

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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New book documents truth about Cuban role in Africa

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Protests across Mideast condemn Israeli brutality

Revolutionary socialists back fight for democratic, secular Palestine

BY PATRICK O'NEILL AND JACK WILLEY

Working people and youth are joining mass street actions across the Middle East, mobilizing solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and condemning Israel's military offensive in the West Bank. They have also repudiated Washington's backing for the Israeli regime's escalating brutality. Actions involving hundreds, thousands, and sometimes tens of thousands of people have been organized in Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, and elsewhere.

"The Jordanian government should throw out the American ambassador even before the Israeli because it is only America who can pressure Israel to stop the aggression," said Wadha Rajoub at an April 2 mobilization in the Jordanian capital of Amman. Like the majority of people living in Jordan, she is Palestinian.

In Amman, police formed a barricade across the gates of the University of Jordan to keep 500 students from leaving the campus. They ultimately had to turn water cannon on the protest to turn it back. After refusing for five days to grant a permit for the action—in keeping with a long-standing ban on Palestinian protests—the regime of King Abdullah was forced to bow before mass

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Actions in U.S. demand Washington end aid to Tel Aviv



Militant/Elizabeth Lariscy
Some 1,000 people marched in Los Angeles, above, while 3,000 rallied near the White House in a spirited action in Washington March 30. See story on page 6.

Cuban youth mark 40 years of proletarian struggle

Events celebrate Union of Young Communists' defense of Cuba's socialist revolution

BY ROMINA GREEN AND OLYMPIA NEWTON

HAVANA—Fifty delegates representing 25 youth organizations from around the world are participating in activities here to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba. The UJC is using the week-long series of events to educate about its rich political history and its role as a communist youth organization in defending and deepening Cuba's socialist revolution over the past four decades.

Among the international guests taking part in the events are representatives of the St. Lucia Labor Party Youth League, Youth for the Fifth Republic of Venezuela, Casa Juventud of Paraguay, Rock Around the Blockade of the United Kingdom, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, Union of Young Communists of Vietnam, and Young Socialists of the United States.

The international delegates first visited an exhibit that outlined highlights of the history of the UJC. On Jan. 1, 1959, workers and peasants in Cuba, mobilized in a revolutionary struggle by the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement, overthrew the hated U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. In December of that year, the Rebel Army's Department of Instruction, headed by revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, launched

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Rally of 300 backs widows' fight for coal miners' black lung benefits

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

UNIONTOWN, Pennsylvania—"I'd have made it to this meeting if I had to crawl," said Timothy Woods, Jr., a Black retired union coal miner who has worked in the mines for 43 years. Confined now to a wheelchair from the debilitating effects of black lung, Woods has had six strokes, but has never received federal black lung benefits. "They sent me all over Pennsylvania but I never got benefits," he said.

Woods was one of many miners who attended a Mitchell Day meeting at the Holiday Inn here April 1 to welcome Linda Chapman and Phyllis Tipton, who are at the halfway point of their 500-mile walk from Charleston, West Virginia, to Washington. The march is publicizing the fight that coal

miners and their families are waging to win benefits, especially widows of miners. The widows' walk is supported by the National Black Lung Association (NBLA) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

In the Reagan administration in the early 1980s the Labor Department changed the eligibility rules for the benefits program, making the widows of miners "prove" their spouses died of black lung in order to receive any compensation. After the new law the number of approved federal claims fell to a trickle. In response, the union declared a two-day memorial period and 10,000 miners picketed the White House in the spring of 1981.

From the beginning, the coal bosses have attacked the black lung program as a "hand-out." Miners see it differently. They see it

as a right won as part of the fight to force the employers and the government to improve working conditions and safety in the mines. Workers recognize that the practices of the coal companies destroyed their health

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Picket line in L.A. opposes INS arrests of hundreds at airport

BY NAN BAILEY AND ELIZABETH LARISCY

LOS ANGELES—More than 300 immigrant workers and their supporters marched and rallied at Los Angeles International airport March 28 to protest Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raids that have resulted in the arrests of a few hundred immigrants over the past two weeks.

Chants of "la migra escucha, estamos en la lucha!" ("INS listen, we are fighting!") and "No more raids!" echoed through the terminals and parking lots. The protesters carried banners and signs of their unions and immigrant rights organizations. Some read, "Stop the war on immigrants," "Stop INS raids," and "Immigrant does not Equal Terrorist." A few demonstrators carried American flags. There was a strong showing of janitors, restaurant workers, and day laborers marching in their own contingents.

The action began with a well-attended news conference in the central grassy area of the airport. Protesters, followed by the TV and other media, then marched to Terminal 1 where 183 Mexicans and one Guatemalan were arrested by INS agents the previous week as they were about to board Southwest Airlines flights. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that a separate set of INS

sweeps targeting airport workers have resulted in more than 200 arrests of immigrant workers at airports in California and elsewhere in the West.

"We are here today to demand that cur-

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Court bars back pay for immigrants, aids employers' antiunion drive

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In a blow to workers' rights, the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision March 27 ruled that employers who violate federal labor law in their treatment of undocumented workers are not required to pay back wages to them.

The case stems from a 1989 suit filed against a California company, Hoffman Plastics Compounds Inc., that fired several workers who were involved in a union organizing drive. The labor relations board ordered reinstatement and back pay for the workers, including Jose Castro, an undocumented worker originally from Mexico. A federal appeals court upheld the ruling—a decision now overturned by the Supreme Court.

This antilabor decision by the high court comes at a time when immigrant workers,

both with and without papers, are part of spearheading struggles in industry after industry to win union recognition and to push back assaults by the bosses.

A statement released by United Farm Workers (UFW) president Arturo Rodriguez called the court's ruling "a devastating attack on undocumented workers in America and all Latinos across the nation" that will in effect create "a permanent underclass of easy-to-exploit semi-slave laborers."

In "denying undocumented workers protections under a host of state and federal laws—from minimum wage and hour protections and overtime pay to workers' compensation coverage," the ruling has other far-reaching implications, noted the UFW leader.

A good percentage of California's agri-

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Chicago rallies demand release of Rabih Haddad

BY BETSY STERN

CHICAGO—Close to 300 people turned out March 22 and 23 at rallies demanding freedom for Muslim pastor and community leader Rabih Haddad, detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on December 14.

More than 100 days later he is still being held, although the only charge against him is that of overstaying a tourist visa. For most of this time he has been in solitary confinement in federal prison in Chicago. Haddad lived in Ann Arbor, Michigan, at the time of his arrest. His case has become a focus of resistance to the roundup and jailing of more than 1,200 Arabs and Muslims by the U.S. government since September 11.

In a letter to those attending the Chicago rallies, Haddad announced that owing to these protests the time he can talk with his family on the phone has been extended and he can now receive family visits. Haddad also said prison officials have told him he will soon be released from solitary confinement.

In an earlier letter, sent from his cell January 27, Haddad described the conditions he faces in solitary confinement at the Metropolitan Correctional Center.

"I am allowed one 15-minute call to my family every 30 days. My food is handed to me through a slit in the door, two-and-a-half inches by 12 inches. The same opening is used to put the cuffs on me before the door is opened for any reason. I am allowed three showers a week for which I have to be cuffed to walk 10 paces to the shower.

"I have been treated like the worst criminal you can imagine when I have not even been charged with a crime, save overstaying my visa, which I was in the process of remedying.

"All of this has done nothing but harden my will and strengthen my resolve to overcome and persevere."

Haddad was arrested the same day that FBI, US Treasury, CIA, and NATO agents raided the offices of the Global Relief Foundation, a charity with its international office in the Chicago area. He was a co-

founder of the foundation which has given emergency relief and aid to people in 22 countries.

Jailings not new

Sami Al-Arian, a tenured professor at the University of South Florida, who has been battling moves by the university administration to fire him, was one of the speakers at the meeting.

Al-Arian is being targeted because of his defense of the fight of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation and of the rights of Palestinians in this country. Despite the widespread support his case has received, not only from students, faculty, and others in the Tampa area, but also nationally, the university is not backing off its plans to fire him.

Al-Arian pointed out that the U.S. government's arrest and jailing of immigrants on the basis of secret evidence is not new. Between 1996 and 1998, he said, there were at least 29 cases of people jailed and held solely on the claim of federal officials that secret evidence in their possession allows them to do so.

Other speakers at the meetings, which were sponsored by the Chicago Coalition Against War and Racism, included Cliff Kelly, prominent talk show host on Black radio WVON; Mahmud Ahmad of the Committee for a Democratic Palestine; and Jose Lopez, director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago.

Lopez is a longtime leader of the campaign to free Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. jails. He said that many Arab prisoners today are being held in the same "basically antihuman conditions, in isolation, with no contact with families," faced by Puerto Rican liberation fighters.

Lopez said those targeted internationally by the so-called campaign against terrorism are the people who are resisting oppression and colonialism. An example, he said, is "the heroism and courage of the Palestinian fighters, who are teaching the whole world an incredible lesson in resilience."

'Walk for Justice' builds solidarity with UNITE strikers in Illinois



Martha Contreras

CHICAGO—Twenty members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, on strike against Carousel Linen, joined 80 others in a "Good Friday Walk for Justice" in Chicago. In October the 38 workers at the laundry, located 25 miles north of Chicago, went on strike to win union recognition. They are also calling for health benefits and a higher wage. They explain that the company stopped medical coverage after doctors declined its insurance scheme, and add that Carousel refuses to pay most workers more than \$5.15 an hour, the minimum wage, and says that wage increases are conditional on workers learning English.

S. Carolina protests continue against Confederate flag

BY LOUIS TURNER,

GREENVILLE, South Carolina—"Red Raaag!" a man called from a megaphone. "Must come down!" responded 100 marchers who rallied at the Bi-Lo sports arena March 16 to demand the state of South Carolina remove the Confederate battle flag from the grounds of the state house in Columbia.

Two years ago the NAACP issued a call for a tourism boycott of South Carolina, urging those going through the state not to stop or spend money until the Confederate flag is removed from the Capitol grounds.

Nelson Rivers III, a leader of the action, told a press conference that a "confederacy of the mind" persists in South Carolina. Rivers said the decision of the state to keep the flag on Capitol grounds is part of a pattern of racism and discrimination, along with decrepit schools and racial profiling by police.

Nearly half the protesters at the march and rally were young people, many of them members of NAACP chapters that organized caravans to the action from several colleges in Georgia. The Young Socialists brought a five-person delegation from Asheville and Kannapolis, North Carolina.

Michael Good, a vice president of the South Carolina Youth and College division of the NAACP, told the *Militant*, "Young people want to know 'how long are we going to have to fight the Civil War in 2002?' We cannot compromise with wrong or evil. We are standing up for what is right."

About 15 counterdemonstrators waved giant Confederate flags and held signs that said, "Welcome to South Carolina" and "Boycott the boycott." During the march men on motorcycles drove past with engines revving in an attempt to drown out the protesters' chants. One young white participant in the action from North Carolina came in for special verbal attack as counterprotesters drove past.

NAACP "border patrols," in which supporters of the campaign station themselves at welcome centers in South Carolina and urge people not to spend money while traveling through the state, have come under intense scrutiny and attack from racists and the state of South Carolina. For example, a week after the first one was mounted, a racist "white-rights" group called the European-American Unity Rights Organization (EURO), based in New Orleans, organized what they called "welcome patrols." The outfit is affiliated with former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.

The attorney general of South Carolina, Charles Condon, filed a lawsuit March 18 against the NAACP and EURO for the actions at the welcoming centers. Condon says the actions, violate "state and federal law regulating permissible activities at interstate rest stops and welcome centers." Condon is also asking that the state courts order the two groups to pay for the costs of the state police stationed at centers.

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Oil bosses threaten 'strike' against Chávez

BY RÓGER CALERO

Threatening to paralyze the country's oil industry, top executives and middle-level bosses of the state-owned Petróleos de Venezuela (PDVSA) have threatened to strike, joining the Washington-backed campaign by the capitalist rulers in Venezuela to overthrow the government of Hugo Chávez.

A so-called "management union" of bosses and salaried personnel organized a four-hour work stoppage March 8 followed by a series of street demonstrations and work slowdowns. They threatened to escalate the actions to an indefinite strike to force Chávez to rescind his appointments of a new president and five members of the company's executive board who are seen as political allies of the president.

Despite promises by officials of the oil workers union that most production workers will support the "management union" if they go out on strike, few of Fedepetrol's 40,000 members have joined the actions.

Chávez's PDVSA appointments followed his removal in February of Brigadier General Guaicaipuro Lameda as the head of the oil company after Lameda criticized

Chávez's oil policy. Lameda then echoed the calls of four other high-ranking military officers for Chávez to resign. The general accused Chávez of turning the highly profitable oil company into an appendage of the oil ministry subject to his control.

Underlying conflict

As with other actions organized by sections of the capitalist class and middle-class layers in the country, the stated grievances of the bosses have little to do with the underlying conflict. The oil industry tops claim Chávez is destroying a "merit-based" system of promotion within the company, turning the operation into a "political fiefdom," and appointing "incompetent" people in key positions.

The *Wall Street Journal* noted several weightier considerations that impact on U.S. imperialist interests and the wealthy rulers of Venezuela. "Trouble between elite PDVSA administrators and the president," the *Journal* wrote, "has been building for four months since Mr. Chávez pushed through a controversial hydrocarbons law that increases most production royalties on

both PDVSA and international oil companies to 30 percent from 16 percent. The law also requires PDVSA to own a majority stake in all joint ventures with foreign companies."

A law allowing peasants to gain control of unproductive or unused land is another step by the Chávez government that has infuriated the wealthy landlords and capitalist class.

Government officials have warned that a strike in Venezuela's oil industry would have serious consequences for the country's economy. A three- to five-day strike would halt deliveries of gasoline to service stations and of natural gas to power plants, factories, and municipal grids, reported the *Journal*. Venezuela supplies about one million barrels a day to the U.S. market.

"This revolt is very dangerous," said Alan Vietgutz, former president of the Venezuelan Oil Chamber of Commerce. "It benefits no one for this to get out of control."

Chávez says that he is prepared to use the military to keep PDVSA running if the administrators walk out.

The threat of a strike by the administrators takes place at a time when Venezuela's

economy is hard-hit by the decline in world oil prices and by the impact of the capitalist economic crisis. Chávez's government has implemented a series of budget cuts and a sharp devaluation of the country's currency, both of which are cutting into the standard of living of working people. The capitalist rulers have sought to take advantage of this situation to undermine popular support for the president.

Protests wane, referendum sought

The highly publicized street protests of the capitalist opposition and their supporters have not gained enough momentum at this time to topple the government. In addition, Chávez supporters have countermobilized, refusing to let the reactionary forces continue their drive unanswered.

Some 30 antigovernment organizations released a document at the end of March announcing a shift from street actions to a campaign to collect 2 million signatures to call for a referendum on whether or not Chávez should step down.

"The hour of the clench, of hand-to-hand combat has passed," the document supporting the referendum stated. "We would be making an unforgivable mistake if we were to participate in a spiral of encounters with the paid mobs," it added, referring to the pro-government protests. The Mexican daily *La Jornada* noted the fact that despite the significant mobilizations by the opposition, the actions have been overshadowed by the numbers and combativity of Chávez's supporters.

The March 26 *New York Times* ran a feature article titled, "Venezuela's President vs. Military: Is Breach Widening?" It quoted a retired vice admiral "with close contacts in the military" who said that other officers are planning to take a "more aggressive" role in the drive to oust Chávez. The former di-

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Meat packers in Omaha rally for a union

BY LIZBETH ROBINO

OMAHA, Nebraska—"Co-workers! The moment to be heard has arrived! Show your support today at 4:30 p.m. in front of the plant. There will be a press conference where our organizing efforts will be made public," headlined *la Neta*. The afternoon's activity announced the filing of a petition for a union recognition election.

Workers distributed hundreds of copies of this special edition of *la Neta* throughout the day inside ConAgra's Northern States Beef slaughterhouse in Omaha. *La Neta*, Spanish slang for "the truth," is an in-plant newsletter that was started by production workers as a tool to respond to increased company attacks during the union-organizing drive.

Nearly 100 supporters joined the meatpacking workers at the pro-union rally March 27 at the entrance to the large facility, including members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and a half dozen other unions. Some traveled many hours to attend.

Roughly 500 meat packers work in the nonunion factory, killing 1,150 cattle per eight-hour day. The workers face line speedup, unsafe working conditions, and low wages.

