to "to train and equip elite anti-kidnapping and bomb squads, assist civilian and military counter-terror investigators," according to Anne Patterson, the U.S. ambassador to Colombia.

Backing this effort, "U.S. senators have already called for Colombia's war against drugs to evolve into the war against terrorism," commented an October 27 *Financial Times* article. The U.S. State Department has placed on its list of foreign terrorist organizations the 20,000-strong Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)—which controls up to 40 percent of the country—and the smaller National Liberation Army (ELN).

In July 2000 the U.S. Congress passed a two-year \$1.3 billion military aid package to the government of Colombia. This included supplying the regime with an armada of 18 Blackhawk and 42 Huey military helicopters, and providing some 150 military "advisers" to train Colombian army battalions for use in fighting rebel organizations. Landlord and capitalist forces in the country also back rightist paramilitary groups with close ties to Colombia's army, which are used to conduct a campaign of terror against peasants and working-class fighters. They've carried out thousands of documented political killings over the past several years.

Just as "the Taliban regime and Osama bin Laden do not represent Islam," Patterson arrogantly proclaimed, "the terrorist and drug trafficking groups in Colombia show their cynicism and hypocrisy when they say they are seeking social justice."

Patterson made clear that plans for this stepped-up aid and "intelligence" assistance was already in the works prior to the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, but now these efforts are "intensifying."

U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell said that the FARC was in the same league as al-Qaeda, bin Laden's organization. According to a *Financial Times* article, "President George Bush has summoned Mr. Pastrana to Washington" for a November 11 meeting. This move, the financial daily notes, "reflects a growing frustration with President Andres Pastrana's failure to deal with his warring factions in the name of terrorism." One of the additional steps that Washington is seeking is the extradition of rebel and rightist paramilitary members to face charges in the United States.

The new moves to deepen U.S. military intervention in Colombia comes amidst a sharpening of a long-term economic crisis in the country. Some 600,000 state workers held a 24-hour national strike November 1 against the austerity policies of the Pastrana regime and a rising unemployment esti-



Under the guise of fighting terrorism, Washington is stepping up its military intervention into Colombia and use of bases in Ecuador, El Salvador, and Netherlands Antilles.

mated at about 25 percent. "There are also 2 million people displaced by violence and an impoverished peasantry," said Julio Gomez, president of the General Workers of Colombia.

Washington's interest in defeating the armed opposition forces also stems from the potential to increase oil imports from the country, as 30 oil companies, nine of them new to Colombia, have signed exploration contracts for nearly 50 oil fields. Though currently with less than 1 percent of the world's total proven reserves, Colombia is Latin America's third-largest oil exporter. Some 16 percent of U.S. oil imports currently come from Venezuela, a country that Washington has increasingly shaky relations with.

In addition to the growing military collaboration with the Colombian regime, the U.S. government signed a 10-year lease for use of a military base in Manta, Ecuador, at the end of 1999. Washington has upgraded the facility for the stationing of some 200

U.S. military and civilian personnel there. According to Gen. Charles Wilhelm, the commander in chief of the U.S. Southern Command, this facility "enables us to achieve full coverage of Peru, Colombia, and...areas of Bolivia."

Expanding U.S. military bases in region

The U.S. military has also exclusive use of the Comalapa International Airport in El Salvador and airfields in the Dutch colonies of Aruba and Curaçao.

In Argentina, the U.S. rulers are also targeting the working-class resistance centered around the northern province of Salta, justifying their moves once again in the name of fighting terrorism. Workers and peasants there have been involved in ongoing protests against wage cuts and attacks on other social gains. From August 22 through September 11 the Pentagon conducted what it described as its "largest joint combined service exercise" in the region, with 400 U.S. troops joining 900 military personnel from

Wall of bipartisan support for imperialist war

BY JACK WILLEY

A solid wall of bipartisan support in Congress marks the U.S.-led war against Afghanistan and the course pursued by the Bush administration, with no alternative being put forward by liberal bourgeois forces. For example, a November 2 *New York Times* editorial, "Getting Ready for the Ground War," urged Washington to "step up preparations for what is almost sure to be the next phase of the conflict, an intensified ground campaign." The liberal capitalist daily called the carpet bombing by B-52s of "Taliban front lines outside of Kabul" to be "useful steps in that direction."

A week earlier Sen. Joseph Biden, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, raised some tactical differences with the administration, but was quickly admonished for his statement.

Biden had said he did not know how much longer Bush's "honeymoon" or "unquestioning period of unabashed support for the president's policy will continue." He raised that a long U.S. bombing campaign in Afghanistan "plays into every stereotypical criticism of us [that] we're this high-tech bully that thinks from the air we can do whatever we want to do, and it builds the case for those who want to make the case against us that all we're doing is indiscriminately bombing innocents, which is not the truth."

House Speaker Dennis Hastert called Biden's comments "completely irresponsible." He added, "The last thing our country needs right now is Sen. Joe Biden calling our armed forces 'a high-tech bully.' The American people expect their representatives and senators to support these operations and to support our men and women in uniform."

Rep. Thomas Davis, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, called Biden's remarks "outrageous and negligent." It is irresponsible "to suggest to the world that our bipartisan resolve is waning," he said.

A momentary stir was also raised by The Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund, which sent a letter to *The Times* of London

objecting to the use of cluster bombs by the U.S. and British forces. A recent report by the fund on the impact of cluster bombs states that 35,000 unexploded bomblets were left on the ground in Kosovo and are still killing one person a week there. A Pentagon official speaking on condition of anonymity told the *Associated Press* the U.S. military does not get involved in clearing unexploded weapons, and did not do so in Kosovo.

Cluster bombs are "being used on front-line al-Qaeda and Taliban troops to try to kill them, [that's] why we're using them, to be perfectly blunt," U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld told the press November 2, in response to criticisms by some food aid groups that the antipersonnel bombs are killing civilians in Afghanistan.

Each cluster bomb contains 200 bright yellow bomblets that on detonation spray out shrapnel and set fire to any combustible material nearby. They are the same color as tens of thousands of food packages Washington has dropped over Afghanistan.

In a measure that tries to cover up the mounting human toll from cluster bombs, Washington's radio broadcasts into Afghanistan have added a "safety warning" about how to distinguish between the food-drop packages and unexploded bombs.

According to an October 29 article from *Reuters*, the announcement says, "The rations are square-shaped and are packaged in plastic.... Although it is unlikely, it is possible that not every bomb will explode on impact. These bombs are a yellow color and are can-shaped.... Exercise caution when approaching unidentified yellow objects in areas that have been recently bombed."

Muslim groups state opposition

As the war deepens and the civilian toll grows from the daily bombing campaign by U.S. and British forces, some Arab-American and Muslim organizations in the United States are beginning to speak out against the war effort, while others continue to support the assault.

"The bombing victimizes the innocents,

nearby South American countries for these operations.

U.S. officials have also raised the charge of terrorism against Daniel Ortega, the candidate for president of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua. Washington, through its political statements and expenditures of \$5.6 million to intervene in this election, has made clear that they are strongly opposed to Ortega once again becoming president of this Central American country. Ortega, who led the FSLN government in Nicaragua from the triumph of the revolution there in 1979 until 1990, was defeated by Liberal Party candidate Enrique Bolaños in the November 4 contest.

On October 4 "the State Department issued a statement reviewing the U.S. government's list of 'grave reservations' about the FSLN, adding to it 'ties to supporters of terrorism,'" according to the *Washington Post*. The following day, "a State Department official participating in a conference at the University of Pittsburgh, singled out three FSLN leaders—Tomás Borge, Lenin Cerna and Alvaro Baltanado—for harboring violent extremists from the Middle East, Europe and Latin America," the news story reported.

Washington has also announced that it is renewing military assistance to the Nicaraguan Armed Forces for the first time since the time that the dictatorial regime of Anastasio Somoza was in power in the 1970s. This will include joint naval operations under a treaty supposedly aimed at drug trafficking that went into effect at the end of October.

Meanwhile, Washington is boosting its military presence in the Philippines. About 30 U.S. "advisers" are on the southern island of Basilan to assist the Philippine Army in conducting operations against the Abu Sayyaf group. U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld insisted that the troops were there for "advice and assessment."

"But," noted an October 30 *New York Times* article, "American officials did acknowledge today that the military advisers were likely to offer more than advice in coming days."

exacerbates the humanitarian disaster, and creates widespread resentment across the Muslim world," reads an October 27 statement by a group of 15 Muslim organizations, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA).

"We also express our opposition to the extension of bombing to other countries. Such attacks will aggravate an already explosive and destabilizing situation," the statement said, adding that the organizations "express our concern about the possibility of unconstitutional measures in new antiterrorism legislation, which may curtail civil liberties in the name of security."

Naim Baig, general secretary of ICNA, told the *New York Times* that ICNA originally supported bombing Afghanistan, until reports of civilian casualties kept coming in.

Aslam Abdullah, editor of *The Minaret*, North America's top selling Muslim magazine, said the publication had "kept quiet" on the war in the initial stages, "not wanting to be seen as insensitive or political opportunists." But the November issue of the magazine will point to Washington's reactionary role in the Middle East and how it fuels anti-American sentiment.

The *New York Times* reported that one organization, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, started running advertisements on a Los Angeles radio station in mid-October saying that U.S. intervention in the Middle East has inflamed anti-American sentiment in the region. The Council pulled the ads after they and the radio station received numerous angry phone calls.

Reflecting the class divisions among Muslim organizations, some rejected the statement issued by the 15 organizations and continued their call for full support for the imperialist war. "There are issues of concern for our community, and we will get to them," Aly Abuzaakouk, director of the American Muslim Council, said. "But for now, the country is in crisis, and we need to show our loyalty to it by standing by the administration."

FROM PATHFINDER

PANAMA: The Truth about the U.S. Invasion

Cindy Jaquith, Don Rojas, Nils Castro, Fidel Castro

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

'We do not put all wars on the same plane'

Leon Trotsky explains why socialists defended China in 1937 Sino-Japanese War

In July 1937 Japanese imperialism launched an invasion of northern China, an assault that started the Sino-Japanese War. What stance to take on this political development was a major political question of the day. The Chinese government at the time was headed by the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek, who had come to power in 1927 after crushing a massive revolutionary upsurge by workers and peasants.

Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian Revolution exiled by the Joseph Stalin regime in Moscow, called on "all workers' organizations, all progressive forces in China, without abandoning their political independence," to carry out to the end "their duty in the war of liberation, regardless of their attitude toward the government of Chiang Kai-shek."

Many tendencies developed in the communist movement internationally arguing for one approach or other toward the war and China's resistance to the Japanese invasion. These included sectarian forces in the U.S. working-class movement who claimed that Trotsky's approach was a capitulation to the reactionary regime in China and that what was involved was a "war between the Japanese emperor and Chiang Kai-shek." They and others argued that the war of resistance under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek could not be progressive and advocated a defeatist policy toward the regime in the war.

Trotsky answered this argument in a September 1937 letter to Diego Rivera, who had been a member of the Mexican Communist Party. Printed below is an excerpt from the letter, which appears in the book *Leon Trotsky on China* under the title "On the Sino-Japanese War." The book is copyright © 1976 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Footnotes are by the *Militant*.



BY LEON TROTSKY

We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutionary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the tsar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy...at all events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abd-el-Krim¹ rose up against France, the democrats and Social Democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a "savage tyrant" against the "democracy." The party of Léon Blum² supported this point of view. But we, Marxists

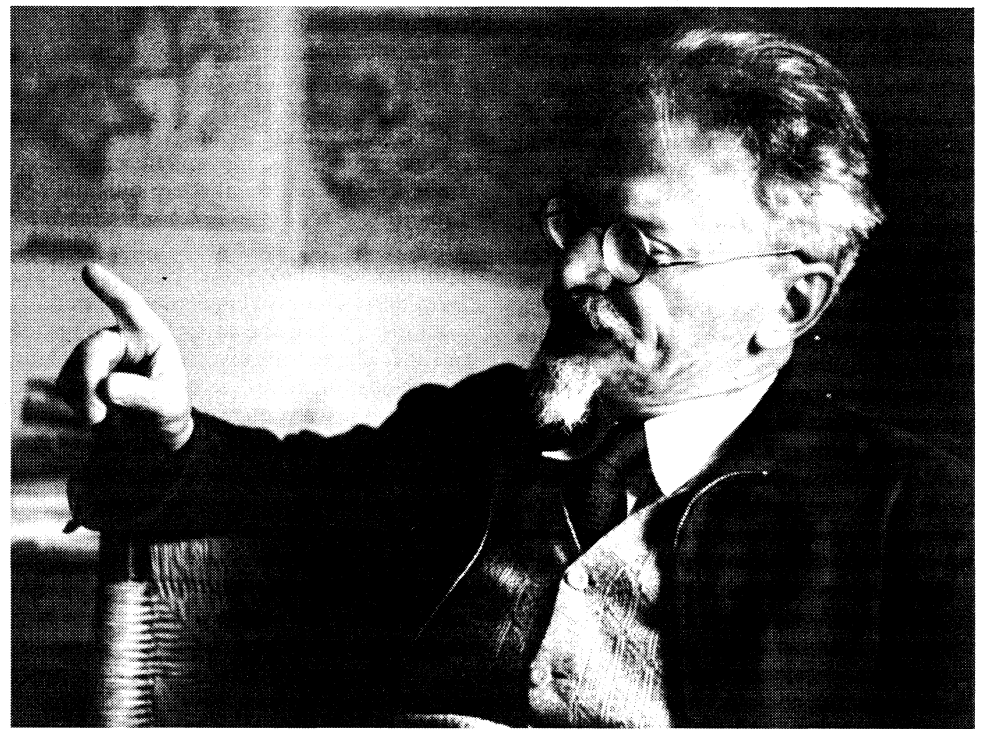
and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Rifians against imperialist domination as a progressive war. Lenin wrote hundreds of pages demonstrating the primary necessity of distinguishing between imperialist nations and the colonial and semicolonial nations which comprise the great majority of humanity. To speak of "revolutionary defeatism" in general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists.

In the Far East we have a classic example. China is a semicolonial country which Japan is transforming, under our very eyes, into a colonial country. Japan's struggle is imperialist and reactionary. China's struggle is emancipatory and progressive.

But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.

Let us use the example of a strike to clarify the question. We do not support all strikes. If, for example, a strike is called for the exclusion of Negro, Chinese, or Japanese workers from a factory, we are opposed to that strike. But if a strike aims at bettering—insofar as it can—the conditions of the workers, we are the first to participate in it, whatever the leadership. In the vast majority of strikes, the leaders are reformists, traitors by profession, agents of capital. They oppose every strike. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the objective situation forces them into the path of struggle.

Let us imagine, for an instant, a worker saying to himself: "I do not want to participate in the strike because the leaders are agents of capital." This doctrine of this ultraleft imbecile would serve to brand him by his real name: a *strikebreaker*. The case of the Sino-Japanese War, is from this point of view, entirely analogous. If Japan is an imperialist country and if China is the victim of imperialism, we favor China. Japanese patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive. To place the two



Leon Trotsky in Coyoacán, Mexico, in late 1930s. "Marxists and Bolsheviks consider struggles against imperialist domination as progressive wars," Trotsky wrote in 1937.

on the same plane and to speak of "social patriotism" can be done only by those who have read nothing of Lenin, who have understood nothing of the attitude of the Bolsheviks during the imperialist war, and who can but compromise and prostitute the teachings of Marxism. The Eiffelites³ have heard that the social patriots accuse the internationalists of being the agents of the enemy and they tell us: "You are doing the same thing." In a war between two *imperialist* countries, it is a question neither of democracy nor of national independence, but of the oppression of backward nonimperialist peoples. In such a war the two countries find themselves on the same historical plane. The revolutionaries in both armies are defeatists. But Japan and China are not on the same historical plane.