"Two years ago we killed 1,000 cows in 10 hours. It's much faster now, and they yell at us," said Juan Valadez, 46. Valadez has worked in the plant for 20 years and is one of the leaders of the Workers Committee. The bosses slowed down the kill floor chain to a crawl, keeping workers beyond their usual quitting time so they wouldn't be able to attend the rally. "In 20 years I had never seen the line run so slow," stated Valadez.

Rally inside the plant

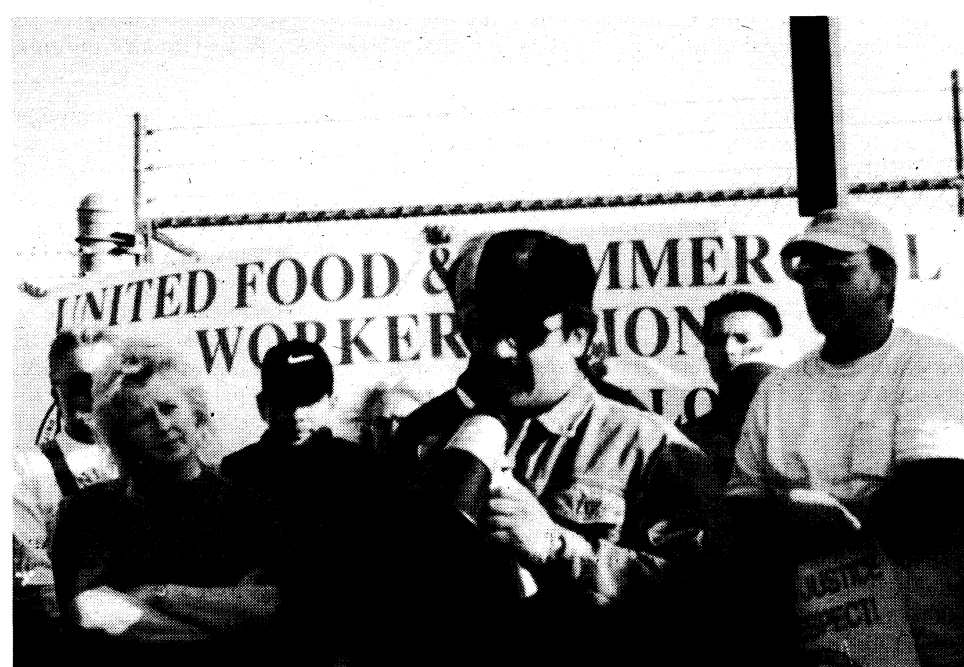
Leaders of the workers committee organized a response to the company maneuver. After lunch, workers thundered their disapproval when the line stopped. Knives crashed, voices whooped, and choruses of "¡Si se puede!" (Yes we can) erupted throughout the afternoon. During the second break, two workers dashed out to the rally to update them on the "rally" inside the plant and how workers were making it clear that they wanted to be outside at the press conference.

Over the last two months members of the ConAgra Workers Committee organized to sign up hundreds of workers for the union by talking about the importance of having an organization to take up issues such as wages and working conditions with the company. A large majority of workers signed representation cards.

A union recognition vote in November 2000 was defeated after the company made promises that conditions would improve, including a plea from one of the multinational's vice presidents to "give us one more chance."

"I didn't support the union last time. But this year I won't be fooled," said a kill floor worker.

Management has put up large bilingual posters at the exit to the cafeterias, thanking workers for their trust in the company, and encouraging them to vote "no" in the



Tiberio Chavez, a mechanic fired from his job at ConAgra's Northern States Beef slaughterhouse in Omaha, Nebraska, addresses March 27 pro-union rally outside plant.

election. They promise to organize upcoming in-plant meetings to present the "facts" about the union. Workers received an anti-union letter in their paychecks several weeks ago declaring, "You are free to tell the union no! Just leave me alone!" ConAgra management also posted stickers on various plant doors warning, "Caution, union promises ahead."

Maintenance workers, who also held a representation election in 2000, voted for the union in a 20-13 vote.

Defending union members

Tiberio Chavez, a kill floor maintenance worker at the plant for 11 years and the union steward for the mechanics, was fired following a serious accident where he fell 30 feet to the floor. The company used a pretext unrelated to the accident to fire him and another union mechanic, Angel Sanchez.

Kill floor workers responded by collecting 140 signatures on a petition in half a day. Workers then turned the petition in to management, and continue in their efforts to win their reinstatement. Chavez's case is currently in arbitration.

"Workers have learned that everything the company promised them didn't take place," Chavez told the *Militant*. "Things aren't getting better, they're getting worse. However, this year we have a committee that's seriously dedicated to organizing the workers and keeping the campaign alive. This is one of the main things that will secure a victory."

Jorge Gomez, 35, a kill floor maintenance worker who has worked in the plant for four years, also spoke at the rally. "Maintenance workers want the entire plant to be organized so we can stand together. We only ask for dignity. There should be no discrimination based on our language or national origin."

Through the organizing drive, workers are gaining experience and confidence in their capacities to take on the company. One af-

ternoon workers on the kill floor took advantage of a shutdown for cleaning to collect more than 40 signatures from workers in the fabrication department. The kill floor workers gathered in the parking lot to greet every fabrication worker as they exited the plant and encouraged them to sign a union card.

Fabrication and kill floor workers rarely have a chance to interact because they work on opposite ends of the plant, have different start times, and don't share a common cafeteria or locker room. This effort helped to bridge the two groups of workers.

Stepping up activities

Members of the Workers Committee are planning to step up their efforts before the election date by organizing more meetings and other activities and continuing to get out *la Neta*.

"Our committee's expanding. One idea is to have the next *la Neta* in Arabic as well, because our Sudanese co-workers are getting into it," said kill floor worker Lisa Rottach, another supporter of the Workers Committee.

Donna McDonald, president of UFCW Local 271, said that an NLRB election could be held in the next two months. The UFCW, together with Omaha Together One Community, a coalition of religious organizations, began a campaign in June 2000 to organize 4,000 packinghouse workers in Omaha. In addition to the maintenance department at the ConAgra Northern States Beef plant, workers have ratified a contract at ConAgra's Armour-Swift-Eckrich dry sausage plant.

The union is challenging the outcome of the vote at Nebraska Beef, which it narrowly lost. The company is appealing a ruling by a labor board hearing officer that a new election should be organized, citing numerous violations by Nebraska Beef that undermined the fairness of the election.

Joe Swanson contributed to this article.

Volunteers needed to help post weekly web edition of 'Militant'

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The *Militant* is seeking volunteers to administer its web edition, themilitant.com. The web administrator prepares articles, photos, ads, and charts for posting to the Internet each week, making the paper available to thousands of working people and youth around the world.

Many regular readers of the *Militant* read articles and editorials on-line as soon as they are posted, which means they don't have to wait for the paper to arrive through the mail. The *Militant* online has also become an important resource for socialist workers and youth who can search issues back to 1995 for information on world political developments.

"Many people tend to assume that some sort of specialized computer expertise is necessary" for preparing the web edition, said Peter Link, the current web administrator. "That's not so," he said. For the past eight years Link has been part of transforming the Internet edition from a posting of individual articles on a gopher site to a fully-fledged and attractive web site. Volunteer Pat Smith has also been instrumental in designing the current themilitant.com as well as the web site of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"It's certainly helpful to know a little about HTML files, which are really a text file with simple formatting instructions that are visible. But there's nothing that can't be learned pretty quickly by someone who's comfortable working at a computer and can use word-processing software and an Internet browser."

Step one of the web administrator's job involves taking a text file of each article, and preparing it for the web. In step two, he or she posts the article to its own page on themilitant.com. A small selection of photos is also posted. Some half-dozen or so hours, sometimes spread over two nights, is required from start to finish. The work can be done from virtually anywhere in the world, so long as there is a phone connection.

If you are interested in volunteering to be the paper's web administrator, or would like to help out on a weekly basis, contact Patrick O'Neill at the *Militant* at (212) 243-6392, or themilitant@compuserve.com.

Cuban youth celebrate 40 years of struggle

Continued from front page
the Association of Rebel Youth (AJR). In October 1960 the AJR fused with two other youth groups that supported the revolution, the March 13 Revolutionary Directorate and the youth wing of the Popular Socialist Party.

On April 4, 1962, at the AJR's first congress, delegates decided to transform it from a heterogeneous mass youth organization into a communist youth group, founding the UJC. Central to this step was subordinating the youth organization politically to the revolutionary party that organizes the vanguard of the working class in Cuba, which today is the Cuban Communist Party.

The exhibit depicted the involvement of AJR members in one of the first campaigns of the revolution—the literacy campaign of 1960–61, in which 100,000 young people went into the countryside as volunteer teachers and virtually eradicated illiteracy within a year. Another feature was the UJC's role in the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), which today gathers together anti-imperialist youth groups from around the world.

The exhibit also illustrated the UJC's current role in what is popularly known here as the Battle of Ideas, a political offensive to deepen the participation of working people and youth in Cuba's socialist revolution. This effort—central to which is the broadening educational opportunities available to the Cuban people and expanding access to culture—is aimed at confronting the imperialist ideological drive promoting capitalism as the only future for humanity. It also seeks to address the social inequalities that have grown as Cuba has become more directly exposed to the capitalist world market over the past decade, since the collapse of preferential trade with and aid from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

The Battle of Ideas, UJC leaders told the international guests, encompasses more than



Ernesto Che Guevara speaking at meeting to celebrate second anniversary of unification of the revolutionary youth organizations in 1962. Central to the unification was tying the youth organization politically to the revolutionary party that organizes the vanguard of the working class in Cuba, which today is the Cuban Communist Party.

70 nationwide educational programs, mostly led by UJC cadres. One is the campaign to train thousands of youth as revolutionary social workers, who go to working-class neighborhoods and, in collaboration with the residents, take initiatives to find solutions to numerous social problems. The students, aged 17–22, are drawn from youth who were previously neither going to school nor working. They are offered the opportunity to enter the university after completing the program.

Organizing to address social problems

The international delegates visited the School of Social Workers in Cojimar, outside of Havana. This is one of four such schools around the country, with a total of 7,000 students nationwide. The students undertake an intensive six-month course of

studies, including sociology, law, computer science, English, and Spanish. After completing this course, they are organized into five-person teams that work full-time during the week in some of the worst-off neighborhoods. The students attend the university on Saturdays.

More than 1,000 graduates of these schools are currently in the field, assisting in projects that range from working with mothers with low-weight babies to participating in the recent block-by-block campaign to eliminate breeding grounds for the mosquito that transmits dengue virus. They also work with youth who are in prison, in order to address the social problems that led to their incarceration and involve them in study programs while behind bars as well as organize them into school or work after their release.

The international delegates to the UJC

watch and discuss these programs together with others in the community.

University for All

The University for All is a series of televised courses aired daily at 7:00 a.m., 2:00 p.m., and 11:00 p.m. to accommodate work schedules and maximize the number of people who can take part in the classes. Fifteen courses have been completed since the launching of the University for All on topics such as English, French, art appreciation, geography, history, and cooking. UJC leaders explained that they are now looking for ways to issue people certificates when they have completed a course.

For the French-language course, for example, a written test was published in *Juventud Rebelde*, the UJC's newspaper, which students could take and then mail in. Some 500,000 tests have been mailed in and are now being graded.

Another highlight of the UJC anniversary activities was a visit to the International School of Medicine in Havana. The director of the school told the visitors about Cuba's internationalist medical missions throughout Africa and Central America. Detailed maps cover the walls at the entrance of the school showing the countries where Cuban medical teams are working as volunteers and where the students are from. The largest numbers of students are from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. There is also a growing number of students from the United States.

A student from Equatorial Guinea explained that the methods of instruction compare favorably to those used in other countries. Unlike medical schools in capitalist countries, where the prevailing motivation is individual enrichment and "making it," the International Medical School in Havana fosters a sense of human solidarity and contributing to society.

'We are confronted by the aggression of the greatest power in the history of humanity'

Below are letters from Gerardo Hernández Sanchez and Fernando González Llort, two of five Cuban revolutionaries framed up and convicted last June in a federal court in the United States on a series of conspiracy charges. These included conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign power, to commit espionage, and in one case, to commit murder. The other three prisoners are René González, Ramón Labañino, and Antonio Guerrero.

The five were given draconian sentences from the federal judge ranging from 15 years in prison to a double life sentence. Along with the Cuban government, the five explained they were carrying out a revolutionary mission to defend their country by gathering information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups that operate on U.S. territory to launch violent attacks on Cuba. These groups have a long record of

such activity and do so with complete knowledge and complicity by the U.S. government.

The addresses for the five are listed below. The U.S. government refused to recognize the names of Fernando González Llort and Ramón Labañino, so correspondence to them should be sent under the names Rubén Campa and Luis Medina respectively.

✦

March 25, 2002

Martín Koppel
Editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*
Greg McCartan
Editor, the *Militant*

Dear Comrades

With much happiness, I have just received and read the issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* that you sent me, and I want to congratulate both publications for the

quality and depth of the matters that appear in their pages.

Similarly, I wish to express my deepest thanks for having been added to your subscriber lists, and for the support and solidarity with our cause, the cause of the Cuban people and of all those who aspire to a better world.

Thank you, and ever onward to victory!

Fraternally,
Gerardo Hernández Sanchez

✦

March 26, 2002

Dear Comrades Martín Koppel and Greg McCartan:

Many thanks for adding me to the subscribers lists of the publications you edit. I consider them very interesting; they take up questions that are not covered in the press controlled by the great economic interests of this country, and, of course, the focus is different and the questions are treated in depth.

I extend thanks for the articles on our case that appear in both publications as well as your commitment to continue covering it and assisting our battle for justice, and the battle of all the Cuban people and our revolution.

I appreciate in great measure the solidarity and the support that you offer us five, and all the Cuban people in their struggle to continue advancing in the social project that we are constructing with so much work, while we are confronted by the aggression of the greatest power that has existed in the history of humanity.

I will be a loyal reader of your publications and will be eternally grateful for your solidarity.

Fraternally,
Fernando González Llort

Write to the five Cuban revolutionaries

René González Schweret, Reg. #58738-004, FCI McKean, P.O. Box 8000, Bradford, Pennsylvania 16701

Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez, Reg. #58741-004, USP Florence, P.O. Box 7500, Florence, Colorado 81226

Gerardo Hernández Nordelo (Manuel Viramontes), Reg. #58739-004, USP Lompoc, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, California 93436

Fernando González Llort (Rubén Campa), Reg. #58733-004, FCI Oxford, P.O. Box 1000, Oxford, Wisconsin 53952-0505

Ramón Labañino Salazar (Luis Medina), Reg. #58734-004, USP Beaumont, P.O. Box 26035, Beaumont, Texas 77720-6035

From Pathfinder

Che Guevara Talks to Young People

"We are attacked a great deal because of what we are. But we are attacked much, much more because we show to every nation of the Americas what it's possible to be. What's important for imperialism—much more than Cuba's nickel mines or sugar mills, or Venezuela's oil, or Mexico's cotton, or Chile's copper, or Argentina's cattle, or Paraguay's grasslands, or Brazil's coffee—is the totality of these raw materials upon which the monopolies feed." —Che Guevara, July 28, 1960

\$14.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

Brisk 'Militant' sales at Palestinian actions

BY JACK WILLEY

Socialist workers and young socialists are responding to the events in the Middle East by getting out the truth about the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine and why working people in the United States should demand Washington end all aid to the regime in Israel. They are getting an excellent response to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books, and *New International* on the job, at protest actions, among strikers, and from people they meet at street-corner literature tables.

Participants in the March 30 rally of 3,000 in Washington to support the Palestinians' struggle bought 130 copies of the *Militant* and a number of subscriptions. Three people purchased subscriptions after talking with socialists riding the buses from New York. On the buses and at several literature tables at the march workers and young people discussed the socialist workers' support for the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine, leading to sales of \$125 in Pathfinder literature.

This response helps show what is possible to accomplish during the April 13 to June 9 campaign to sell 900 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 450 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. The drive will include selling hundreds of copies of the Pathfinder book *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes at a special price of \$10. The book, available in English, French, and Spanish, explains how working people in Cuba were able to make a revolution and the perspective of building a proletarian party in the United States capable of leading masses of working people to overthrow the capitalist state and take power in their own countries.