The victory of Japan will signify the enslavement of China, the end of her economic and social development, and the terrible strengthening of Japanese imperialism. The victory of China will signify, on the contrary, the social revolution in Japan and the free development, that is to say unhindered by external oppression, of the class struggle in China. But can Chiang Kai-shek assure the victory? I do not believe so. It is he, however, who began the war and who today directs it. To be able to replace him it is necessary to gain decisive influence among the proletariat and in the army, and to do

this it is necessary not to remain suspended in the air but to place oneself in the midst of the struggle.

¹ The Berber tribes of the Rif region of Morocco revolted against Spanish colonial rule in 1921 under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim. At that time the Republic of the Rif was founded with Abd el-Krim as its president. Overcoming tribal rivalries, Krim began organizing a centralized administration based upon traditional tribal institutions. The Rifians defeated the Spanish forces in 1924, and attacked the French sector the following year but were defeated in 1926 by a combined Spanish and French military force of 250,000 troops. The French and Spanish imperialists saw the Rifian movement as a threat to their colonial possessions in North Africa.

² Léon Blum was the central leader of the French Socialist Party in the 1930s and was prime minister of the Popular Front government that came to power in 1936 in the midst of a massive upsurge of French workers. The regime collapsed in 1937 after following a policy of subordinating workers' interests to those of a "progressive" section of the wealthy ruling minority and losing its attractiveness as a stopgap solution for the French capitalist class.

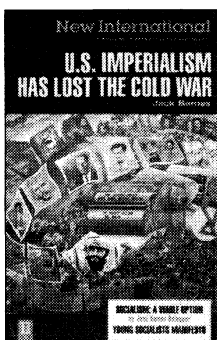
³ The Eiffelites were followers of Paul Eiffel, leader of a tiny political grouping within the workers movement in the United States. They publicly challenged Trotsky's stand on the Sino-Japanese War.

From Pathfinder: for further reading

New Internationals:

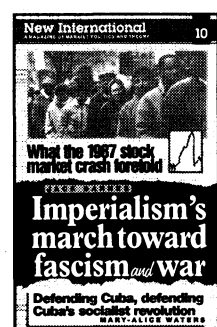
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U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War by Jack Barnes and The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today by Mary-Alice Waters. Two programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party. **\$14.00**



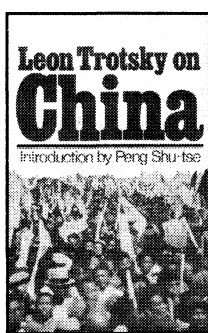
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Articles and letters on the Chinese revolution of the 1920s, recording the fight to reverse Stalin's disastrous course of subordinating the Communist Party there to an alliance with the capitalist Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), and writings in the 1930s on the centrality of China's struggle against Japanese and U.S. imperialism. **\$34.95**



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Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

Bolshevik leaders on connection between wars and class struggle

Below is an excerpt from *Socialism and War*, a pamphlet which summed up the position on World War I of the Bolshevik Party in Russia. It was published in German for circulation to the delegates at the September 1915 International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. The article can be found in *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, copyright © 1984 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY V.I. LENIN
AND GREGORY ZINOVIEV

Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal. Our attitude towards war, however, is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeois pacifists (supporters and advocates of peace) and of the anarchists. We differ from the former in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle within a country; we understand that wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created; we also differ in that we regard civil wars, i.e., wars waged by an oppressed class against the oppressor class, by slaves against slaveholders, by serfs against landowners, and by wage-workers against the bourgeoisie, as fully legitimate, progressive and necessary.

We Marxists differ from both pacifists and anarchists in that we deem it necessary to study each war historically (from the stand-

point of Marx's dialectical materialism) and separately. There have been in the past numerous wars which, despite all the horrors, atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars, were progressive, i.e., benefited the development of mankind by helping to destroy most harmful and reactionary institutions (e.g., an autocracy or serfdom) and the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (the Turkish and the Russian)....

For example, if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be "just," and "defensive" wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory "Great" Powers. But imagine a slaveholder who owns 100 slaves warring against another who owns 200 slaves, for a more "just" redistribution of slaves. The use of the term of a "defensive" war, or a war "for the defence of the fatherland," would clearly be historically false in such a case and would in practice be sheer deception of the common people, philistines, and the ignorant, by the astute slaveholders. It is in this way that the peoples are being deceived with "national" ideology and the term of "defence of the fatherland," by the present-day imperialist bourgeoisie, in the war now being waged between slaveholders with the purpose of consolidating slavery.

Global TB cases rise

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The head of the World Health Organization (WHO) and World Bank have called for more urgent action against the killer disease tuberculosis (TB). Both bourgeois figures noted recently that by using inexpensive treatment programs, the disease that afflicts some 8 million people in semicolonial countries could be easily eliminated.

Writing in the *International Herald Tribune*, Gro Brundtland, the director-general of the World Health Organization (WHO), and James Wolfensohn, the president of the World Bank, urged governments to adopt a WHO program that involves a six-month course of the therapy, supervised by health-care workers. The program uses a \$10 combination of drugs designed to combat new resistant strains of the disease. "If the global community could raise an additional \$900 million annually, deaths from tuberculosis could fall dramatically within a decade, and the disease could disappear during the lifetime of today's children," they wrote. The article was aptly entitled, "Tuberculosis Can Go If We Care."

By 1998, 96 governments had adopted the WHO program, up from 19 five years earlier when it was introduced. But this only covers 10 percent of known cases worldwide.

The authors said the Afghan people, forced by the round-the-clock U.S. and British bombing to leave the country's cities, are particularly vulnerable. "In Afghanistan and Pakistan, two countries already dealing with high infection rates and now home to hundreds of thousands of refugees living in cramped conditions along the common border, the risk of even more people falling victim to the disease is very real," they wrote.

The spread of HIV-AIDS, which breaks down the body's immune system, is a major factor in the increase in deaths by TB around the globe, leading some experts to speak of a "co-epidemic." TB flourishes in crowded and unsanitary living conditions, afflicting working people in the semicolonial countries, the workers states in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and depressed urban and rural areas in imperialist countries.

A 1998 WHO report noted, "The foreign debt crisis of the 1980s made many countries reduce their support for health and social services.... Today, nearly 1.3 billion people live in absolute poverty, which is the major cause of undernourishment and ill health." WHO estimates that 95 percent of the 8 million people who contract TB each year live in semicolonial countries.

The problem is not confined to the Third World, however. According to a WHO document, in "1999 about 370,000 TB cases have been reported in the 51 member states of the...European region. Most occur in central and eastern European countries and the newly independent states of the former USSR."

Between 1984 and 1992 the incidence of TB in the United States increased by 20 percent, sweeping through prisons and striking particularly hard at AIDS sufferers. A 1998 U.S. study showed that the rate of TB infection among the Black population was eight times that among whites.

Among infectious diseases, TB, which has also been referred to as consumption, has taken more lives than any other in human history. A century ago, one in every

seven people died of it. Under capitalism it is among the diseases that strike working people owing to the conditions imposed by the employers and their government.

For example, the disease was among the afflictions suffered by children employed in producing lace, described by Frederick Engels, a cofounder with Karl Marx of the modern communist movement, in his classic 1845 study of capitalist exploitation, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. They included "general debility, frequent fainting...curvature of the spine, scrofula [a form of tuberculosis] and consumption."

In the first volume of *Capital*, published in 1867, Marx wrote that "scrofula attacking the glands, or bones, or other parts of the body, is a disease of two-thirds or more of the potters," in England's industrial districts. The condition was commonly known as "potter's asthma" or "potter's consumption."

Trotsky's stay in New York in February 1917

Continued from Page 15

he touched the petrified thing with his teeth, and finally he struck it several times against the can. But the bread did not yield. Finally he looked about him as if he were afraid or embarrassed, thrust his find under his faded coat, and shambled along down St. Mark's Place. This little episode took place on March 2, 1917. But it did not in any way interfere with the plans of the ruling class. War was inevitable, and the pacifists had to support it....