At a March 30 demonstration in Toronto demanding the right of Palestinians to return to their land, 14 protesters bought the *Militant* and two Pathfinder titles on the Palestinian fight for liberation. Socialists

handed out dozens of double-sided flyers announcing an upcoming Militant Labor Forum on the five Cuban revolutionaries in U.S. prisons on one side and a photocopy of the "Middle East—issues behind the conflict" page of the Pathfinder catalog along with the Pathfinder bookstore address on the other.

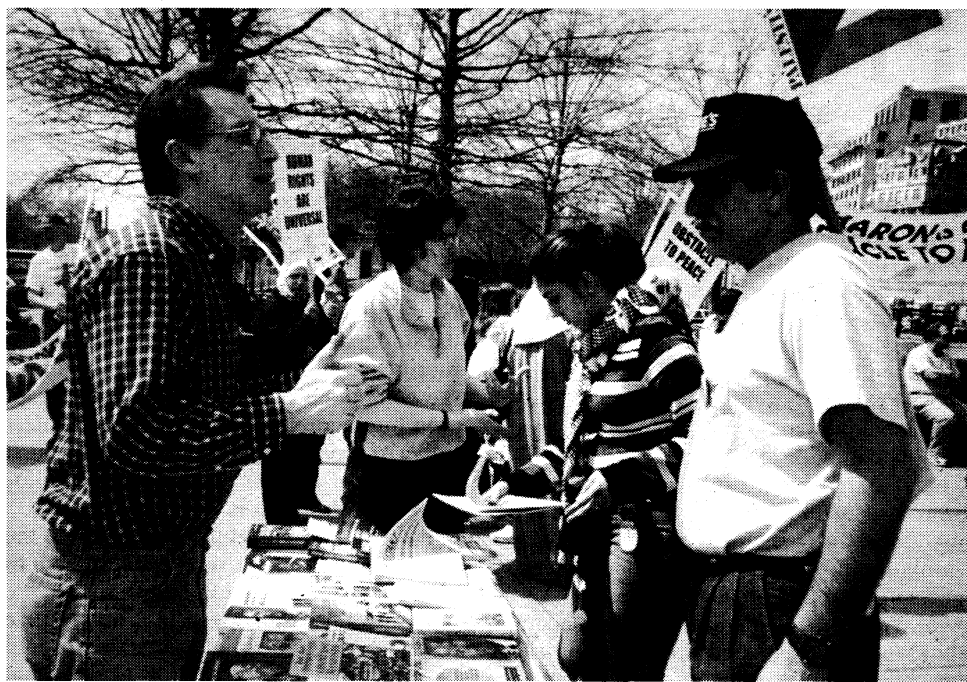
Bill Estrada from New York reports that socialist workers in Upper Manhattan sold some \$65 in books at a literature table in the workers district near the Pathfinder bookstore, March 31. Many of the books focused on the Palestinian struggle, the nature of the state of Israel, and the history of oppression of Jews. Over that weekend a total of 30 single copies of the *Militant* and four subscriptions to the *Militant*, and two to *Perspectiva Mundial* were purchased by people in the area.

At the same location the week before, socialists sold close to \$200 in Pathfinder literature. One man bought every title on the table that addressed the Palestinian struggle and the Jewish question, totaling some \$100 in books and pamphlets.

Participants in the April 1 rally in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in support of the Widows' Walk to demand black lung benefits for miners and their spouses, picked up 15 copies of the *Militant* and three subscriptions during the rally and discussions afterward.

Kathie Fitzgerald reports that leading up to the Uniontown rally socialists from Pittsburgh sold 11 papers to miners at five mine portals. One team sold another nine papers to workers in a rural area outside Uniontown. Several people told *Militant* supporters about their own struggles to get black lung benefits in face of the coal operators' greed. In one small town socialists found the area had been posted with flyers on the Widows' Walk by a garment worker at the nearby Flushing Shirt plant.

Socialists from Cleveland and Pittsburgh



Militant/Lea Sherman

Participants in the March 30 Palestinian Land Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., like those above, bought 130 copies of the *Militant* and \$125 in Pathfinder literature. As Israel's assault on the Palestinian people escalates, socialists are finding a growing number of working people and youth hungry to learn the truth about the Palestinian struggle.

sold another five papers going door-to-door in a neighborhood of Osage, a town that is majority Black. One person who bought a paper called up his neighbor and arranged to open up a museum that documents the history of the coal mining town.

Participants in the upcoming subscription drive are encouraged to send into the *Mili-*

tant their local goals for the campaign by April 9 and to make plans for the week starting April 13 to be a solid kickoff for the drive. Any notes or articles about sales experiences, as well as photographs of sales at literature tables in workers districts and on campuses, at plant-gates or mine portals, and protest actions are welcome.

Socialists launch ballot drive in Texas

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

HOUSTON—Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign here hit the streets March 30, beginning a one-month petition drive to place Anthony Dutrow on the ballot for U.S. Congress in the November election.

The 18th congressional district that the socialist meat packer is running in includes most of the city of Houston. On their first day of petitioning Dutrow and his supporters collected 105 signatures from people in

the workers district that surrounds the campaign offices. Five hundred signatures are required for ballot status. Campaign supporters are planning to submit 1,500.

"It's good to see a workers' campaign here in Texas," said Oscar Riveras as he signed the petition. "I wish you well." After signing he stopped to look at the books on the campaign table. He picked up *El desorden mundial del capitalismo* (Capitalism's World Disorder). "That name says a lot," he commented.

The night before petitioning began, Dutrow gave a talk at the Militant Labor Forum, where he outlined the campaign's support for the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and called for an end to Washington's aid to the Israeli regime. The socialist candidate encouraged those in attendance to learn about and defend five Cuban revolutionaries framed up and imprisoned by the U.S. government. The five were living in Florida where they were gathering information on the activities of right-wing organizations that have carried out violent attacks against Cuba. He called for the release of nearly 600 prisoners Washington holds in brutal conditions at its naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba, and in Afghanistan.

'We work harder and harder'

Out on the street the next day, Walter Singleton, a chemical worker in Houston for 43 years, was glad to meet the socialist can-

Continued on Page 14

Protesters oppose INS arrests at L.A. airport

Continued from front page

rent and future INS raids and sweeps cease immediately," said Angelica Salas, a leader of the Coalition for Humane and Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, addressing the media and supporters at the airport protest.

The demonstration was organized by the Coalition for Humane and Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, the Central American Resource Center, Service Employees International Union Local 1877, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union, Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, Garment Worker Center, and several other immigrant, human rights, and religious organizations.

In response to the protests INS spokesman Francisco Arcaute told the *Los Angeles Times*, "We welcome their opinion, but we will continue with our operations wherever they're needed."

Sweeps of el Centro

In the week following the arrests at Southwest Airlines, INS agents went through the streets and into several buildings in the downtown garment district and shopping area for Latino families, or *el Centro* as it is called in Spanish. Garment workers reported that people were approached on the street and asked for their papers, chased, and those apprehended were loaded onto buses.

The Spanish-language radio stations announced the presence of the INS and as word spread, workers emptied out of shops to leave the area. The last two Saturdays in March the bosses in garment shops announced they had been alerted that INS agents were in the area and that everyone without papers should go home.

Workers at some shops cleared out of the area, while some bosses simply locked the doors of the plant.

During the week Spanish language radio stations urged people to remain calm and said that many reports were coming in that weren't verified. Latino vendors in *el Centro* sold their wares while keeping an eye out for the federal agents. "This is awful," one shopkeeper originally from the Middle East said. "These people are just trying to make a living. I thought they were supposed to



Militant/Elizabeth Lariscy

Action in Los Angeles March 28 protested INS arrests of hundreds of immigrant workers

chase terrorists not workers."

A sewing machine operator from Guatemala remembered the last time this happened in the garment district about three years ago when his two brothers-in-law were deported. "But, they're back working now," he said with a smile.

"I'm afraid, but I have to work," said Mario, another sewing machine operator. "And if they deport me, I'll come back. I work hard and I have a right to make a living and support my family here."

During the workday a sewing machine operator told the entire shop where she works that she had just heard on the Span-

ish-language radio station that the INS picked up a busload of 50 immigrants in a sweep of McArthur Park, in a Central American neighborhood near downtown on a Saturday afternoon.

An anti-immigrant protest of 150 rightists was held at the federal building on the same Saturday as the first INS raid in *el Centro*. The demonstration was organized by Border Patrol, a group promoting vigilante actions in the border areas.

Nan Bailey and Elizabeth Lariscy are sewing machine operators in downtown Los Angeles.

Blow to rights

Continued from front page

cultural industries are composed of undocumented workers, said UFW spokesman Marc Grossman in a phone interview. This decision means that these workers "will have no remedy and no recourse." When growers violate labor laws, "the worst that they will have to do now is just post a notice saying they won't do it again," he said.

"The message is clear: work but don't create any commotion. Don't organize, don't complain. Don't ask for your rights, just do what 'we' bosses say," Tiberio Chávez, a union mechanic fired from ConAgra's Northern States Beef plant in Omaha, Nebraska, told a *Militant* correspondent. Workers at the plant are involved in a fight for union recognition, and Chávez has been a leader of that struggle. "This will be a big deal for workers at our plant. It's like the company is saying we make the rules, you have no rights," he said.

Another worker involved in the union organizing drive said he doesn't agree with the ruling either. "The U.S. Constitution says everyone is equal under the law, that we have the same rights. It's not correct to discriminate based on a worker's immigration status. It's a violation of civil rights."

Protests in Mideast

Continued from front page

pressure and allow the march, which involved more than 6,000 people.

Demonstrations took place in a number of Egyptian cities in spite of assaults by police forces using water cannon and tear gas. Thousands of students rallied at Cairo University on April 1 and marched to the Israeli embassy, demanding that the government break all diplomatic ties with Israel and expel the Israeli ambassador. On April 3, Egyptian information minister Safwat el-Sherif announced that the government would suspend all ties with Israel that did not "serve the Palestinian cause"—a largely symbolic move by a regime under intense pressure from the popular masses.

In Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, several thousand students stood up to cops in riot gear brandishing truncheons and during their protest in solidarity with the Palestinians.

The former prime minister of Jordan, Taher Masri, summed up the displeasure of the capitalist rulers in various countries in the region. "The Arab masses are on the move," he said. "It's a terrible situation. The regimes were beginning to stabilize, and the region was moving in the right direction. Now some regimes will suffer."

The most savage Israeli offensive

The wave of protests was sparked by the most savage Israeli offensive in the West Bank in the 18 months of heightened Pales-

tinian resistance and Israeli repression. Israeli troops backed by heavy armor and air power now occupy Ramallah, Bethlehem, Tulkarm, Qalqilyah, Nablus, Salfit, and Jenin. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has set no time limits on the invasion.

In Ramallah, a city of 200,000 people and the de facto capital of the Palestinian Authority, tanks smashed through the walls of the compound used by Yasir Arafat, trapping him and other members of the Palestinian Authority inside. Israeli soldiers burst into room after room, gunning down Palestinian guards and officials at close range.

Accurate figures of the human toll of the Israeli incursion have not been released. In one instance, on April 2, Palestinians were forced to bury their dead in a mass grave when the morgue at the Ramallah hospital became filled to overflowing. The hospital had received 28 bodies since the offensive began four days earlier and Israeli officers refused to allow families to hold individual funerals and burials.

During a shoot-on-sight curfew that was only lifted with the April 2 surrender of some 200 Palestinians, an Israeli sniper killed Widan Sofran, a 56-year-old woman, 50 yards from the hospital where she had just had a leg cast removed.

The Sharon government claims to be targeting the organizations and individuals who have organized suicide bombings and guerrilla attacks on Israeli soldiers, tanks,



Thousands in Jordan demand the government break relations with Israel

settlements, and—increasingly—cities inside Israeli itself. On April 2, Israeli officers admitted to seizing some 880 Palestinians for questioning during the previous five days. In contrast to their previous sweeps in early March, which targeted only men, they have issued a call to women between the ages of 15 and 25 to submit to interrogation as well.

Media reports indicated that some 15 Israeli soldiers were wounded on April 2 alone as the occupation forces encountered resis-

tance in all the invaded towns and cities. In the week preceding the wide-ranging assault, March 27 to April 1, at least 38 Israelis were killed in suicide bombings.

Israeli deaths have climbed rapidly as Palestinian guerrilla attacks and bombings have increased in number and sophistication. The total known death count from September 2000 to April 3 stood at 1,153 Palestinians and 404 Israelis, a ratio of less than three to one. As recently as November of last year the comparable figure was more than four to one.

White House backs the offensive

Two days after the Israeli forces rolled into Ramallah, U.S. president George Bush publicly backed the offensive, laying the responsibility at the door of Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. "We are at this point," he said March 30, "because there has not been enough done to fight off terror.... And that especially applies to [Palestinian leader Yasir] Arafat.... I fully understand Israel's need to defend itself."

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld linked Israel's crisis to the "war on terror"—Washington's pretext for the expansion of its military presence in Central and Southeast Asia as well as Latin America and the Middle East—in a press briefing the following day.

Some U.S. politicians and commentators, however, have expressed unease at the explosive situation and the failure of Washington to force through a cease-fire. "We are telling them that it's going to get tougher and tougher and things are in danger of getting out of hand," said a White House official.

In particular, the U.S. rulers are concerned at the loss of momentum in their drive toward a new war on Iraq. "Over the past two weeks the war on terror has taken a turn for the worse [owing to] the President's re-engagement in the Israeli-Arab conflict," complained the *Wall Street Journal* in a March 29 editorial entitled "Quagmire."

"All of the focus on Palestine merely diverts valuable U.S. time and attention away from al Qaeda and Iraq," continued the big-business paper. "The path to a calmer Mideast now lies not through Jerusalem but through Baghdad."

Backing up its political support for Israel's war policies over the past several decades, U.S. imperialism has massively bankrolled the Israeli government and its war machine. Today Israel is the largest recipient in U.S. military and economic "aid," receiving an annual infusion of nearly \$3 billion in 1998, more than any other country in the world. In the same year, the Egyptian government received more than \$2 billion in U.S. funds, putting it in second place.

To date, there is no sign that the open-ended and increasingly massive Israeli offensive will be able to stifle Palestinian determination to keep fighting for their dignity and national rights. The *New York Times* reported that while people were stocking up on food and groceries in the expectation of Israeli attacks, "there was defiance, too. In Gaza, demonstrators set fire to effigies of Mr. Bush, Mr. Sharon and a figure representing Arab leaders, as well as a coffin labeled 'Arab League.'"

Protesters in Cairo and Amman also opposed the decision of the recent summit of Arab League nations endorsing a Saudi Arabian government proposal to "normalize" relations with Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This was the first proposal by the Arab League to normalize relations since the creation of Israel in 1948.

Rally in Washington protests Israeli aggression

BY LEA SHERMAN

WASHINGTON—In the midst of Israel's unrelenting, brutal offensive against the Palestinian people in Ramallah and other parts of the occupied territories, 3,000 supporters of the Palestinian struggle rallied near the White House here March 30 to denounce the Israeli aggression and U.S. financial and military aid to the Israeli regime.

One thousand people marched in Los Angeles and Toronto, and hundreds held picket lines from San Francisco to Boston.

Several of the larger protests were originally organized by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) to mark the forcible dispossession of the Palestinian people from their land by the Israeli regime. The yearly protest, known as Land Day, commemorates the March 30, 1976, killing of six Palestinians during protests against massive land confiscations by the Israeli government. "End the occupation! End the violence!" were the demands of the protest here.

Participants in the rally came from up and down the East Coast, with many waving Palestinian flags or holding handmade signs condemning the Israeli assault and demanding a free Palestine. High school students and other young people turned out in large numbers, putting a militant stamp on the action.

During the entire rally participants lined Pennsylvania Avenue chanting, "No Land, No Peace," and "Bush, Sharon you will see, Palestine will be free." Other chants included "Free, free Palestine," "Free, free Arafat," and "Bush, Bush, you should know, we support the PLO."

"The timing of the rally can't be more appropriate," said Monica Tarazi, the director of the New York ADC chapter, at the opening of the rally. "We want to send a strong, loud message demanding an end to the occupation, and for peace and freedom."

Hasan Abdul Rahman, representative of the Palestinian Authority in the United States, told the crowd that he had just received a call from Yasir Arafat's office in Ramallah, which is surrounded by Israeli tanks and troops. He denounced Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon as a war criminal and an enemy of peace, and questioned Washington's "evenhandedness" in the conflict.