After the mysterious silence of the cables for two or three days, came the first confused reports of the uprising in Petrograd. The cosmopolitan working-class in New York was all excited. Men hoped and were afraid to hope. The American press was in a state of utter bewilderment. Journalists, interviewers, reporters, came from all sides to the offices of the *Novy Mir*. For a time our paper was the centre of interest of the New York press. Telephone-calls from the Socialist newspaper offices and organizations never stopped.

14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Reportback from World Youth Festival: Progress in Building International Anti-Imperialist Youth Movement. Speakers include Jacob Perasso, national leader of Young Socialists. Fri., Nov. 9, 7:30 p.m. 540 W. 165 St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Capitalism's March to War and Depression: What the November 10 Elections Reveal. Speaker: Ron Poulsen, Socialist Workers candidate for House of Representatives district of Watson. Sun., Nov. 18, 4:00 p.m. Level 1, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

New York City

Free The Miami Five!

Cuban Political Prisoners Unjustly Jailed in U.S. Prisons for Defending Cuba from U.S.-Based Right-Wing Terrorists

Teach-in on Saturday, November 10, 6:00 p.m. St. Mary's Episcopal Church at 521 W. 126th Street

(Amsterdam & 126th, St. Mary's Place, Take A or D train to 125th)

Suggested donation: \$5 (no one turned away for lack of funds)

Sponsored by New York City Free The Five Committee

for more information call: (212) 633-6646 or (212) 926-5757
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— CALENDAR —

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Special Meeting for the Pathfinder Fund. The War Abroad and the War at Home. Speaker: Frank Forrester, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, member, United Mine Workers. Sun., Nov. 18, 1:30 p.m. Reception/lunch at 12:30 p.m. At 10:00 a.m. there will be a class on Working-Class Resistance During World War II. All events at 1212 N. Ashland Ave., Suite 201. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

NEW YORK

Garment District

Socialist class series. Sundays at 10:30 a.m. Nov. 11: "What the 1987 stock market crash foretold," pp. 146-168, from *New International* no. 10. 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Socialist class series on *New International* no. 7. Sundays at 4:30 p.m. Nov. 11: "Washington's Third Militarization Drive" by Mary-Alice Waters. 540 W. 165 St. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

Could hire him a chauffeur— Responding to a noisy party complaint, Denver patrol car cop Christian Devinnny killed a pedestrian.



Harry Ring

The victim, Bruce Rice, was hurled 114 feet and both his legs were severed. It was ruled that Devinnny be barred from driving a patrol cruiser.

His rap sheet includes five other accidents. In three of these cases it was ruled that he was hit by the other driver.

Oh—Denver cops identified Bruce Rice as a “transient.”

Oops—An ad in the *Texas Monthly* urges a vote for David Dewhurst, Republican hopeful for lieutenant governor of Texas. The ad features a uniformed soldier against the backdrop of Old Glory.

In fact, it's a German soldier in a German uniform and displaying a German insignia and name tag. A former CIA official, Dewhurst, re-

cently was appointed Texas Homeland Security chief. He concedes he looked the ad over “a couple of times” before approving it.

Cuppa GI Starbucks—“Caffeine can help increase reaction time and improve performance for military men and women who must perform complex tasks for long periods,” a report by the National Academy of Sciences says.

‘Oh say can you see...’?—“Wrapping Ads in the Flag. Businesses use patriotic fervor to get Americans to spend.”—*Washington Post* web site.

A growth profession?—“It's been the busiest we've been in 10 years. We had to get extra chairs and commandeer extra staff. People are working very hard. We're running overtime.”—A Washington, D.C. welfare administrator.

‘Worth’ more than you thought—With apparently little respect for the privacy of the Royal Family of the United Kingdom, the Royal Rich Report asserts that the queen is at least six times wealthier than her tax payments suggest. Her actual wealth is estimated at \$2.5 billion plus. The queen's love of horses costs some \$1.4 million a

year. Our cat was visibly irked by that figure.

Social data—An Orange County, California, reader with an inclination for research, sent a one-inch display ad from the 1999 area phone book. For the year 2000, our informant advises, the ad reappears, but larger. The ads offer the services of an eviction attorney.

Even there a tad of unequal equality—Last year, the compensation for the 30 highest paid women executives was, on average \$8.7 million. For the 30 highest paid male executives, it was \$112.9 million.

Meetings back framed-up Charleston dockworkers

BY ILONA GERSH AND ERIC SIMPSON

Union-sponsored events in Detroit and Miami built support for five dockworkers in Charleston, South Carolina, who face frame-up charges of inciting to riot. The five were charged and placed under house arrest for their participation in a union picket line in January 2000 that was attacked by cops on the waterfront.

The dockworkers' union, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422, has called a solidarity rally November 14 in Charleston to coincide with the start of the trial of the five. In Detroit on October 18, Local 1422 president Ken Riley spoke to more than 100 people at a fundraiser sponsored by Local 600 of the United Auto Workers. The union president said that thanks to longshore unions in Spain, Sweden, Australia, Japan, India, Brazil, Chile, and other countries, the union has won considerable international solidarity for the Charleston 5, as the dockworkers have become known.

The January 2000 picket line was part of the ILA's fight against an attempt to introduce a nonunion stevedore company on the docks. Nordana Line shipping company began using a nonunion outfit to service its ships the year before, and the union organized a number of picket line protests against this antilabor assault. Some 600 cops in full riot gear attacked the picket line. Both workers and cops were injured in the assault. Two days before, many Local 1422 mem-

bers had joined a massive march in Columbia, South Carolina, demanding the Confederate battle flag be removed from atop the Capitol.

South Carolina's attorney general has made it clear he considers the prosecution of the Charleston 5 part of defending the antiunion “right-to-work” law in the state that is designed to prevent union contracts from stipulating all employees of a company belong to the union.

The case has won wide support across the South, where many workers see the battle as one to both defend the unions and to combat racism and discrimination.

The November 14 rally, Riley said, will “let the company know that our men will not stand alone. We will win this case,” he added. “This would not have been possible had it not been for the support we have received. If we are victorious in this struggle, the tide will begin to turn in the South. We can take the South. The South is ripe for union organizing drives. We tell everyone that wherever there's a struggle in the South, ILA Local 1422 will be there to support it.”

Backing in Miami

A crowd of about 200 longshoremen and supporters of democratic rights gathered at the Joseph Caleb Center in Miami's Liberty City to demand justice for the Charleston Five. The meeting was cosponsored by South Florida Jobs with Justice and International Longshoreman Association (ILA) Local 1416. This first meeting in Miami sup-



Militant/Naomi Craine

Rally to “Free Charleston Five” at Labor Day picnic in Ladson, South Carolina.

porting the case won broad sponsorship from local unions. The majority of the longshore local in Miami is African-American.

Riley said the state government organized the army of 600 riot police to attack the peaceful ILA picket line “to show us up as a bunch of thugs” as part of their drive to keep South Carolina union-free. Riley said the police were bused into town in Department of Corrections buses and used patrol boats and helicopters as part of their union-

busting attack.

The ILA president said the union had won a major victory recently with the lifting of the house arrest of the five trade unionists. He said that dockworkers in ports around the world have told him that November 14 will “not go unnoticed.” More than \$1,000 was raised at the meeting for the defense fund.

Ilona Gersh, a member of the United Auto Workers, filed a report from Detroit. Eric Simpson is reporting from Miami.

Ohio steelworkers strike against cuts in pension and health benefits

BY TONY PRINCE

CALDWELL, Ohio—Defending their pension and health insurance plans, 370 workers at the Dana Corporation set up picket lines October 14, a week after the union contract expired. The workers, members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 4836, voted down the company's takeback offer by a 90 percent margin. The company makes bushings and washers for the automobile and other industries.

At the local's union hall, negotiating committee member Mark Chicwak said the company is seeking to make workers pay up to \$400 a year in medical deductibles and 20 percent of the medical bills. Under the expired contract workers paid only \$10 for a doctor visit and \$5 for a prescription. Additionally, the company is demanding that the workers for the first time pay a premium for their insurance.

As far as pensions are concerned, Chicwak explained that “when JP Industries bought the plant in 1987 they didn't take responsibility for the pension plan. So that means that no matter how long a person has been working here, their seniority for calculating their pension only begins in 1987.” For example, of the 28 years Chicwak has

been working at the plant, only 14 years are applied toward his pension. The company's demand is to freeze the level of the pension payments at \$24 a month per year of employment. With an average age of 46, workers at the plant place a high priority on maintaining the pension plan.

“Once you give something up you never get it back,” said union member Mark Graves. “It didn't take much time to decide what we were going to do with the contract once it got out on the floor,” Graves continued. “So the company sent people out on the floor trying to sell the contract, saying we didn't understand it.”

Striker Jerry Mosser added that a lot of workers “were furious about the contract. The company safety director wanted some of us to come to a meeting so he could ‘explain’ the contract to us. I told him, ‘I don't appreciate you telling me I don't know how to read,’ and that was the end of that.”

To build solidarity for their strike, the local sent a team to talk to workers and pass out flyers at another Dana plant of about 300 workers in Bellefontaine, Ohio. “We got a very good response,” said Chicwak, “no negative comments at all. This week we are going to a Dana plant in Lima, Ohio, which is one of four plants with contracts expiring on December 3.”

Schafer added, “You could count the local businesses that haven't supported us on one hand.” A big banner in the union hall lists the supporters of the fight by Local 4836.

A group of workers from Magnetic Specialty, Inc. (MSI), in nearby Marietta, Ohio, came here during the first week of the strike to express their support. Steelworkers at Dana supported a two-year fight by workers at MSI that ended in 1999.

25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



November 19, 1976

Until 1973 laws in most states denied women safe, legal abortions. In January of that year the Supreme Court threw out these laws for unconstitutionally denying women their right to privacy. In the first six months of the woman's pregnancy, the court said, the government cannot interfere with her right to choose abortion. This landmark ruling officially legalized abortion in every state.

Now, almost four years later, Congress has voted to take back this right from thousands of women. In September it passed the Hyde amendment as part of a bill including funds for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). This amendment would put off federal Medicaid funds for abortion except those necessary to save a pregnant woman's life.

On October 22 a federal judge in New York declared the measure unconstitutional and placed an injunction on it. The government however is preparing to appeal the ruling.

The amendment would deny up to 300,000 women access to safe, legal abortions each year. Even conservative estimates of what could be in store for these women are chilling.

The 1973 Supreme Court decision was the most important gain for women's rights since suffrage. It freed millions of women from unwanted pregnancies. It set the historic precedent that it is a woman's right to decide for herself whether to have an abortion.



November 19, 1951

The capitalist press in this country and in Western Europe is deliberately underplaying the news about the real situation in the Near East. The millions of the Arab world whose living standards are abysmal, in most cases below the level of domestic animals in these areas, refuse any longer to live in this degradation. They hold the old colonial rulers, primarily Britain and France, responsible and are determined to run them out.

This new development is among the greatest revolutionary upsurges in history, matching the postwar upheavals in China and throughout the Far East. In one of the few truthful dispatches from Cairo, columnist Stewart Alsop recognizes this. “The plain fact is that this is an essentially revolutionary situation,” he wrote on Nov. 12 about the situation in Egypt.

The situation in French Morocco is similar in all essentials to Egypt.

Alsop's best “hope” in the situation is for the emergence of “reasonably enlightened dictatorship” patterned after that of Kemal Pasha in Turkey following World War I. But even this variant holds no allure for London and Paris. They want to keep things as they are, with themselves in the saddle.

As matters stand, Britain would have dim prospects of hanging on in Egypt, or the French in North Africa, if not for the support of Washington.

The whole Arab world which is now so bitterly anti-British and anti-French is turning more and more anti-American.

Stand up in Harlem
Defend the Charleston 5
Wed., Nov. 14, 6:00 p.m.
Bethel AME Church, 60 W. 132nd St
at Lenox Ave, Manhattan, New York
Sponsored by NYC Central Labor Council,
Charleston Defense Committee, Jobs with Justice.

Back fight of Miami candidate

"Italie's firing, in a word, stinks. He wasn't accused of disrupting his workplace with his ideas, neglecting his duties or proselytizing his political views. He was fired for what he chooses to believe."

Miami Herald columnist Robert Steinback wrote this in a November 7 piece titled "Forced patriotism is oppression." He was referring to Michael Italie, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami, who was fired from his job as a sewing machine operator at Goodwill Industries on October 22. The company action came a few days after the socialist appeared on television in a debate with other mayoral candidates in which he stated his opposition to the U.S. war in Afghanistan, his defense of the Cuban revolution, and his support for union organizing efforts.

Goodwill chief executive officer Dennis Pastrana acknowledged that Italie had been fired because of his political statements, telling the *Herald* October 30 that "we cannot have anyone who is attempting to subvert America."

Columnist Steinback didn't buy it. Nor did he agree with outgoing mayor Joseph Carollo, who called Italie's ideas "treasonous." Wrote Steinback: "The Constitution states, 'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' That's it. There's nothing in Article III, Section 3 about political ideology, nothing about loving or honoring the flag, nothing, even, about loving or honoring America."

He pointed to similarities between Italie's fight and that of three Black fire fighters in Miami who were suspended for taking an American flag off their truck following September 11. The three recently won reinstatement.

The right of a worker to hold and advocate views contrary to the policies of the U.S. government is winning a hearing in Miami. Supporters of Italie are determined to make Goodwill Industries pay the highest political price possible for their discriminatory firing, and to make it more difficult for the employers to victimize the next worker. Supporters are now appealing to defenders of constitutional rights around the country to join in this battle. They are asking for statements backing Italie's right to free speech from civil libertarians, trade unionists, opponents of police brutality, farm activists, student groups and others. The newly formed Committee to Defend Freedom of Speech and the Bill of Rights is circulating a petition demanding the Miami mayor and city commissioners uphold the U.S. Constitution and press Goodwill to rehire Italie.

We encourage all our readers to join this nationwide effort. The Miami committee has produced a "truth kit" with a fact sheet and press coverage on the firing and a statement that can be signed by those wanting to defend Italie's rights. It is requesting financial contributions to cover the costs of this defense effort. To receive this packet, to obtain other information, and to send contributions, contact the Committee to Defend Freedom of Speech and the Bill of Rights, P.O. Box 510127, Miami, FL 33151-0127. Tel: (305) 724-5065.

'FBI, INS out of our neighborhood'

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

SEATTLE—City police and FBI and U.S. Customs agents raided two businesses in Seattle November 7, emptying out the contents of Barakat Wire Transfer and Maka Mini Market and detaining at least one person.

As dozens of people protested on Rainier Ave., the main

As we go to press . . .

thoroughfare in front of the market and transfer company, the cops sealed off the area as workers spent hours loading a tractor trailer with everything from papers to clothing to fresh meat. At one point the cops tried to enter the upstairs premises that house an Aikido center and the Pathfinder Bookstore. They backed off when told by Aikido center personnel that the upstairs premises were not connected with the businesses below.

The Seattle raid was one of several in Washington, D.C., Boston, Minneapolis, and Ohio. The *Seattle Times* reported that this was one of the first uses of the U.S. Treasury Department's new terrorist tracking efforts and was supposedly aimed at freezing the assets of terrorists.

Protesters, made up overwhelmingly of Somalis, had a different view. Len Ali Nur carried a sign that said, "My father is 90 years old. I will keep sending him \$100. This has nothing to do with terrorism."

Nur, a laundry worker who has been in the U.S. for 17 years, explained that she sends money to her family in Africa through Barakat. Another Somali at the protest, Maryan Hassan, heard about the raid on the radio and brought her five children and mother to demonstrate. "I work two jobs to support my family here and send money to my mom and brother back home. Some of my family are in refugee camps. They can't get to a bank—that's why we use Barakat," she said.

Mohamed Fato, a Somali cab driver, was also at the protest. "I've been harassed 10 times since September 11 and last Friday a fare called me a terrorist and hit me with a bottle. The cops didn't do anything. This [raid] is more harassment." Fato carried a sign that said: "FBI and INS out of our neighborhood."