Among other demands raised by the speakers at the rally were for an end to U.S. government shipments of military supplies to the Israeli regime and for Washington's support for UN resolutions demanding immediate withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian cities.

"Jewish people are dying and I feel for them," said a young Palestinian high school student from Falls Church, Virginia, "but they are asking for it when they have their military occupying Palestine," she said. "We



Some 3,000 people rallied March 30 in Washington, D.C., in support of Palestinians' struggle against Israeli military assaults in West Bank.

are going to fight back. Even if they hit us harder, we will fight back."

Marwan Hishmeh, 25, who was born in the United States, said, "I want to add my voice against America's support of the Israeli occupiers," adding that his uncle is locked up in Ramallah under the Israeli military occupation of that Palestinian city.

Larry Johnson came on the bus with 35 people from Youngstown, Ohio. He was waving the Irish flag and said that he came because the action was about "basic rights—whether it be in Palestine, South Africa, or Ireland. These are parallel struggles. All are opposed to occupation."

March in Toronto

Chanting "Israel, USA, how many kids did you kill today," "End the occupation now!" and "Long live Arafat," protesters from cities throughout southern Ontario marched through the streets of Toronto to the Israeli trade mission and then to the United States consulate. The demonstrators were in their majority Palestinian, and others from the Middle East, organized by the Canadian Arab Federation, Palestine House, and local Muslim mosques. They were all ages but many were of high school age. The protesters displayed spirit, militancy, and confidence in the Palestinian struggle.

Hundreds of cardboard coffins were covered with Palestinian colors, many labeled with the names, ages, refugee camps and other locations where Palestinians were killed by the Israeli army. Some coffins represented Israelis who have died. The coffins were carried by the demonstrators and

placed on the street in front of the Israeli trade mission offices.

Marchers included members of Jewish Youth Against the Occupation, speakers included both Palestinians and Jews opposed to the murderous policies of the Israeli government. New Democratic Party provincial legislature member Peter Koromos called for an end to the occupation, the formation of a Palestinian state, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their land.

In Los Angeles, Michel Shehadeh, Western Regional Director of the ADC, chaired the rally. "It is essential that the American people understand that the Israeli occupation of Palestine is the root cause of all evils in the region," he said, addressing the crowd of 1,000. Those who joined the demonstration included Arabs of many generations, students from local campuses, and others. Across the street a dozen supporters of the Israeli regime held up a single sign that said, "Killing Israelis and American Civilians Will Not Solve the Conflict."

Four hundred people turned out in San Francisco and another 120 participated in an emergency picket line held in front of the Israeli consulate in Boston April 1. Another demonstration is being organized at Government Center in Boston. A student at the picket line said he and others at Boston University are organizing a Palestinian Awareness Week to be held later this month.

John Steele, a meat packer and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers in Toronto, Ted Leonard, and Roger Calero contributed to this article.

Pathfinder titles offer lessons on Palestine

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Workers and young people seeking to rally support for the Palestinian struggle will find a wealth of historical material, along with the lessons from decades of revolutionary battles, in the books, pamphlets, and bulletins published by Pathfinder.

From the debates and discussions of the international communist movement after World War I, to more recent resolutions and talks in *Capitalism's World Disorder* and *New International* no. 7, these publications record the political conquests of proletarian parties as they have acted to fight imperialism and advance the Arab revolution, including the battle for Palestinian national self-determination.

Even before the formation of the state of Israel in 1948, the revolutionary socialist movement argued that any such government would be a bulwark of reaction against the Arab masses. Communists have championed the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine, requiring a revolutionary struggle to topple the capitalist regime and forge a new state in the process. That slogan signals a road forward for the peoples of the region, including the Jews, for whom Israel is more and more a death trap.

Following World War I, imperialist Britain, which held Palestine under colonial rule, backed Zionist projects to build Jewish settlements in the Middle East. In response, the Communist International (Comintern) opposed the "creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, where the overwhelming majority of the population is Arab."

The Comintern declaration said the "slogan of the Jewish proletariat, and of every friend of the toiling masses and every fighter for national liberation, must be 'Hands Off Palestine!'" The document is printed in *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. "A privileged Jewish minority is being artificially implanted in the population of Palestine," it said.

The document pointed out that owing to London's policies, "Jews are being provocatively identified as initiators and culprits in parceling out of Arab lands among the victorious powers, including the handing over of Palestine to Britain. This identification serves British imperialism in Palestine and throughout the East as a means to ignite national passions among the working people of the East and to sow hatred between Arabs and Jews."

The revolutionary movement of the period established itself as a militant foe of anti-Semitism and Jew hatred, which were whipped up by reactionary rulers whenever their domination came under challenge. The history and role of such scapegoating in ancient and medieval society, and its continued use by the modern capitalist class, are discussed in the classic Marxist study *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*, written by Abram Leon, a revolutionary who died in Hitler's death camps.

A 'bloody trap' for Jews

With the fascist victory in Germany and the Second World War on the horizon, the

"Theses on the Jewish Question," a 1938 resolution included in the *Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*, warned that a Jewish state in Palestine, "a land already occupied by a hostile people...can be nothing but the catspaw of imperialism."

"The Jews have reached an impasse because capitalism has reached an impasse," stated the resolution. "Only through the class struggle will the Jews find a road to the future."

Two years later Leon Trotsky, an exiled leader of the Russian Revolution and of the Fourth International, described "the attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine" as a "tragic mockery of the Jewish people."

"The future development of military events," said the Bolshevik leader, whose remarks are included in *On the Jewish Question*, "may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews."

The pamphlet *How Can the Jews Survive: A Socialist Answer to Zionism* by George Novack stated that "the solution of the Jewish question is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity that can be brought about only along the road of international socialism."

Since its founding in 1948, the state of Israel has been "an imperialist beachhead in the Arab world that serves as the spearhead of imperialism's fight against the Arab revolution," stated "Israel and the Arab Revolution," a 1971 SWP resolution published in an *Education for Socialists* bulletin of the same name. The document noted that the most significant development following the victory of the Israeli armed forces in the 1967 war with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, was the subsequent growth of the Palestinian resistance movement. Its advocacy of self-determination "put it into direct conflict with any attempted denial of this right through a settlement between imperialism, Stalinism, the Israeli state, and the bourgeois Arab regimes."

For a democratic, secular Palestine

The Palestinian fight, stated the resolution, "has taken the form of a struggle to destroy the state of Israel. The currently expressed goal of this struggle is the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine. We give unconditional support to this struggle."

Explaining that Marxists are "the most militant and uncompromising fighters against anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews," the resolution emphasized that "Zionism is not, as it claims, a national liberation movement.... Within Israel, the Zionists lead the Jewish masses into the trap of opposing the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples."

"Within the framework of a democratic Palestine," explained the document, revolutionaries "support the right of the Israeli Jews to pursue their national culture." That is different, however, from support for the demand for Jewish self-determination. Revolutionaries support such a slogan for



Militant/Paul Boutelle

Palestinian children playing in Lebanon in 1968 near a wall with graffiti clearly stating the main reason the Palestinian masses continue their struggle for liberation.

"oppressed nationalities, those that are being denied their democratic rights through national oppression." In contrast to Palestinians, Jews in the Middle East do not form an oppressed nationality.

As the Israeli regime, benefiting from an increased torrent of U.S. funds after 1967, consolidated itself through a succession of wars, the Palestinian struggle underwent further evolution. This period is documented in *Israel's War against the Palestinian People* by David Frankel and Will Reissner, published following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation* by Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad. Both pamphlets provide readers with a wealth of historical material.

The PLO leadership's 1982 expulsion from Lebanon, in spite of a hard-fought defensive war, spurred a shift in the forces fighting for Palestinian nationhood. While the official leaders were drawn into closer political dependence on the regimes in the Middle East and North Africa, said Jack Barnes in the "Opening Guns of World War III," published in *New International No. 7* in 1991, "more of the leadership of the Palestinian movement has shifted to the occupied West Bank, to Gaza, to Jerusalem, and to inside Israel's pre-1967 borders—especially since the beginning of the intifada more than three years ago."

In 1990-1991, the U.S. rulers' war drive against Iraq was primarily aimed at assert-

ing its hold over Mideast oil and its predominance over its imperialist rivals. "A collateral objective," said Barnes, was to put it "in a stronger position to force a 'solution' to the Palestinian national question." This goal was intertwined with "their long-standing aim of establishing stable, profitable relations with the major capitalist regimes in the region."

This push had ramifications for Washington's alliance with Israel. Tel Aviv came out as "losers" from the Gulf War, said Barnes, "from U.S. imperialism's strengthened alignment with the Egyptian, Saudi, and Syrian regimes." The Israeli rulers' influence with Washington was weakened, although U.S. military and economic aid continued to pour into Tel Aviv.

Despite Washington's carefully laid plans, Barnes said in *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, published in 1999, "the war did nothing to bring the imperialists nearer their goal of imposing a solution denying the right to national self-determination to the Palestinians."

The book describes the Oslo and Wye River accords that established "limited Palestinian self-administration over pockets of land in the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza (only some 2 percent of the West Bank), with the Israeli government retaining overall sovereignty, control of all borders, and veto power over questions of land and water us-

Continued on Page 12

Rivals assess U.S. military

Continued from Page 13

though still banned by its post-World-War-II constitution from undertaking combat action abroad, sent 1,500 troops to be available for "relief operations" in Afghanistan. Its forces included two transport ships escorted by three destroyers.

London, attempting to buffer the decades-long decline of British imperialism, once again grabbed onto the coattails of Washington and made available whatever troops and warplanes the U.S. military requested to use in its military assault in Afghanistan. "If you want to have influence over the Americans, you have to be on the ground with them," said a British senior government official about the recent decision to send up to 1,700 troops to serve under U.S. command in that country.

Not so rapid-reaction force

Following the blows the European imperialist powers were dealt by Washington after they proved incapable of bringing force to bear in Yugoslavia in the mid-to-late 1990s, the European Union announced in 1999 that it would put together a rapid reaction force capable of operating independently of NATO. After three years, EU offi-

cials say the force of 60,000 troops will be put together by 2003, with support from a total of 100,000 troops, 400 combat aircraft, and 100 ships.

But from the beginning the creation of the rapid reaction force has been undermined by the bitter divisions among the European governments themselves. Short of massive increases in military expenditures, the imperialist governments in Europe lack the airlift, transportation, intelligence, or logistical capacity to field a military operation of this size. And an initial agreement to develop a military transport aircraft to be used by the European armed forces has not been able to get off the ground due to the failure to reach agreement on financing terms.

Klaus Becher, of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, told the *Financial Times* that the "Europeans need new capabilities. That is the bottom line. Once that is met then we can talk about a new relationship between the Europeans and the Americans. The ball is in the court of the Europeans if they really want to end the old divisions of labor. Until then, they should lower their expectations."

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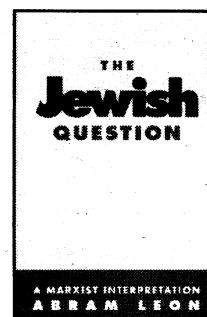
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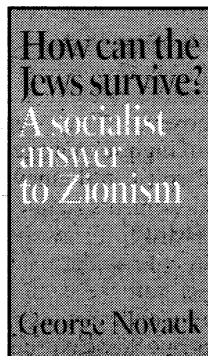
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Amid U.S. threats, Korean envoys begin talks

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In the midst of one of the largest U.S. sponsored military exercises off the coast of Korea held March 21-27, and other provocations against north Korea by Washington, the governments of both parts of the divided country announced they will exchange high-level envoys to resume talks toward normalizing relations.

According to north Korea's Radio Pyongyang, a south Korean diplomat left March 25 for the north to discuss "the serious situation that has recently arisen before the people of the two sides and inter-Korean issues of mutual interest."

The move reflected the strong support among the peoples of Korea on both sides of the border for reunification of their country, despite Washington's escalating military threats against the north and the presence of 37,000 U.S. troops in the south, backed by warships and nuclear weapons.

At the same time a massive strike began April 2. More than 100,000 workers, including shipbuilders, auto workers, teachers, and taxi drivers affiliated with the Korea Confederation of Trade Unions took action to back the fight by 4,000 workers at the state-run Korea Electric Power Corp. against government plans to privatize the utility. The power workers, who have been on strike since February 25, have stood up to government threats and police repression. So far, nine power union leaders are under arrest and 344 have been fired for organizing the strike.

The joint U.S.-south Korean "war games" that have just concluded were described by a BBC report as the biggest since the 1950-53 Korean war. The drill involved most of the U.S. troops in south Korea as well as other U.S. forces stationed in Japan and the U.S.-occupied island of Guam, as well as 650,000 south Korean soldiers. Among the many maneuvers was a landing drill near the southeastern industrial port of Pohang.

Over the past month Washington has named the north Korean government as one of the three "axis-of-evil" states along with Iran and Iraq, as well as one of the seven countries—together with China, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Russia, and Syria—to be targeted for possible use of nuclear weapons.

The Bush administration has also announced that it will refuse to certify that north Korea is meeting its commitments under a 1994 nuclear accord. Under this agreement Washington, together with Japan, south Korea, and some European nations promised to provide \$4 billion for the construction of two nuclear reactors in north Korea in exchange for an agreement by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) to not make use of an alleged stock of plutonium to meet its nuclear energy needs.

Both the north Korean government and

news reports point out that it is the U.S. rulers and their allies who are not meeting their end of the bargain. The two reactors "were supposed to be completed by 2003 but concrete has not yet been poured into the foundations and completion is unlikely before 2008," noted the March 22 *Financial Times*. Pyongyang is seeking a power station from Russia as an alternative energy solution.

Despite the U.S. rulers' accusations around the nuclear accord, an unnamed senior official in the Bush administration made clear to the *New York Times* that "in refusing to make the certifications, Washington is not accusing North Korea of violating the agreement." In fact Bush even announced that in the interests of "national security" the certification required by Congress of north Korean compliance will be waived, which means the delivery of fuel and oil from the United States to north Korea will continue uninterrupted for the time being.

Tokyo is also taking a more hard-line stance toward north Korea. The Japanese rulers are threatening to cut off food aid to Pyongyang for what they allege is the kidnapping of 11 Japanese citizens over the past

few years, who supposedly are now residing in north Korea.

Meanwhile a German doctor, Norbert Vollersten, is planning further "spontaneous" defections of north Koreans in a drive to portray the government in Pyongyang as a repressive dictatorship. Vollersten was behind what was made to appear in the international press as a storming of the Spanish embassy in Beijing by desperate north Koreans. The 25 were recruited for the operation by members of Vollersten's group "in northeast China and taken to Beijing, where they were disguised as South Korean tourists in designer clothes." A TV crew and photographers were lined up beforehand, hiding behind trees outside the Spanish compound, to record what the media would pitch as the group's "bolt for freedom."



Background to Korean conflict today

A leadership delegation from the Socialist Workers Party will be traveling to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea this month to participate in events marking two national holidays. In an effort to provide some background information on the struggle of the Korean people against imperialism and for national reunification, we are reprinting excerpts of a "Reporter's Notebook" from the Nov. 2, 1990, *Militant*. The article covers the visit to north Korea by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes. The article was titled, "Learning truth of U.S. role in Korea: Socialist Workers Party leaders visit North Korea, back reunification fight."

BY MARGARET JAYKO

PYONGYANG, North Korea—During the 1950-53 U.S. war against Korea, the Pentagon carried out such heavy bombing of the northern part of the country that virtually every factory was destroyed. Pilots bombed five of the 20 major dams, causing massive flooding and loss of civilian lives. The only reason U.S. and allied forces didn't destroy all the dams was because they feared an international outcry against the indiscriminate death and destruction that would surely result.

Since then, the workers and farmers in North Korea have successfully undertaken the Herculean task of rebuilding their dev-

astated homeland.

Impressive in this regard is the West Sea Barrage. Built along the five-mile mouth of the Taedong River, which drains into the West Sea, it stores billions of cubic yards of water to irrigate 247,000 acres of reclaimed soil—a figure officials hope they can triple. This is no small question in North Korea. Much of the country is covered by a series of north-south mountain ranges separated by narrow valleys. Thus arable land is scarce.

The barrage also supplies drinking water to several major towns and villages. A railway, motorway, and sidewalks on top of the barrage make travel between the areas on opposite sides of the sea qualitatively easier.