Five rightists, including two Vietnamese carrying American flags, demonstrated in support of Washington's war against Afghanistan across the street from those protesting the cop raid. Their signs said: "God Bless America" and "Pacifism aids terrorism."

Fund to help publish new titles

Continued from Page 4

"cleanup" operation by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba against counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains. Dreke also served as second-in-command of the Cuban internationalist contingent in the Congo led by Ernesto Che Guevara.

Dreke describes the fight against dozens of small bands of counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray mountains—an important chapter of the Cuban Revolution in the early 1960s that is little known in the United States. Armed and financed by Washington, the bandits, as the counterrevolutionaries were popularly known, carried out sabotage and other operations. Dreke explains their origin, recalling how a number of leading bandits came out of organizations involved in the struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. He discusses some errors of the revolution that contributed to the bandits' initial success, and the popular revolutionary mobilization that it took to defeat them.

Dreke recounts his experiences in joining the Rebel Army and fighting in Las Villas Province in 1958 as part of the column of combatants from the Revolutionary Directorate who worked closely with Che Guevara. The column later fought in the battle of Santa Clara, a decisive event in the revolutionary war, and one that helped to seal the fate of the dictatorship.

The interviews with the Cuban revolutionary also cover

the experiences of the Cuban volunteer contingent that fought in the Congo in the mid-1960s under the leadership of Che Guevara. Fighting alongside independence forces, the revolutionaries battled a U.S.-backed pro-imperialist regime that relied heavily on Belgian and South African mercenaries. He also describes the struggle waged by Cuban revolutionaries against the legacy of racial discrimination in the opening months of the Cuban revolution.

The book will be published prior to the International Havana Book Fair scheduled for the second week of February.

This year, for the first time, the fund's progress is being monitored with the use of a new web-based database. Local fund directors post information to the database on their progress in the drive, and the fund director in New York uses the information in organizing the campaign. This procedure also cuts down on entry work at Pathfinder's offices.

The scoreboard in this week's issue has been put together using this new tool. Local fund directors are encouraged to keep up to date in entering the figures so the chart can accurately reflect our progress.

Fund supporters are encouraged to send in notes about fund-raising activities to the *Militant*. If you want to get involved or to make a contribution, contact your nearest Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12, or send in your check to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

War accelerates political trends

Continued from Page 7

ing off Kazakhstan's Caspian coast found "the most convincing evidence yet of the largest oil field in the world since the 1967 discovery of oil on Alaska's North Slope," according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

In an Op-ed piece November 7 in the *Journal*, Harvard University's Brenda Shaffer wrote that "one way to diminish dependence on Saudi Arabia is to focus on oil from the Caspian Sea." She added: "Flows of large volumes of Caspian oil through non-OPEC countries would erode the power of OPEC, as well as its ability to maintain high oil prices and to use oil as a mode of political blackmail."

The *Times* noted October 19: "Russia is stepping forward as a new friend in need. Alongside its support for the United States' military campaign in Afghanistan, Russia is offering its oil fields as a secure alternative to dependence on the turbulent Persian Gulf."

Missile defense and NATO

During the recent Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Shanghai, China, Russian president Vladimir Putin said the Russian government may strike an agreement with the Bush administration to gut the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Bush has accelerated the effort started under former president Clinton to build and test an antiballistic missile system that Washington hopes can one day be used to shoot down missiles soon after lift off. Putin and Bush both said they want to hammer out an agreement during Putin's visit to the U.S. president's private ranch later this month.

U.S. and Russian officials announced in early November tentative agreement to drastically reduce the number of long-range nuclear weapons each country has. Bush said the administration has made a decision on how far to reduce the stockpile. While not disclosing the figure, Pentagon sources told the press that they recommended keeping around 2,000 weapons, down from the current 7,000. A mutual reduction would be an economic boon to Russia, as it would drastically reduce expenses entailed in maintaining and updating its nuclear arsenal.

These steps follow a speech by Bush in Warsaw earlier this year in which he said Washington favored a Europe that included all countries "from the Baltic to the Black Sea"—including Ukraine. He said "Europe's great institutions—NATO and the European Union—can and should build partnerships with Russia and all countries that have emerged from the wreckage of the former Soviet Union."

The Russian government under president Vladimir Putin has taken consistent steps to converge with Washington along these lines, and to cede Moscow's earlier pretensions of dominating the republics that made up the former Soviet Union. Instead, stable borders and economic integration into the world capitalist market have become the goals of the ruling layers in ascendency in Russia today.

In late October, press reports disclosed that Moscow "has discretely asked NATO for assistance in restructuring its defense ministry and armed forces after recent talks in Brussels" between Putin and NATO secretary-general Lord Robertson.

Given the distance Washington has traveled since early September, its rival imperialist powers in Europe and Japan are trying to keep from being left in the dust.

From the start London backed the U.S. war effort, committing warships, planes, and troops to the imperialist Afghan war. Until this past week the British government was the only European power to commit troops to back Washington. But now Italy and Germany have announced they too will send forces, including in the case of Berlin nearly 4,000 elite combat troops, along with ships and armor.

Tokyo announced in early November that it was preparing to send a fleet of military vessels, including an advanced Aegis destroyer, to the Indian Ocean to take part in limited operations backing the U.S.-led assault. The move follows passage of legislation allowing the country's armed forces to join overseas operations, but not actual combat. One ship in the fleet is a helicopter-capable destroyer.

Argentine default

Continued from back page

assistance to the unemployed.

Several commentators and investors have expressed doubt about the "guarantees" on offer. "What they are saying is, accept an instrument that pays 7 percent interest with the same guarantee as the last one that paid 11 percent. I ask myself, who would accept that voluntarily?" said Roque Fernández, former minister of the economy. "It's a default disguised as a swap," said Christopher Eccolstone, an analyst at New York-based Buenos Aires Trust Co. "It's like having a gun against your head."

In the days leading up to the announcement, people in Argentina withdrew more than \$500 million from banks with large holdings in government bonds. The official one-to-one linkage of the Argentine peso to the U.S. dollar, a policy requiring large holdings of the U.S. currency, is being openly questioned.

The *Washington Post* noted that a default in Argentina "could jolt emerging markets," including Turkey. "Especially in danger are already troubled economies in Latin America.... Brazil's currency has already slid 40 percent in value in recent months as the crisis in Argentina has come to a head."

Europe vs. America: a central world question

Printed below are excerpts from *My Life* by Leon Trotsky, one of the Pathfinder Books of the Month for November. The piece quoted is taken from the chapter titled "New York," in which Trotsky discusses his experiences upon arriving in that city in mid-January 1917, shortly before the outbreak of the February revolution in Russia. Copyright ©1970 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY LEON TROTSKY

Here I was in New York, city of prose and fantasy, of capitalist automatism, its streets a triumph of cubism, its moral philosophy that of the dollar. New York impressed me tremendously because, more than any other city in the world, it is the

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

fullest expression of our modern age....

My only profession in New York was that of a revolutionary socialist. This was before the war for "liberty" and "democracy," and in those days mine was a profession no more reprehensible than that of a bootlegger. I wrote articles, edited a newspaper, and addressed labor meetings. I was up to my neck in work, and consequently I did not feel at all like a stranger. In one of the New York libraries I studied the economic history of the United States assiduously. The figures showing the growth of American exports during the war astounded me; they were, in fact, a complete revelation. And it was those

same figures that not only predetermined America's intervention in the war, but the decisive part that the United States would play in the world after the war, as well. I wrote several articles about this at the time, and gave several lectures. Since that time the problem of "America versus Europe" has been one of my chief interests. And even now I am studying the question with the utmost care, hoping to devote a separate book to it. If one is to understand the future destiny of humanity, this is the most important of all subjects.

The day after I arrived in New York I wrote in the Russian paper, the *Novy Mir* (*The New World*): "I left a Europe wallowing in blood, but I left with a profound faith in a coming revolution. And it was with no democratic 'illusions' that I stepped on the soil of this old-enough New World." Ten days later I addressed the international meeting of welcome as follows: "It is a fact of supreme importance that the economic life of Europe is being blasted to its very foundations, whereas America is increasing in wealth. As I look enviously at New York—I who still think of myself as a European—I ask myself: 'Will Europe be able to stand it? Will it not sink into nothing but a cemetery? And will the economic and cultural centres of gravity not shift to America?'" And despite the success of what is called "European stabilization," this question is just as pertinent today....

During those months America was busily getting ready for war. As ever, the greatest help came from the pacifists. Their vulgar speeches about the advantages of peace as opposed to war invariably ended in a promise to support war if it became "necessary." This was the spirit of the [William Jennings] Bryan campaign. The socialists sang in tune



A demonstration by women in Petrograd, Russia, in March 1917. The banner reads, "Comrade Workers and Soldiers, Support Our Demands."

with the pacifists. It is a well-known axiom that pacifists think of war as an enemy only in time of peace. After the Germans came out for unrestricted submarine warfare, mountains of military supplies blocked the railways and filled all the eastern stations and ports. Prices instantly soared, and I saw thousands of women—mothers, in the wealthiest city of the world—come out into the streets, upset the stalls, and break into shops. What will it be like in the rest of the world after the war? I asked myself.

On February 3 came the long-awaited break in diplomatic relations with Germany. The volume of the chauvinistic music was

increasing daily. The tenor of the pacifists and the falsetto of the socialists did not disrupt the general harmony. But I had seen the same thing in Europe, and the mobilization of American patriotism was simply a repetition of what I had seen before. I noted the stages of the process in my Russian paper, and meditated on the stupidity of men who were so slow to learn their lessons.

I once saw, through the window of my newspaper office, an old man with suppurating eyes and a straggling gray beard stop before a garbage-can and fish out a crust of bread. He tried the crust with his hands, then

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LETTERS

Police attack

On October 25 a protest against the war on Afghanistan was held in Hartford, Connecticut. It was organized by students from Wesleyan, University of Hartford, University of Connecticut, and Central Connecticut State University. About 200–300 students participated.

After gathering at a park, the protesters attempted to march to Senator Joseph Lieberman's office. On the way they were attacked by police and 18 of them were arrested and held overnight. The next day they

appeared in court in ankle shackles and had bonds set at ridiculously high amounts ranging from \$10,000 to \$55,000.

As the U.S. government steps up its "war on terrorism" we have already seen Congress rush through laws that severely curtail democratic rights. The Hartford police and courts appear to be rushing to line up behind the "war effort" with these repressive measures. Their aim is to silence all of us.

Tim Craine
Hartford, Connecticut

Airline workers

The recent *Militant* article on the history of imperialist domination and oppression in the Middle East is exactly what is needed for workers and youth to counter the daily American jingoism and patriotism.

The *Militant*, published in the interests of working people, is in sharp contrast to the reactionary, warmongering froth spewed from the officials of my union, the International Association of Machinists. The latest issue of the *IAM Journal* features a full front cover with the U.S. flag and "United We Stand," the slogan of the imperialist butchers. IAM president Thomas Buffenbarger championed the missile defense system a couple of months ago. Now he expands that war-drum beating with his message this month. "A massive military buildup will reduce to rubble the terrorist camps.... We seek not simply justice, we seek vengeance, pure and complete."

Nowhere in the issue is there mention of the layoffs and routine harassment of thousands of IAM members who work at the airlines, or those thousands being laid off at Boeing and other aerospace industries. Not even a perfunctory sentence about enforcing the contracts or fighting the layoffs.

As an airline employee, Northwest management, like United and others, have used the September 11 events as a pretext to rip up union contracts and dramatically restructure the industry. To add insult to injury, airport security bag screeners, fighting for years to unionize, are being made a scapegoat. Let us recall that at Los Angeles International Airport, Northwest Airlines, with the county's blessing, fired all the screeners one day before the union vote.

Mark Friedman
Los Angeles, California

Use of torture

The *Chicago Tribune* recently printed a column by Steve Chapman, a right-wing syndicated columnist, with the headline: "Should We Use Torture to Stop Terrorism?" While this proposal does not at this time represent mainstream capitalist thinking it is worth taking note of it. The import of his column represents a call to publicly sanction the use of torture under the hurrah of jingoism.

It is well known that torture is already regularly used by the police forces in the United States, the example of Abner Louima jumps to mind. Chapman's goal is to establish public support for this sort of conduct. He argues that legalizing torture would lead to abuses so therefore we should just quietly

let the cops do their thing.

It is also worth pointing out that his criterion for use of torture would be if "the cops are sure they have the guilty party...." Actually, in the immediate sense, the attempt to deepen the use of this rule is more the goal of the leaders of capitalism at the moment.

John Votava
Chicago, Illinois

Basque struggle

More than 50 people picketed outside the Spanish consulate in Montreal October 28 to protest Spain's attempt to extradite Basque militants Eduardo Plagaro Perez de Arriluzea and Gorka Perea Salazar who are being held in a Montreal jail.

Plagaro and Salazar were young activists in social movements fighting the oppression of the Basque people in Spain when they were arrested in 1993 and sentenced to six and seven years in prison for arson on the sole basis of confessions extracted through days of torture. While awaiting an appeal, they fled to Canada in 1997 where they demanded the status of political refugees.

Spain demanded their extradition last June, and at an October 30 hearing, the Quebec Superior Court refused to hear evidence concerning the torture or arguments concerning the false allegations by Spain that the two were terrorists. The judge ordered Plagaro and Salazar to be kept in prison until their extradition. They face imprisonment and torture if returned to Spain. The case is now in the hands of the Canadian justice minister who has recently introduced to parliament an extremely repressive "anti-terrorism" law—Bill C-36.

The deepening assaults on workers' rights by Washington and Ottawa serve to make the activities in the defense of these two youths all the more important for working people.

At the rally, Véronique Gauthier, a coordinator of the defense committee for the two Basques, read a statement entitled, "Anti-Terrorist Law, Anti-Militancy Law?" which criticized Bill C-36. Further information can be obtained at www.geocities.com/freegorkaeduardo.

Al Cappe
Montreal, Quebec

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

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

November BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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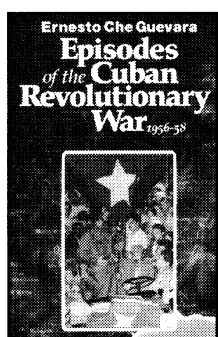
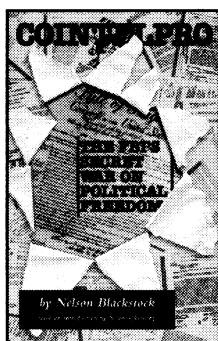
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My Life

An Attempt at an Autobiography

LEON TROTSKY

Autobiographical account by a leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution, the Soviet Red Army, and the battle initiated by Lenin against the Stalinist bureaucracy. \$26.95, PRC price \$20.00



Available from
bookstores,
including those
listed on page 12

Argentine default is sign of growing crisis

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Plans announced by Argentine prime minister Fernando de la Rúa for a bond swap are an admission that there is no way the government can pay interest owed on the country's massive foreign debt. Although it was not described as such, the move was a de facto default and among the largest financial collapses of any country in history. While acknowledging that other Latin American economies will be dragged downwards with Argentina, the imperialist banks and governments have refused to approve any new loans to bail out the ailing semicolonial country.

Argentina, whose gross domestic product was valued at \$374 billion in 1998, owes \$132 billion to foreign banks and private investors. The annual interest payments on the country's debt of around \$10 billion represent more than one-third of the country's export income. Debt bonds guaranteed by the Argentine government are widely held by U.S. and European banks and companies. Among the largest U.S. investors are Fleet-Boston, Citigroup, Bank of America, and J.P. Morgan Chase. The latter two banks hold \$900 million each in loans to Argentina.

The prime minister cast the swap as a "voluntary" exchange of bonds with creditors. Up to \$95 billion worth of government bonds, presently paying 11 percent interest, will be cashed in for longer-term securities, which will yield a return of around 7 percent and will also be backed by the government.

Worldwide, the Third World debt, a mechanism by which banks and governments in the imperialist world bleed the wealth created by workers and farmers in semicolonial countries, stands at nearly \$2.5 trillion.