The barrage is a huge structure consisting of three locks and 36 sluices. The locks open to enable large ships to sail up the river.

Construction of the barrage started in 1981 and was completed in five years by the Korean People's army. More than 10 hills had to be removed to block off the sea and erect the dam, and more than 21 million cubic yards of stones were transported.

After touring the barrage, SWP leader Barnes noted that no anti-aircraft weapons or other defensive military equipment has been installed. "This is one more piece of evidence," he commented, "giving the lie to Washington's claim that North Korea is a belligerent country contemplating war against the South."

"This is simply the U.S. ruling class' justification," he continued, "for keeping more than 45,000 U.S. troops and 40 U.S. military installations in South Korea."

"It's obvious," he added, "that no one would dedicate the human and material resources that it took to build this barrage—an extremely vulnerable structure—and other large public works that exist in the North only to start another war which would result in their destruction. The West Sea Barrage is a concrete illustration of the desire of the people of the North for peaceful reunification of their country."

We spent more than three hours visiting the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum here in Pyongyang. We could have spent three days. The museum is a large, modest-looking building, and was built by soldiers. It has more than 80 rooms; we only had time to view a handful of them. It tells more of the real story of the Korean War than any museum, monument, or movies ever released in the United States.

Lieut. Col. Li Hwang Chung, director of the Education Department, and Han Ok Hwa, our guide, showed us around. The museum was first opened in 1953 and then rebuilt and expanded in 1974 by members of the Korean People's Army, she said.

We saw photos of secret U.S. documents that fell into the North's hands during the war. On display are some of the initial orders issued by U.S. Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1945. After Tokyo was defeated in World War II, Washington and Moscow agreed to divide Korea instead of allowing the Korean people the unity and independence that they had

fought for over several decades of brutal Japanese military occupation.

MacArthur declared U.S. military control of Korea south of the 38th parallel and made English the official language in the South in a Sept. 7, 1945, proclamation.

On November 2, the military government decreed that all the laws established by the hated Japanese occupiers would be enforced in the South. Those laws that had been promulgated by the insurgent "people's committees" were annulled, as the committees were violently repressed by the authorities.

With the beginning of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, military forces from the North rapidly liberated more than 90 percent of Korean territory, including Seoul, the capital of the South. In those areas where southern dictator Syngman Rhee's troops were driven out, land reform was instituted by the northern army, a measure which was welcomed by the impoverished peasants.

Washington then sent large numbers of troops, ships, planes, and tanks in order to try to smash the North Korean forces and regain domination of at least part of Korea. It failed to deal a decisive blow to the North Korean army but was able to push its troops to the Yalu River, which borders China.

But the new workers and farmers government in China sent more than 1 million troops into the war on the side of the North. U.S. forces were pushed back, almost to where the demarcation line had been to begin with.

Large-scale bombing was carried out for more than two years by Washington and her allies, especially over North Korea, in order to try to force that country to give up. More than 428,000 bombs were dropped on Pyongyang alone—a city whose pre-war population was only 400,000.

According to museum exhibits, more than 717 million pounds of napalm—jellied fuel—was dropped on Korea, more than five times the amount used in World War II and a harbinger of what the Pentagon was to do in Vietnam a decade later.

"This museum should be required study for every young person, every veteran, every worker and farmer in the United States," commented Barnes.

"Many people in the United States don't know about the barbarous atrocities inflicted on the Korean people by Washington. And they don't realize that without the resistance of the Korean people in the 1950s that weakened Washington and ended the racist illusion of its absolute power, the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism would have been much more difficult and cost an ever higher price," the SWP leader continued.

"They don't know that Korea—not Vietnam—was the first big defeat suffered by the U.S. imperialists. They don't know that the burning down of villages and foodstuffs as a pattern of action began in Korea, not in the war against the Vietnamese. They don't know that Korean workers who lived in Japan were also victims of the atomic bombs dropped by Washington.

"But these are the things that we will talk about when we return home," he promised.

REGIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE Chicago, Illinois April 6-7

**'From the Escambray to the Congo': Report from Cuba
Join the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists
Build the world communist movement**

Conference location: Youth Center, 2020 S. Blue Island, corner of 21st St. and Blue Island, just east of Ashland, in the Pilsen community.

**Saturday, April 6, 4:00 p.m. Reception and dinner,
5:30 p.m. Program, including question and answer period**

Mary-Alice Waters, Editor, *From the Escambray to the Congo* by Victor Dreke; member of Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Jack Barnes, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Arrin Hawkins, YS leader and participant in Havana book fair

Linda Joyce, Pathfinder Reprint Project volunteer and participant in Havana book fair

Program chaired by: **Joel Britton**, meat packer, one of illegally terminated AMPAC workers; leader of the Socialist Workers Party

Sunday, April 7

8:30 a.m. - Meeting of young socialists

11 a.m. - Class on 'Cuba and the Coming American Revolution'

Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialists chapters in the region.

The event will coincide with a meeting of socialist workers who are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

'Conflicting Missions' documents truth of Cuban role in African freedom struggles

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

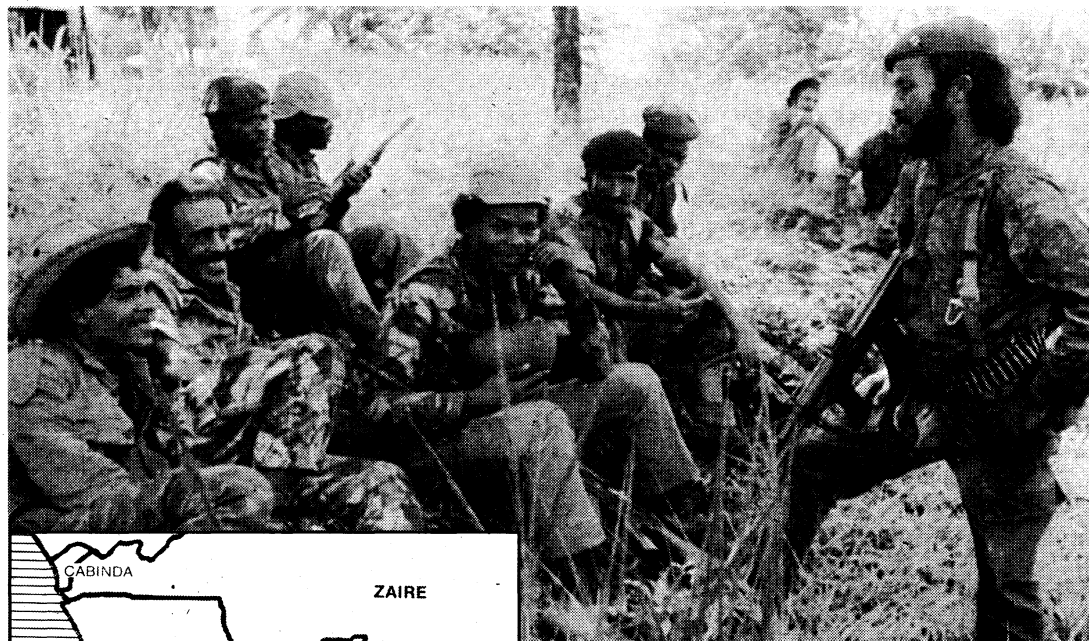
"From Old Files, a New Story of U.S. Role in Angolan War" was the headline on a prominently featured news article by senior *New York Times* correspondent Howard French in the March 31 issue of the paper. The *International Herald Tribune* featured the same article April 2 under the headline "Angola intervention/New evidence: Old files contradict U.S. account of war."

The story virtually overshadowed the news that on March 30 a preliminary cease-fire was signed between top military commanders from the Angolan government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA as it is widely known. Long backed by the U.S. government and earlier the South African apartheid regime, UNITA has been waging a civil war to overthrow the Angolan government ever since 1975. Neither elections held in 1992 nor a previous accord signed in 1994 brought an end to the war to overthrow—or at least weaken—the Angolan government, in which an estimated half a million people have died. The new cease-fire came barely a month after Jonas Savimbi, the central leader of UNITA for more than three decades, was killed in an ambush by government forces.

The "new evidence" cited by the *Times* reporter is the extensive documentary record painstakingly assembled by Johns Hopkins University professor Piero Gleijeses refuting two lies put forward by Washington and its apologists for over a quarter century. One is that Washington intervened in Angola in 1975 only after large numbers of Cuban troops had been sent to that country to support the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) when the country was on the eve of independence from Portugal. The other is the myth that there was no collaboration between the U.S. government and the apartheid regime of South Africa, which was also engaged in a massive operation to block the victory of the MPLA forces. Gleijeses's work is published in *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*, recently released by the University of North Carolina Press.

Imperialist interventions

On Nov. 11, 1975, after more than a decade of intensifying wars of national liberation in all of the Portuguese colonies of Africa, which had hastened the downfall of the decomposing fascist dictatorship in Portugal itself, a defeated Portuguese imperialism conceded independence to its former African



Cuban troops in Angola participating in internationalist mission in 1970s. Cuban volunteers were decisive in defeating counterrevolutionary forces as U.S. imperialism stepped up its intervention in southern Africa on the eve of Angola's independence from Portugal.

72 hours before the decisive battle of Quifangondo. The FNLA's advance was stopped there only a few miles outside Luanda on November 10, even as the Portuguese flag was being lowered for the last time over the governor's palace. At midnight that same day, Agostinho Neto, central leader of the MPLA, proclaimed the independence of Angola.

By the end of December, after several stinging defeats spearheaded by the Cuban volunteers, the South African troops had been forced into retreat. On March 27, 1976, the final South African military vehicles withdrew across the border into Namibia. That was the same day that the UN Security Council by a vote of 9-0, with South Africa's U.S. ally abstaining, condemned the "act of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola," and demanded compensation to Angola for war damages.

The war was hardly over. Only twelve years later was South Africa forced to withdraw for good, after countless battles and the most crushing defeat of all inflicted on the SADF in 1988 at Cuito Cuanavale by the combined forces of the Angolan government and Cuban volunteers. Namibia gained its independence, and the death rattle of the apartheid regime was heard around the world.

The 'news'

The "news" reported by the *New York Times* was that these facts, many of them long denied by Washington's preeminent spokespersons, are now accepted as the established truth. "Historians and former diplomats who have studied the documents say they show conclusively that the United States intervened

in Angola weeks before the arrival of any Cubans, not afterward as Washington claimed. Moreover, though a connection between Washington and South Africa ... was strongly denied at the time, the documents appear to demonstrate their broad collaboration," French reports.

"The Cuban intervention came in response to a CIA-financed covert invasion via neighboring Zaire, now known as Congo, and South Africa's simultaneous drive on the capital, using troops who posed as Western mercenaries," French notes. Moreover, "research documents significant coordination between the United States and South Africa, from joint training missions to airlifts, and bluntly contradicts the Congressional testimony of the era and memoirs of Henry A. Kissinger" who was then President Gerald Ford's secretary of state.

Kissinger testified before Congress in January 1976 that "in August [1975] intelligence reports indicated the presence of Soviet and Cuban military advisers, trainers and troops, including the first Cuban combat troops." This was in flat contradiction to the now declassified CIA and other intelligence reports of the time, Gleijeses notes. Kissinger "was rewriting history."

Robert Hultslander, CIA station chief in Luanda from August to November 1975, after reading the chapter on these events written by Gleijeses, sent him a letter, cited by the author in the pages of *Conflicting Missions*, saying: "I agree with the history as you present it, and with your conclusion regarding the assistance provided by Cuban forces, which I believe did not arrive in any numbers until we departed [on November 3]... Although we desperately wanted to find Cubans under every bush, during my tenure their presence was invisible, and undoubtedly limited to a few advisors." Hultslander had cleared his letter with the CIA before sending it, Gleijeses says.

Cuba alone decided

Conflicting Missions also challenges the view promoted by Washington's apologists that Cuban troops in Africa were acting as surrogates for the Soviet Union, French notes. Gleijeses documents the fact that the Cuban leadership made the decision to send troops to aid the MPLA forces on the eve of independence without consulting the Soviet government, and informed it of that decision only as the first planeload of volunteers were within hours of departure. "Eager not to derail an easing of tensions with Washington," French writes, "the Soviets limited themselves to providing 10 charter flights to transport Cubans to Angola in January 1976. The next year, Havana and Moscow supported opposite sides in an attempted coup in Angola," when MPLA forces seeking closer ties with the Soviet Union attempted to overthrow the government of

Continued on Page 14

Author of 'Conflicting Missions' comments on 'From the Escambray to the Congo'

Che Guevara paid Víctor Dreke, his lieutenant in Zaire, a handsome compliment: "He was, throughout our stay, one of the pillars on which I relied. The only reason I am not recommending that he be promoted is that he already holds the highest rank."

From the Escambray to the Congo is Dreke's story. With his characteristic honesty and intelligence, he offers a fascinating glimpse of years full of hope and pain, and of the Cubans who fought to create a better future—for Cuba and for the world.

Piero Gleijeses
January 2002

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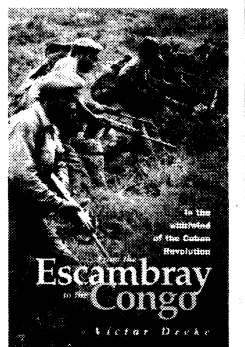
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Rally backs fight for black lung benefits

Continued from front page

and they should be compensated as a result. Linda Chapman, whose spouse died of black lung disease after working in the mines for 17 years, said for a person who has black lung, trying to breathe is like "putting a clothespin on your nose and stuffing a sock in your mouth." About 1,500 miners die every year from the disease. Chapman wants to get out the facts about this national disgrace.

UMWA District 2 president Ed Yankovich chaired the rally of about 300 people. It was attended by UMWA retirees, widows of UMWA miners, a layer of working miners, and elected UMWA officials from Pennsylvania and West Virginia. There were also elected political officeholders at the meeting.

How the walk got started

After attending a Black Lung Association meeting in West Virginia last year, Chapman proposed that she lead a widows' walk to Washington. This was after going through eight years of fighting for black lung benefits for her husband—an ordeal that included being denied benefits on both the state and federal level. Not being able to find a lawyer, Chapman represented her husband who died of black lung in 2001. After this harrowing experience, Chapman and the Black Lung Association were determined to organize a protest.

Chapman is walking for widows, who because of age, cannot march with her to Washington. She makes it a point at every rally and press interview along the way that she is walking for the widows of miners.

Chapman also makes the point that being defined as "widow" is not a word she "likes."

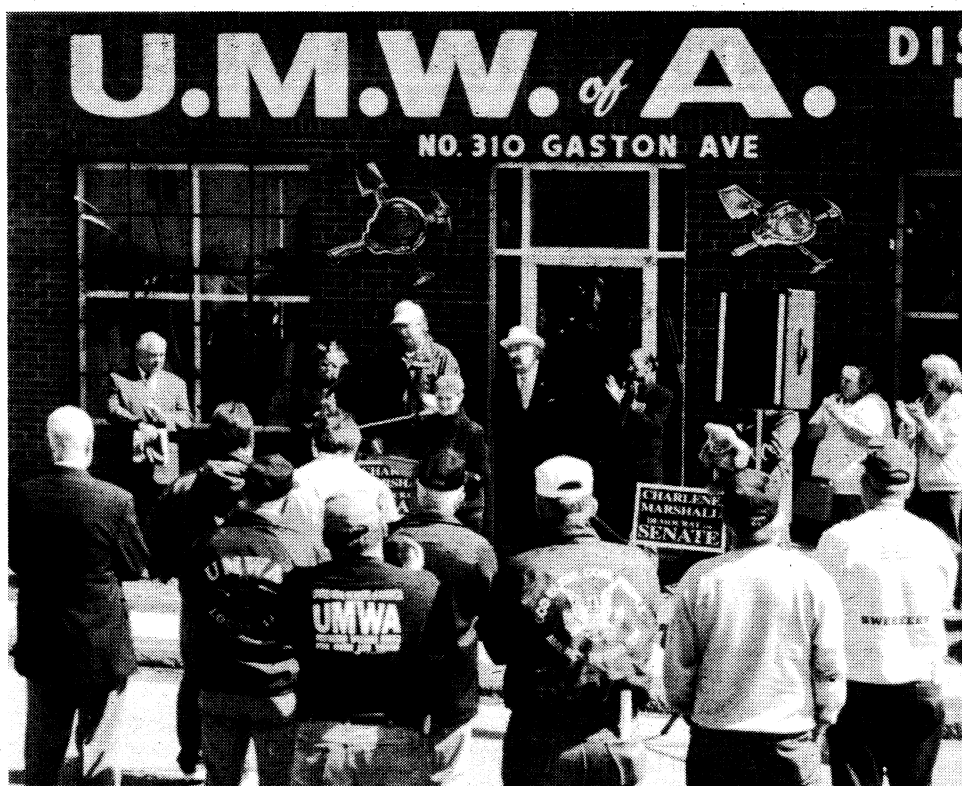
In criticizing the current federal black lung laws, Chapman presented a fighting perspective and appealed to the miners in the room to join her fight. "We're going to have to take back our voices," she said. "They may have taken your lungs but they didn't take your backbone. You better keep fighting for your black lung claims and don't shut up."

Chapman also blamed the coal companies, who pay, according to coal industry figures, just 6 cents per ton of coal for black lung benefits. Underscoring how paltry six cents is, Chapman said "this will really break them won't it?"

Fewer than 4 percent receive benefits

The coal bosses, led by organizations like the National Mining Association (NMA), are determined to pay as little as possible. As one of NMA's attorneys put it, "black lung is largely a thing of the past. There is no need for the black lung program." Today fewer than 4 percent of miners who apply for benefits ever receive any. For those who are able to go through the appeals process the percentage increases to slightly less than 6 percent, according to Debbie Wills, secretary of the National Black Lung Association.

Cecil Roberts, president of the UMWA, was the final speaker at the rally. In supporting the Widows' Walk, Roberts reminded the audience of the big battles that erupted in the coalfields after the 1968 Farmington disaster that killed 78 miners.



Militant/Tony Lane

Miners rally in Fairmont, West Virginia, to support national march demanding government provide benefits to miners who contract black lung disease. "They may have taken your lungs, but they didn't take your backbone," said organizer Linda Chapman.

This disaster was captured on national TV and was one of the main events that spurred on thousands of coal miners to take direct action against the state government of West Virginia.

At one point some 40,000 coal miners went on a wildcat strike, virtually shutting down coal production for three weeks in the state. About 3,000 miners and their families marched on the capitol of Charleston and refused to leave until the governor signed a black lung bill.

Roberts said about 100,000 miners have

died in mine disasters over the past century, and another 100,000 have fallen to black lung disease during the same period. "Nobody gives a damn in Congress," said Roberts. "It's time they start paying attention."

Roberts also connected the fight to defend black lung benefits to defending lifetime health benefits, what is commonly referred to as the Coal Act. In the face of adverse court decisions, and unrelenting attacks by the coal operators, Roberts said we may need "to go back to Washington, D.C., just as we did two years ago."

After the rally, many miners came up to Chapman to show support. Rosemary Woods, the wife of Timothy Woods, wanted to make sure that Chapman knew that "we are part of this fight." There were many miners at the Uniontown rally who had been denied black lung benefits and wanted to share their stories.

Earlier in the week, UMWA District 31 welcomed Chapman and Tipton in a spirited rally of 70 miners at the district's headquarters in Fairmont, West Virginia. After her press conference, several retired UMWA miners and a few widows came up to her and expressed heartfelt thanks. One miner showed his solidarity by giving Chapman a 1902 penny. For several days running, the Widows' Walk was front page news in the *Times West Virginian* and the *Dominion Post*, a daily out of Morgantown, West Virginia.

As they make their way to Washington, averaging close to 25 miles a day, the walk is gaining support from working people. Cars honking, giving the thumbs-up, and people giving financial support is an everyday occurrence, as well as a boost to morale.

Union support

The largest contingent of working miners, about 15, came from the Maple Creek mine in Bentleyville, Pennsylvania. The week before the rally miners put up flyers advertising the rally in the bathhouse to build support. The participation from the local is not surprising since the UMWA miners at this mine have been locked in battle against the owner of the mine, Robert Murray, a notorious hater of the UMWA and the labor movement.

More than a year ago the local rejected a take-back contract by a vote of 335 to 10. Their seven-year contract, which includes a wage freeze since 1995, expires later this year. Maple Creek miners are determined to fight to get parity in wages and other benefits, the same as union miners organized in the BCOA.

Solidarity from the UMWA was also expressed at the meeting for the Utility Workers of America, Local 102, who have been working without a contract since May 2001. The employer, Allegheny Energy, who buys their coal from coal giant, Consol, is out to bust the union.

For more information on the Widows' Walk call Peggy Coleman at (304) 595-2280. Donations for the walk can be sent to the NBLA, c/o Tom Ellis, P.O. Box 632, Royalton, Illinois 62983. A web page with newspaper reports on the walk is available at www.knowareland.com.

Frank Forrestal is a member of the UMWA in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Rumsfeld says Washington has 'right' to indefinitely hold inmates in prison camps

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld told reporters March 28 that Washington had the right to indefinitely incarcerate prisoners it holds in brutal conditions in Guantánamo, Cuba, and in Afghanistan even if they are acquitted in military tribunals or other courts.

U.S. prosecutors also acknowledged that they have no evidence that John Walker Lindh, the U.S. citizen captured with Taliban fighters in Afghanistan, has committed any crime.

In cases where a prisoner is found not guilty in a military tribunal, Rumsfeld said, "it does not change the fact that he is an enemy combatant." Even though "it might not be possible to establish beyond a reasonable doubt" that an inmate "committed a particular crime," he added, Washington is under no obligation to release the person.

White House officials say no charges have yet been filed against the 544 prisoners held under inhuman conditions at the U.S. prison camps, nor have they been afforded prisoner-of-war status. U.S. officials assert that Geneva Convention rules "apply to some extent" to imprisoned Taliban officers and soldiers, but not those deemed to be members of al Qaeda.

Under the Geneva Convention, prisoners have the right to return to their countries at the end of a military conflict. "The way I would characterize the 'end of the conflict' is when we feel that there are not effective global terrorist networks functioning in the world," said Rumsfeld. He indicated that Washington would decide on its own whether it would release any of the prisoners.

The 300 imprisoned at Washington's illegally-occupied Guantánamo Bay naval base in Cuba are kept in open-air, eight-foot by eight-foot chain-link cages. One military commandant of the camp earlier told the press that some of the prisoners are "victims of circumstance" and are innocent. This past week Maj. Gen. Michael Dunlavy, head of U.S. antiterror intelligence, told the *Miami Herald* that some of those caged at Guantánamo are "lost souls" who could provide very little useful information. At least two of them suffer from severe mental illness, he said.

Among those held at Guantánamo are

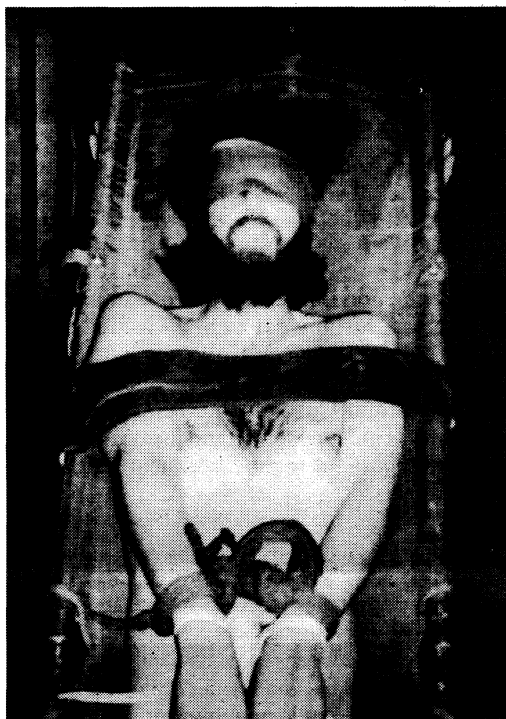


Photo of John Walker Lindh after his capture by U.S. military during assault on Afghanistan. Washington admits it has no evidence that Lindh committed any crime.

"people who were lost in society," said Dunlavy, and others who "were drawn into the promise of a jihad to fight the Northern Alliance." The *Herald* said that among those "are captives who provide little to zero intelligence value to the U.S. military and civilian law enforcement agencies."

The inmates have been protesting their treatment by organizing a hunger strike. U.S. military doctors have begun force-feeding two prisoners who refused food for 30 days to protest their detention at Guantánamo Bay. The doctors sedated the prisoners, then forced tubes through their noses and throat to pump nutrients into their stomachs. The military task force running the prison camp said the two detainees refused to eat "because they wanted to go home and not eating provided a means for them to protest their detention."

No evidence against Lindh

After a public campaign to demonize U.S. citizen John Walker Lindh, government officials now admit they have no evidence he

broke any laws. Lindh was indicted February 5 by a federal grand jury after being captured in Afghanistan while Washington conducted its bombing raids there. The grand jury in the Eastern District of Virginia filed a 10-count indictment against him that included "conspiracy to murder U.S. citizens" and "providing material support and resources to terrorist organizations."

In a question on whether the government's case against Lindh included charges of attempts to kill CIA agent Johnny Spann, who was slain in a prison uprising in Afghanistan, John Davis, an assistant U.S. attorney at the court hearing in Alexandria, Virginia, said, "There is no evidence at this time and no allegation of personal involvement in that overt act of this conspiracy."

The judge in the case, T.S. Ellis, said the prosecution did not have to prove that Lindh "actually shot at or did anything directly against Americans but that he joined the conspiracy to harm Americans." According to the *Times*, Ellis asserted that "a conspirator does not have to know everything that the conspiracy did."

In addition to using conspiracy charges to frame up five Cuban revolutionaries last year, the U.S. government is patching together another "conspiracy" case to railroad Zacarias Moussaoui, dubbed the "20th hijacker," to death row. Moussaoui is accused of training to join the 19 men who died in the September 11 suicide attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. He had been arrested in Minnesota three weeks earlier and was in prison that day.

A federal grand jury charged Moussaoui with conspiring to plan the September 11 attacks. The Justice Department announced March 28 that it would seek the death penalty against him. "It is unusual, lawyers said, to seek a death penalty in a case in which the defendant had no direct involvement in the fatal acts," said an article in the *International Herald Tribune*. Moussaoui's trial, like Lindh's, will be conducted in Virginia, one of the states leading the charge in legalized murder.

"My son is a scapegoat," said Moussaoui's mother, Aicha Moussaoui, noting that she had expected the death penalty announcement. "They can't find the people who are truly responsible for this crime."

Rightists use 'culture war' to advance their drive against workers

Printed below is an excerpt from the Pathfinder book *Capitalism's World Disorder* by Jack Barnes. The excerpt is taken from a talk that was presented April 10, 1993, to participants in a regional socialist educational conference in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the following day to a similar gathering in Des Moines, Iowa. The book is copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

Incipient fascist movements, demagogic "popular" ultrarightist movements, are often identified with an individual: McCarthyism ("Nixonism" would have served as well at the time), Huey Longism, Father Coughlinism, and there are many more examples from the United States and other countries.¹ It is useful to note this fact, to show the variety of forms rightist movements can take and where they come from. The individuals or "movements" such currents are named after are accidental. They have no scientific ideas, or materialist analysis of the crisis of capitalism. But they do have a real "solution" to offer desperate and resentful people.

While [Patrick] Buchanan keeps one foot firmly planted in "normal" bourgeois politics, he at the same time appeals to those who will increasingly seek to function outside that framework and to fight in the streets to impose radical solutions to stop the descent into a "new Sodom." In the Buchanan phenomenon, we could see a pincers movement: one flank came out of the "respectable" Republican Party, including the middle-class areas of Washington, D.C., where Buchanan himself was born and reared. It converged with the cowards trying to block the abortion clinics, with the thugs who simply put the white sheets aside for a while, with all those attracted to taking out their insecurity and hatred against sections of the working class.

Buchanan's hero, Joseph McCarthy, also set out to galvanize a fascist movement in the United States in the aftermath of World War II. And right-wing presidential campaigns were organized in 1964 by Republican candidate Barry Goldwater and in 1968 by Gov. George Wallace of Alabama. But none of these figures arose in conditions of an economic and social crisis that was bound to get worse. None arose in depression-like conditions under which the radical social

demagogy and aggressive nationalism necessary to inspire a cadre would have enabled a mass fascist movement to get organized and grow.²

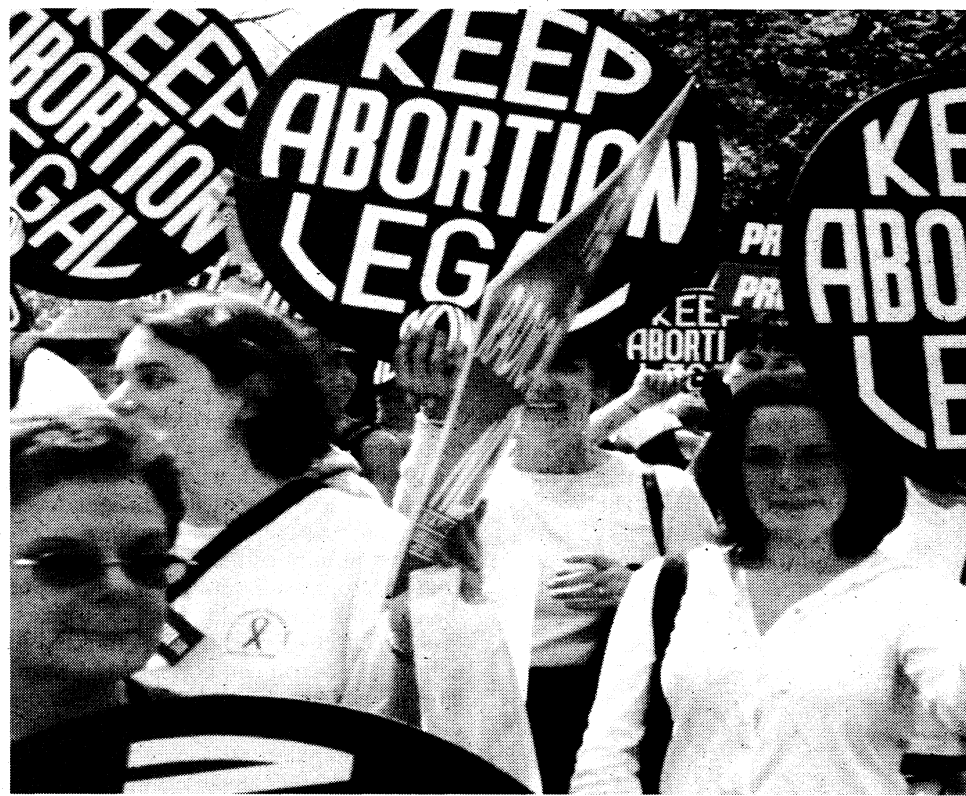
The 'culture war'

In the 1990s, however, political polarization is deepening, and class tensions are increasing within that polarization. If the war Buchanan has declared—what he calls "the culture war"—is serious, then communists and, in fact, all those mindful of the democratic rights we have wrested from the rulers, ignore it at our peril.

As with other tribunes of incipient fascist movements in this century, Buchanan does not begin by taking on the working class directly. He begins by targeting other bourgeois politicians in both parties—those part of, or soft on, the "establishment elite"—both liberals and conservatives. He goes after the dominant ruling circles in the bourgeois parties, accusing them of letting America down; tolerating corruption in the hallways of power while failing to maintain law and order on Main Street; and living privileged lives while more and more "ordinary American working people" are pushed to the wall. He presents himself as the voice of those working men and women—"the folk."

Buchanan aggressively defines who "Americans" are—and (more venomously) who they are not. This is the aim of his obscene anti-immigrant demagogy. This is the content of his calculated and thinly veiled anti-Semitic forays, aimed especially against Jews on Wall Street or in top government posts. Buchanan is a master of the politics of resentment and the coarsening of civil discourse, often with a smile.

The polarization in the "culture war" declared by Buchanan and other ultrarightists takes many forms: chauvinist anti-foreigner agitation, racist assaults on affirmative action, vulgar attacks on women's social equality, half-hidden but virulent outbursts of Jew-hatred, fearful prejudice against homosexuals. These incipient fascist forces are vocal advocates of the cops, like those currently on trial in Los Angeles for brutally beating Rodney King; fascist movements always draw many of their cadres from the cops.³ There will be no limit to the pornographic overtones of their demagogy, as they claim to offer a road to bring a "decadent" society out of its crisis.