Forty-one months of recession have helped to undermine the Argentine government's ability to keep up with onerous interest payments on the debt. Workers and poor farmers have borne the brunt of the slowdown. Today, official unemployment



Working people across Argentina are resisting austerity measures and impact of recession. Around 25,000 people rallied in Buenos Aires on March 20 to demand jobs.

ment approaches 20 percent and poverty levels are soaring. Industrial output fell by 7 percent in September. In October, the government's tax receipts dropped by more than 11 percent compared with the same period in 2000. The government owes more than \$520 million to provincial administrations, who face the wrath of state employ-

ees who have not been paid, sometimes for many weeks. The combined debt of the provinces stands at \$20 billion.

Like its predecessor, De la Rúa's government has undertaken a series of austerity measures to slash government expenditures on social services and load even more of the burden of the country's crisis onto the backs

of working people. In August his finance minister, Domingo Cavallo, announced cuts of up to 13 percent in public workers' salaries and pensions—one of a number of steps demanded by the IMF in return for a guarantee of \$8 billion in new loans.

Resistance by working people

Teachers and other state sector employees protested these brutal cutbacks, joining the resistance being put up by unemployed workers and industrial workers. Union federations have organized two national strikes this year. Over the three-and-a-half years of economic recession, workers throughout the country, especially in the most depressed industrial areas of the north, have held protest marches and blocked highways and bridges, demanding jobs and government relief and payment of back wages.

Other actions include a protest in early November of hundreds of public employees in San Juan province, who set fire to a government building and are demanding payment of two month's back wages. On November 2, some 5,000 farmers and others rallied in Bonaerense, a town in the Carlos Tejedor region, demanding relief from the effects of a massive flood and calling on the banks to refinance their loans and open new lines of credit. To try to stem these protests, the government announced on November 1 a series of measures to offer debt relief to some businesses, and provide

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Vancouver events back free speech fight

BY GABRIEL CHARBIN

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—The capitalist media here is spearheading a campaign in reaction to a speech presented by Dr. Sunera Thobani, an assistant professor at the University of British Columbia (UBC).

At a Women's Resistance Conference in

Ottawa October 1, Thobani declared that the U.S. government is the most dangerous global force because it is "unleashing prolific levels of violence all over the world." She added, "From Chile to El Salvador, to Nicaragua to Iraq, the path of U.S. foreign policy is soaked in blood."

Government officials in Ottawa and the big-business press promptly condemned the speech. Prime Minister Jean Chretien called it "terrible." Wealthy beneficiaries who contribute funds to the university also expressed dismay.

For example, Charles Huntzinger, president and CEO of Imperial Parking, the biggest parking operator in Canada, told the *Vancouver Sun* that people like Thobani are "apologists for terrorist murderers." He added, "The idea that such a terrorist sympathizer is teaching your children is a scary picture. I urge Canadians to let the University of British Columbia know they will not receive grants or contributions while Ms. Thobani continues to be an employee of UBC."

A complaint has been filed against Thobani for violating a law in the Criminal Code of Canada that prohibits the encouragement of hatred. Those making this accusation claim that her speech was aimed at inciting hatred against Americans.

The charges, filed by an unnamed resident of British Columbia, were made public by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Hate Crime Unit. According to the *Vancouver Sun*, "the police don't normally name the subjects of police investigations, until a person is formally charged with a crime."

The RCMP were forced to apologize to Dr. Thobani and no charges have been laid.

A campaign organized by working people and youth to defend Thobani has been at the center of the fight to defend the right to speak out against the war.

On October 21, at the Ironworkers Hall in Vancouver, Thobani was set to be the featured speaker on a panel. The hall, which seats approximately 200 people, was filled to capacity. After presenting their talks inside the meeting hall, speakers went across the street to address the crowd of up to 200 people who couldn't get inside.

On October 26, Thobani joined a panel at a meeting organized by the Alma Mater Society at UBC. Approximately 150 to 200 people attended the event. A number of letters defending Thobani's right to speak have appeared in Vancouver daily newspapers.

Gabriel Charbin is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in Richmond, British Columbia.

South African opposition alliance collapses

BY T.J. FIGUEROA

In the early 1990s during the battle led by the African National Congress (ANC) to oust the white minority regime led by the National Party in South Africa, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the movement he led would, in the end, "bury" the National Party.

Another step along that road was taken in late October with the collapse of the capitalist Democratic Alliance, a 16-month-old opposition formed with the merger of the New National Party (NNP) and the liberal Democratic Party (DP). The breakup registers the breadth of nonracial advances over the past seven years and the determination of millions of working people to speed up change in the former land of apartheid.

Increasing tensions have marked the alliance of the Democratic Party and the New National Party, which ran the white-minority regime and the brutal system of apartheid from 1948 until 1994, over the past months as it failed to make new inroads in building an opposition to the ANC government.

In July 2000 the two parties announced they would join forces. A year earlier, during the second democratic, nonracial elections for national government, the African National Congress maintained its 66 percent parliamentary majority, despite predictions to the contrary in the big-business media, which harped on what it called the ANC's "non-delivery" of an improved standard of living for the masses of people in South Africa.

In that election, the NNP's share of the vote fell sharply, with the DP picking up most of that support. The DP campaigned on the slogan Fight Back. In South Africa, the slogan could only mean one thing: fight blacks, and stem the erosion of privileges accorded to whites.

The new party's opposition to affirmative action, its claims that the new ANC government was more corrupt than the old, the sup-

port by individual leaders for the death penalty, calls to scrap laws protecting workers rights and safety on the job, opposition to radical agrarian reform, and a host of other reactionary positions provoked unflinching opposition to the Democratic Alliance from the vast majority of workers, peasants, and the growing black middle class.

At the time of the merger, the parties announced that their principal goal was to challenge the dominance of the ANC. But a day after the Democratic Alliance came apart at the seams, NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk was singing a different tune.

He declared that his erstwhile partners "have reduced opposition politics to an angry white voice instead of engaging government on principle and with the interest of cooperative governance and loyalty to the country." The alliance's biggest mistake, he said, was that it approached opposition politics by seeking to "represent old apartheid privileges." Van Schalkwyk declared that his party should never have left the government of national unity in 1996, in which it held one of two deputy president slots and several cabinet posts. At that time it was called the National Party.

F.W. De Klerk, the former National Party leader who withdrew his followers from the government at the time, indicated his support for the NNP's move away from the Democratic Alliance, which he said would likely be "without influence and with a race label round its neck, something like Ian Smith's party after Zimbabwean independence."

After the split Van Schalkwyk announced that he sought talks with the ANC to discuss collaboration at the national, provincial, and local levels of government. The immediate issue is in the Western Cape province. In the 1999 elections, the ANC won the largest number of votes of any single

party in the province, but fell short of an absolute majority. The DP and NNP formed a coalition government there. Of South Africa's nine provinces, ANC provincial governments hold office in seven. The Inkatha Freedom Party dominates the government of KwaZulu-Natal province.

In response, the ANC leadership gave the go-ahead for exploratory talks with the NNP. In an interview in the November 2 *Business Day*, published in Johannesburg, ANC Secretary General Kgalema Motlanthe denied rumors of a merger with the NNP, which he said has no future.

"We don't want them to be praise singers," he said. "They will criticize if they want to. But we are offering them an opportunity to play a meaningful role." He said this might mean encouraging sections of NNP supporters to see social and political questions in the country in nonracial terms, fostering the idea that the ANC is serious about a nonracial approach to politics.

A substantial percentage of the NNP's supporters, particularly in the Western Cape, are those blacks categorized by the apartheid rulers as colored. That section of the population, while facing the brutal exploitation of apartheid rule, had a few privileges relative to Africans. Working people in colored townships often had somewhat better job opportunities, education, and housing.

Both the NNP and DP have built their support among the middle class and working class in colored townships by stoking fears that progress by Africans—the vast majority of the population—will result in their own impoverishment, and the loss of homes and jobs. They have portrayed the ANC as a party that speaks only for Africans.

However, national and local elections over the past two years registered growing support for the ANC in many colored townships and rural areas.