Militant/Brian Williams

Demonstration on April 22, 2001, in Washington, D.C., to defend a woman's right to choose abortion. The culture war declared by Patrick Buchanan and other ultrarightists takes many forms, including vulgar attacks on women's social equality. While the "Buchanan brigades" have been in decline, the reactionary ideological assaults on the gains won by working people and pornographic overtones of his and other rightists' demagogy remains a permanent feature of capitalist politics.

These reactionary positions have no logical evolution or rational content. They are a collection and recombination of refuse from the past, floating out from the backwaters of class history. It can be ancient religious ideas, pagan symbols, age-old prejudices, regional attitudes, beliefs about women born of economic and social conditions from millennia past. It does not make any difference; it is accidental. But these come together in various mixtures. They are patched together into partial truths from the myriad forms of exploitation and oppression and pressures under capital. They are invested with emotional energy and declared to be the banner of a movement.

These are not religious movements; it is not "the religious right," "the Christian right," "the fundamentalist right." These are not movements about art or culture; they are not movements about schools or education. Those just provide some of the words that emotional energy is invested in. It is a reactionary, demagogic, petty-bourgeois social and political movement, one that over time becomes increasingly brutal and murderous in its methods.

As the capitalist social crisis deepens, and the working class and labor movement begin to engage in battles to defend our living standards and our unions, growing numbers within the ruling class, often reluctantly, will begin to provide financial and political support to the fascists. They will unleash the energy of the ultraright in the streets, against striking workers, labor gatherings, social protests, and organizations of the oppressed. They will use whatever force and violence is necessary to deny enough democratic rights to the majority of working people, eventually, to preserve the privileges of the upper middle class and maintain capitalist rule.

Last year, some of you will remember, we underlined something in particular about Buchanan's speech at the Republican nominating convention in August. Everything else at the convention we had heard before—until Buchanan shoved Reagan aside for an hour during prime time and, not to put it more politely than it was, gave the finger to the entire respectable Republican bourgeoisie.

Think very carefully about one phrase in Buchanan's speech. As he had done throughout his campaign, he invoked religious expressions, railed against gay rights and "radical feminism," and called for "a religious war," a "culture war," a war "for the soul of America." Then he came to the wind-up of the talk. "We must take...back our culture and take back our country," Buchanan said, "block by block"—just as the called-up National Guardsmen had done in Los Angeles a few months earlier. (Buchanan's description of the L.A. events was a gross exaggeration, but that is not the point.)

Block by block—that was the banner Buchanan raised to bring to their feet his partisans watching him live on TV around the country. That was Buchanan's summation. That fight was his promise. And that day will come.

You'll sometimes see Buchanan referred to in the bourgeois press as an "isolationist," or "antiwar." He opposed U.S. government policy during the Gulf War and speaks out against committing U.S. troops to the United Nations military operation in Bosnia. But class-conscious workers could make no more deadly mistake than failing to recognize—and to act on—the political fact that Buchananimism is part of the imperialist war drive today.

Buchanan will mobilize the rightist movement he is building to demand that Washington use all its military might to back "our boys." But he's determined to first win the war at home against the working class, to hamstring us, and he urges his followers to act in the image of his heroes, Franco, MacArthur, and McCarthy. That's a precondition to really do the job, Buchanan holds, but then America has to do it!

¹ As a young U.S. congressman from California, Richard Nixon was the most prominent other U.S. political figure in the leadership of the incipient fascist current associated with McCarthy. Father Charles Coughlin, the so-called radio priest, led the fascist "Social Justice" movement, which began to gain momentum in the United States during the renewed sharpening of the Great Depression in 1937–38. Huey Long, governor and later U.S. senator from Louisiana, built a base for his Bonapartist control of state politics in the late 1920s and early 1930s under the demagogic slogan, "Share the Wealth."

² For a discussion of the 1964 Republican presidential campaign of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, see "What Goldwater Represents" by Joseph Hansen in the July 31, 1964, issue of *World Outlook* magazine. Given the capitalist boom at the time, and the impact on U.S. politics of the Black rights struggle and colonial revolution, Hansen wrote, "America is not ripe for a fascist takeover. On the contrary, the ground is being prepared for an enormous push in the opposite direction." George Wallace gained national prominence as governor of Alabama in the early 1960s as a demagogic defender of Jim Crow segregation and "states' rights." In 1968 he ran for president on the American Independent Party (AIP) ticket on a platform aimed at rolling back the conquests of the mass civil rights movement. Wallace received 13 percent of the popular vote. The AIP disappeared shortly following the election.

³ Los Angeles policemen Theodore Briseno, Stacey Koon, Laurence Powell, and Timothy Wind were on trial in federal court for violating the civil rights of Rodney King, a Black worker whom they had been videotaped brutally beating in March 1991. Following an earlier acquittal of the cops by an all-white jury in state criminal court in April 1992, antipolice riots broke out across much of Los Angeles for more than four days. On orders from the Bush administration, some 1,100 U.S. marines, 600 army infantry troops, and 1,000 Border Patrol and other federal cops joined 6,500 California National Guardsmen and thousands of Los Angeles police in occupying large areas of the city's Black and Latino communities. Fifty-eight people were killed over the four days, more than 80 percent of them Black or Latino; some 17,000 people were arrested; and immigration cops used the dragnet as an excuse to deport several hundred detainees.

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

By Jack Barnes

Read this book for a wide range of political questions, including the deepening crisis of the Catholic Church and its implications for politics today.

"The Holy Apostolic Church of Rome is today weaker than at any time in the modern period. But bourgeois propagandists have sought to create an image around John Paul of a new church militant, a church on the march. The first Central European pope, a Polish pope who allegedly brought down communism. A church that will not only speak its mind but will mobilize the faithful and wage a fight against abortion rights and contraception.

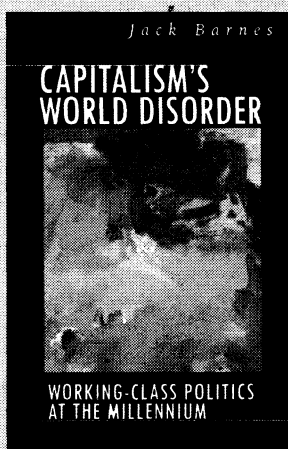
"But the truth is that the Catholic Church is weaker than ever in its modern history. Never before has there been such a gap between the real views, the real practices, and the real doubts of the faithful, on the one hand, and the doctrine of the hierarchy, on the other. The hierarchy cannot get a majority of the faithful to agree with their line on birth control or with their line on abortion. And this phenomenon is not limited to the United States; even in Ireland the grip of the hierarchy has slipped, and perhaps the greatest gap of all is in Italy, the Vatican's home base.

"Why is it, then, that institutions that are actually so weak can be presented as so strong? What allows such illusions to persist?

"The answer, above all, is that the international labor movement has gone for so long without any mass revolutionary leadership that speaks and acts in the interests of the working class and challenges the petty-bourgeois misleaders who parrot and trail after the bourgeoisie." From *Capitalism's World Disorder*. Also available in French and Spanish. \$23.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or visit www.pathfinderpress.com. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling.

From Pathfinder



Land is central question in Zimbabwe

Continued from Page 16

groups—often thuggish supporters of the regime—to occupy the country's largest farms. In some areas the farm takeovers have been promoted by wealthy government supporters and officials who looked to the regime to add to their own holdings.

Legacy of colonialism

The structure of land ownership in Zimbabwe is a legacy of colonialism. Today, many of the farms owned by the 4,000 white farmers are massive. The largest 233 each cover nearly 20,000 acres. The Anglo American Corporation alone owns 25 farms totaling 1.7 million acres. These commercial farmers control up to 80 percent of the

arable, fertile land, while 6 million of the country's 12.5 million people are landless peasants crammed into the worst patches of ground.

Until 1980, the people of Zimbabwe were ruled by a white-minority regime in what was then known as Rhodesia, a direct colony of Britain where a tiny minority of whites dominated the country economically and politically.

Mugabe helped lead a guerrilla struggle that defeated the white-minority regime and won independence from Britain. London, which was a signer of the independence agreement, imposed a constitutional provision that prohibited the Zimbabwean government from confiscating the holdings of the capitalist farmers for at least 10 years. In the pact, the British rulers promised to help fund government purchases of farmland on which to settle African toilers, a pledge they have failed to keep.

At a campaign rally earlier this year Mugabe told 7,000 supporters that "we must be satisfied that we are in control of our land and in control of our land absolutely." According to the *Washington Post*, the Zimbabwean president said his "land-reform effort" is aimed at "completing unfinished business" from the country's colonial era and that redistributing arable farmland to landless Blacks would lead to economic development.

Meanwhile, the combined impact of the world capitalist economic downturn that is hammering southern Africa, a growing economic boycott of Zimbabwe, and a drastic

decline in agricultural production has devastated the living conditions of working people. Some 64 percent of the population eke out an existence on less than \$2 a day and more than half a million people face starvation. The government announced March 22 that it was seeking 200,000 tons of corn from Kenya, Brazil, and Argentina.

Floods and droughts have decimated the country's harvest of corn and other crops. Last year the corn harvest dropped to 1.54 million tons, down from 2.1 million in 2000. Production of the main cash crop, tobacco, is expected to plunge by as much as 30 percent this year.

As a result of imperialist pressure, foreign loans, aid, and investments have shriveled up. Tourism, the country's third-largest source of income, has plunged by 80

percent.

The Zimbabwean government, which launched a campaign of intimidation against Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change, has been able to exploit his close ties with Washington, London, and capitalist farmers. In Mugabe's campaign speeches, for example, he referred to Tsvangirai as a "tea boy" for the "imperialist West, particularly Britain, the former colonial power," the *Washington Post* reported.

On March 20, the day after the Commonwealth imposed sanctions, the Mugabe government charged Tsvangirai and two members of the MDC with treason. They were accused of plotting to assassinate the president at a meeting held with Canadian political consultants last December.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

FLORIDA

Miami

The World Economic Crisis and the Class Struggle in Haiti Today: Prospects for Building the Socialist Movement. Speaker: Pierre Talouse, International Affairs, Federation of University Students in Haiti, Young Socialists. Sun., Apr. 7, 5:00 p.m. Dinner and party to follow program. 8365 NE 2nd Ave., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$10. Tel: (305) 751-7076.

Tampa

The Struggle of the Palestinian People for Self-Determination: Why Israel Can't Win. Speakers: Representative of Students for International Peace and Justice, University of South Florida; John Benson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 14, 2:00 p.m. North Tampa Public Library, 8916 N. Boulevard. Tel: (813) 558-0613.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Cut Off U.S. Aid to the Israeli Regime! Fri., Apr. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4208 W. Vernor. Tel: (313) 554-0504.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

For a Democratic Secular Palestine; Why Israel is a Death Trap for the Jews. Speaker: Dave Prince, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 372A 53rd St. (at 4th Ave.) Donation: \$5. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

Garment District

Oppose Police Brutality. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Free the Five Cuban Revolutionaries Imprisoned in U.S. Jails. Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories. Fri., April 12, 7:00 p.m. 129 Gloucester St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

CALENDAR

Widows March to Demand Black Lung Benefits for Miners and their Families

April 15 — Final protest rally at the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

For more information, contact Kanawha Valley Black Lung and Disabled Workers Association at (304) 595-2280. Funds for the widows' walk can be sent and made out to NBLA c/o Thomas Ellis, P.O. Box 632, Royalton, IL 62983.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Stop the Bombing: National Vieques Summit for Peace with Justice. Fri., April 12, 8:00 p.m. Fund-raiser and cultural event. 1199 SEIU Martin Luther King Jr Labor Center, 310 W. 43rd Street. Sat., April 13, 9:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m. Hostos Community College, 450 Grand Concourse at 149th Street, Bronx. Tel: (212) 348-8004.

Oppose Washington's war threats against north Korea Support the fight for national reunification

Come to a meeting to send off the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists solidarity delegation to the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea

Militant Labor Forums

- ❖ Brooklyn and New York Garment District Pathfinder Bookstores April 5, Dinner: 6:30 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m.
- ❖ Newark Pathfinder Bookstore April 6, Dinner: 6:30 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m.
- ❖ Los Angeles Pathfinder Bookstore April 7, times to be announced.

Speakers: Steve Clark, Jack Willey, members of the SWP Political Committee.

See below for forum locations.

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Tough situation—"The world of billionaires lost 11 percent of their wealth last year and 83 people fell out of the billionaire club alto-

gether."—News item.



Harry Ring

Bright spot—The United Kingdom's Prince of Wales enjoyed

No more thinner and holier?—The Associated Press report was murky, but apparently the tax people reversed course and restored part of the Social Security benefits denied a group of aged nuns on the grounds that they had taken vows of poverty.

Do leave home without it—In South Dakota, credit card house-

holders owe an average of \$9,600. Only card holders in Alaska and Vermont are reported deeper in hock. According to *USA Today*, "relatively low wages" may be a factor.

And they don't do very well either—An apparently detailed study of the United Kingdom job market confirms that white workers are doing better than nonwhites.

Bias? What bias?—The Alabama Supreme Court threw out a complaint that their top judge had voiced bias in ruling that a lesbian mother was unfit to be granted custody of her children. He merely con-

tended that lesbians were unfit to be parents and were "inherently evil."

Pushed 'em over the edge—Members of the Washington State Senate fired off a bristling communiqué, and rightly so. Signed by 36 of the 49 senators, their manifesto bluntly declared: "This is UN-ACCEPTABLE." Renovation of the capital building will mean that for a period the solons will be without their private dining room and its staff of French chefs. They will be reduced to rubbing elbows with the public and sharing the same dismal menu. Currently, it's alleged, they pay "most of the cost" of the French

fare and the ambiance of a private dining room.

Keen—In Massachusetts, the number of people qualified for food stamps jumped by more than a quarter of a million. Field experts attribute the 15 percent growth to a "weak economy and high unemployment?"

What price racism—"Racial and ethnic minorities tend to receive lower quality health care, irrespective of income, age, or insurance status."—According to a new report by the National Academies' Institute of Medicines."—News item.

Rivals assess implications of U.S. military power

BY RÓGER CALERO

Since Washington mounted its war against Afghanistan, officials of the imperialist powers in Europe and columns in the big-business press have been commenting upon the implications of Washington's overwhelming military dominance in the world.

"If you mark the significance of Europe's relations with America by how much we are prepared to spend on defense, forget it! We can't even pay the entrance fee!" said Christopher Patten, a Briton and the commissioner for external affairs for the European Union February 9.

Patten's comment came in the wake of the massive U.S. military operation in Afghanistan and after the Bush administration submitted its budget proposals to the U.S. Congress. If approved, funds slated for the Pentagon will rise by \$120 billion over the next five years, putting the annual war expenditures by Washington at \$396 billion.

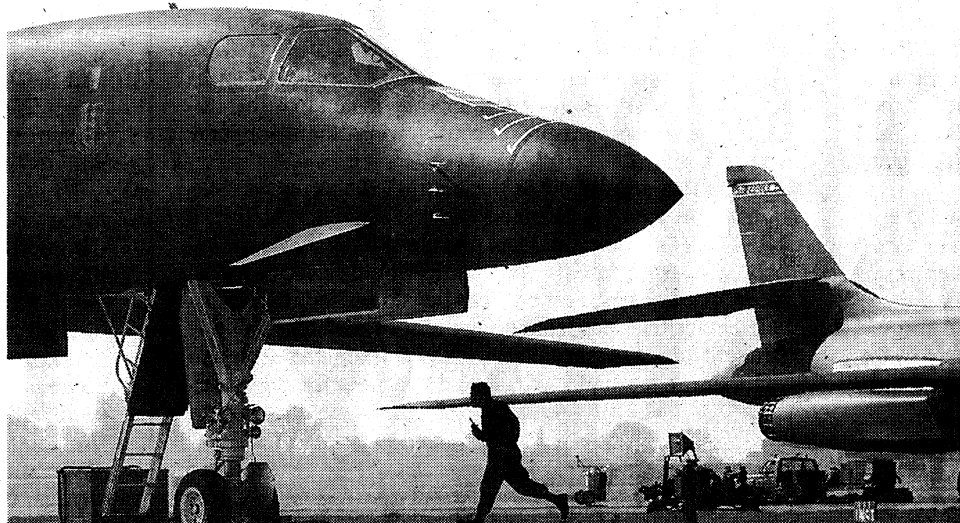
The yearly Pentagon budget amounts to 36 percent of the total military expenditures by all governments in the world and exceeds the combined arms budgets of the 14 biggest spenders, including Japan, the countries in western Europe, Russia, and China.

'Uncomfortable consequences'

This gap, the *Financial Times* of London noted in one of a series of articles, "has important and uncomfortable consequences for America's allies and its potential adversaries—as well as likely effects on future foreign policy decision-making in Washington." In military terms, "there is no serious rival to prevent the U.S. from pursuing its national interests," the paper said.

Addressing the evolution of Washington's collaboration with the imperialist governments of Britain, France, and Germany during the Afghan war, a French diplomat told the *Times* that the U.S. government, after monopolizing the fighting, expects the European powers to provide massive funds and troops on the ground to act as a police force.

"This kind of complementarity is fine in the short term," the diplomat told the *Times*. "But it cannot continue in the long term.... It would mean giving the U.S. carte blanche for its military operations. The Europeans would be expected by the Americans to pick up the pieces. And frankly, the U.S. neither



respects nor appreciates what the Europeans are doing. It would be a completely imbalanced relationship."

Responding to these and other criticisms by European officials, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger wrote in a column titled "Answering the 'Axis' Critics" that "at issue in the axis-of-evil debate is not America's attempt to impose an international order but whether every member of a coalition should have a veto over fundamental perceptions of security."

"The vast gap in military power between Europe and the United States compounds the difference in perspectives," wrote Kissinger. "There is no precedence for the military dominance the United States has achieved over the rest of the world. There does not exist now—nor for the foreseeable future—any country or group of countries capable of posing a military challenge to the United States," he reminded readers.

World War II and Iraq

The U.S. rulers have made clear they intend to continue to use their military power to try to dominate the world and reinforce their position against their "friends" and "allies"—the rival imperialist powers in Europe and Japan. Although U.S. imperialism came out of World War II as the dominant economic and military power in the world imperialist system, it has only been since the assault on Iraq in 1990-1991 that Washington has used this advantage to deal indirect but palpable blows to other imperialist powers through wars against a semicolonial country.

In Iraq, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan, Washington has demonstrated it alone has the capabilities to transport, supply, deploy, and sustain the size of military operations needed to carry out a large-scale war abroad. For Berlin, London, Paris, and Tokyo, each of these assaults has reinforced the fact that they cannot allow a chasm to grow up between their ability to use strategic military might abroad and their economic power if they want to remain world powers.

Relative size of U.S. military

The establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) following World War II codified the permanent presence of U.S. military forces on European soil. In addition to the 118,000 troops in Europe, U.S. imperialism also has some 100,000 soldiers and sailors stationed in Asia or afloat on ships in the region, backed by a nuclear arsenal on both land and sea. U.S. imperialism's heavy airlift and air-to-air refueling capabilities gives it an ability to deploy forces anywhere in the world.

But recent protests by working people in

the Philippines, and by the governments of north Korea and China, to U.S. military deployments in the region highlight the fact that unlike in Europe, where Washington is integrated into a military alliance, Washington is not part of any such pact in Asia and its interventions in the region can be more explosive.

Washington's fleet of 318 warships, including 13 aircraft carriers, dwarfs that of any other nation. A total of 136 ships are deployed overseas at any one time. By comparison, France recently launched the first nuclear aircraft carrier in Europe, and sold its only

other carrier to Brazil. Britain has three aircraft carriers, Italy one, and Germany none.

Washington is driving to ensure that its domination of space matches its rule of the seas. With 200 military satellites already in place, the U.S. rulers' pursuit of "the next generation of military technologies—such as unmanned aircraft and missile defense systems—[leaves] its closest allies inside NATO in danger of becoming incapable of fighting alongside U.S. forces," the *Financial Times* noted.

From the point of view of the U.S. imperialists, this situation was summed up by Joseph Biden, chairman of the U.S. Senate's foreign relations committee. "The good news is that we're the world's only superpower," he said. "The bad news is, we're the world's only superpower."

Response of imperialist rivals

The results of the Gulf war pressed the capitalist rulers of Germany and Japan to strengthen their armed forces and chart a course to push back political constraints—both at home and abroad—on the use of military power beyond their own borders.

German chancellor Gerhard Schröder called "historic" Berlin's decision to mobilize 4,000 combat troops and warships to back the U.S.-led assault on Afghanistan. The Japanese government also took advantage of Washington's "war on terror" to make some gains along these lines. Tokyo,

Continued on Page 7

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

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

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
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April 15, 1977

WASHINGTON—Both the Maryland and Virginia legislatures approved new death penalty laws in March. In both states, legislative debate showed the racism and contempt for human dignity motivating the mostly white legislators.

In Virginia the new death penalty law was enacted just before the legislature adjourned March 5. The legislation, which has been requested by Gov. Mills Godwin, passed with only two dissenting votes in the state senate—one of which was cast by the only Black member.

In the house of delegates, laughter greeted the remarks of delegate Ray Garland, who told his colleagues that he found the execution of Gary Gilmore "exalting." He added: "What's so bad about death really? We all face it."

Equally callous was delegate Eva Scott, who noted that some innocent people might be executed but said she wasn't worried because, "I don't believe it is going to happen very often."

In Maryland, late in the second day of a one-man filibuster by State Sen. Clarence Mitchell, the state senate finally shut off debate March 1. The legislators proceeded to approve reinstitution of the death penalty.

"There are those who suggest that the death penalty is not an issue along racial lines," Mitchell said during his filibuster. He went on to cite figures showing that racism was precisely the issue. Of the seventy-nine persons executed by the state of Maryland between 1923 and 1961, sixty-two, or 79 percent of the total, were Black. Blacks comprise only 18 percent of the state's population.

April 14, 1952

An outright majority of 51 percent in the latest nation-wide poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion have again replied "Yes, a mistake," to the question: "Do you think the United States made a mistake going into the war in Korea, or not?" A distinct minority of 35 percent replied, "No."

"The belief that the war was a mistake has persisted for more than a year," states the institute's director George Gallup. In March 1951, exactly half those polled said the war was a mistake, while 39 percent then said it was not. As a matter of fact, the shift in public opinion dates from the time in November 1950 when Gen. MacArthur hit the Yalu River border of the Chinese Manchuria and provoked the entry of China into the Korea war. "From that date on," says Gallup, "surveys have found the war unpopular."

Thus, the White House, State Department, Pentagon and Congress for almost a year and a half have flouted the unwavering opinion of the majority of the American people that it was wrong for the U.S. ever to have intervened with armed forces in the Korea civil war. Of course, Truman never consulted the people when he committed the country to undeclared war.

What many American people, especially workers, think about the Korea war, is expressed in a biting resolution adopted at the recent District 3 convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, as reported in the UPWA's *The Packinghouse Worker* for March. The resolution pointed out that the "corporations were attempting to use this crisis to smash unions," says the UPWA paper.

From Pathfinder

New International no. 11

- 2 programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party:
 - **U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War** by Jack Barnes
 - **The Communist Strategy of Party Building** Today by Mary-Alice Waters
 - **Socialism: A Viable Option** by José Ramón Balaguer
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End all U.S. aid to Israel!

Washington's aid to Israel, and its "understanding" that the regime has to "defend itself" through an escalating military assault on the Palestinian people, should be condemned by all working people. Every unionist fighting the bosses, farmer facing foreclosure, and defender of the struggle of oppressed nations for their liberation can demand the U.S. government immediately end all aid to Tel Aviv.

Hundreds of Palestinians have been rounded up and dozens killed in the latest assault, in which Israel has deployed armored units to occupy Palestinian cities. The troops on the ground are backed by U.S.-supplied combat helicopters and warplanes. In addition to the wholesale arrests of men and women, beatings in detention, and torture that is stock-in-trade of the Israeli captors, the world is witnessing a prime minister and his cabinet openly discussing whether or not they are going to assassinate Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestinian Authority. The thoroughly brutal character of the capitalist regime in Israel and its imperialist backers in Washington is on full display. Big-business newspapers and capitalist spokespeople's main concern is not the plight of the Palestinians, but for the Bush administration to find some way to get the situation "under control" in order to get back on track with its plans to assault Iraq.

But the governments in Israel and the United States are not having an easy time of it. The resistance of the Palestinian people has put their struggle back into the center of politics in the Middle East and the solidarity actions in capitals across the region are bringing additional forces to bear. Workers and youth are taking to the streets from Syria to Morocco to demand their governments break ties

with Tel Aviv, often facing police attacks and tear gas. Some have also called for removal of the U.S. ambassador as an expression of outrage at Washington's refusal to condemn the actions of the Israeli government. Egypt's decision to downgrade relations—as temporarily as possible, the regime hopes—is one indication of the impact of the support for the Palestinian struggle there.

Jordan, with its majority Palestinian population, is a potential powder keg for the imperialists. The U.S.-backed monarchy has a bloody history of repression against the Palestinian people. Today, despite a ban on protests, they again face militant demonstrations in the streets.

There are ultimately only two ways the conflict can be resolved. One is through the imposition of a terrible defeat on the Palestinian people, something they have shown they have no intention of allowing to happen. Palestinians instead recognize the underlying weakness of Israel, even though it is armed to the teeth with the latest and most deadly weapons of war. The Israeli rulers are incapable today of rallying the population on a pro-war footing, as growing numbers see the reality of continued military conflict and economic hardship instead of the mirage of a secure and prosperous Jewish homeland they were promised.

The other resolution of the conflict is through revolutionary struggle for a democratic and secular Palestine, a battle that is in the interests of Palestinians and working people who are Jewish. This battle would break down all the walls, borders, and barriers put up by the imperialist rulers over the decades with the aim of pushing back the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people and suppressing resistance of toilers throughout the region.

Defend social security

In capitalist America, health care is a for-profit business, so millions of working people who have no medical insurance simply can't afford the huge costs and are denied basic care.

The bipartisan drive through the 1990s against Social Security benefits, which President George Bush seeks to accelerate, means that for millions of working people who are supposed to be covered by Medicare and Medicaid it is more and more difficult to even find a doctor willing to treat them.

And the cold-blooded decision by "health maintenance" organizations to drop more than 2 million elderly from their rolls—in effect eliminating their prescription coverage that so many joined to receive in the first place—shows the inhuman character of the capitalist health-care system.

The rulers, however, are meeting resistance to their bipartisan drive to slash the social wage. Across the country a feature of strikes by union members is defending meager health plans. Coal miners and others in mining regions have mobilized over the past two years to demand the government meet its obligations to provide health care, retirement, and black lung benefits. The widows' walk currently under way is the latest chapter in this fight. These struggles help point the way forward by posing the right to health care as a social question essential to defending the lives and living standard of working people.

For the working class, there is no real social security that does not cover the entire lifetime of a worker. Similarly, there is no real education that is not lifetime education.

The capitalist rulers seek to impose on individual families the responsibility for social services. But the fight for social security is a fight for the lifetime right to medical care, to workers' compensation and disability payments if you are injured, to unemployment insurance for as long

as needed, as well as funds to cover education expenses and child care. And these funds should be not just defended at their current levels but greatly expanded to meet the needs of working people.

The labor movement needs to lead the fight for a cradle-to-grave nationwide, government-guaranteed entitlement program as a social right for all.

Such a fight can push aside the practice, that has grown up with the agreement of the labor officialdom over the past decades, of tying health-care plans to the profitability of individual employers. In good times, such a plan seemed to be working for those who qualified for these benefits. But as companies like Enron and a growing number of others go under, workers find their promised company benefits are no longer there and they once again find themselves up against the full ravages of the capitalist dog-eat-dog system. The steel trusts are seeking to get out of their contractual obligations to health and retirement benefits for 600,000 workers, the latest example of the trap this setup leads union members into.

What's involved in the assault on the social wage is not primarily an economic crisis but a great political and moral crisis. The capitalist rulers have neither the class interest or desire to raise humanity up on new foundations.

Only the working class has a chance to resolve this growing crisis by leading a fight to transform society in a truly human way. The working people of Cuba, just 90 miles off the U.S. shores have shown that all this is possible. By making a socialist revolution even in a relatively poor and underdeveloped country—and defending it over the past 40 years—workers and farmers of that country have demonstrated what can be done when health care, education, and care of the young, elderly, and disabled are prioritized as universal human rights for all.

A blow to workers' rights

All working people are the target of the antilabor Supreme Court decision that bars back wages to immigrant workers illegally fired from their jobs during union organizing drives. Every labor union should join with the United Farm Workers in condemning this attack on workers' rights by the capitalists' court.

For the country's highest court to now tell the bosses they will not be subject to back pay penalties for firing immigrants without "proper" papers is simply giving the employers a green light to hold the threat of dismissal over the heads of millions of workers.

The capitalist rulers of the United States—that tiny handful of superwealthy families that live off the exploitation and oppression of working people around the world—have drawn tens of millions of workers and peasants from other countries into the mines, mills, factories, and farms at the heart of U.S. industry. Immigrant workers are denied the proper employment and residency papers by the government because it helps keep them as a superexploited layer in the working class. The capitalists pay these workers less, deny them overtime and unemployment pay, and subject them to brutal working conditions and long hours.

The bosses and their government hope to keep the working class divided, with native-born workers viewing immigrants as competitors and "illegals" rather than fellow

workers and co-fighters who bring class-struggle experience and traditions that strengthen the entire working class.

The *Militant* has covered numerous struggles over the past years that demonstrate how the U.S. rulers are failing to keep immigrants silent and separated from the working class as a whole. More and more they are part of, and helping to lead, struggles for unionization, against attacks on workers' rights, and in defense of affirmative action and other gains won through past battles.

The recent Supreme Court ruling comes as the U.S. government has reinforced its anti-immigrant drive under the guise of its "war on terror." This includes the jailing of some 1,200 people, many of whom remain incarcerated; reinforcing use of secret evidence, star-chamber hearings and indefinite detentions; and subjecting students and other immigrants from the Mideast to background checks and interrogations.

The Supreme Court ruling won't stop workers from fighting in their own class interests, seeking to form unions, and resisting the bosses attacks. It raises the stakes for the labor movement in the battle to unite all working people. It poses the challenge to the unions to join the fight to prevent the bosses and their government from turning section after section of the working class into pariah layers outside of legal protections and rights won in struggle by working people.

Cuban troops

Continued from Page 9

Agostinho Neto. "The Cubans played a decisive role in defeating the revolt," Gleijeses writes.

In preparing *Conflicting Missions*, Gleijeses was the first non-Cuban scholar to gain access to the closed archives of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. He obtained extensive U.S. documentation through the Freedom of Information Act, and worked in the government archives of Belgium, Great Britain, and West and East Germany. He conducted countless interviews with the principle protagonists in the United States, Angola, Cuba, and elsewhere, from Jorge Risquet, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba centrally involved in Africa policies from 1965 to the present; to MPLA leader Lúcio Lara; to Joseph Sisco, U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs in 1974–76.

Congo

One of the Cuban leaders Gleijeses talked with on numerous occasions and came to deeply respect was Víctor Dreke. In 1965 Dreke was second in command to Ernesto Che Guevara in the Congo during Cuba's first internationalist mission in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1966–67 he was chief of Cuba's military mission to Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Guinea, fighting alongside the national liberation forces of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde prior to independence from Portugal. *Conflicting Missions* documents Cuba's contribution to both those struggles.

Pathfinder's newly released title *From the Escambray to the Congo* covers much of this same history, up through the internationalist mission with Che Guevara, in a first-hand account by Víctor Dreke himself. Dreke's book is a good place to start for *Militant* readers who want a sound political introduction not only to the Cuban revolution and the men and women who made it, but to the breadth and scope of Cuba's commitment to the national liberation struggle in Africa. Those who want more will find *Conflicting Missions* rewarding reading. It is not only devastatingly well researched and exceptionally clearly written. It reads like an adventure story.

Socialists campaign in Texas

Continued from Page 5

didate. "We work harder and harder and the rich in this country just get richer and richer," he observed. He responded to campaign signs supporting the Palestinians, "Have you seen what they are doing to those people?" he asked. "They are fighting them with tanks. They have rocks and they are going after them with the most powerful military forces."

One man said he didn't want to sign because he believed "the Jews need a place of their own." But he listened to the socialist candidate as he put forward another view: "Many people think that Israel is a refuge," said Dutrow. Explaining that Israel was established as a military garrison state to threaten and terrorize the Arab masses on behalf of imperialism, the socialist candidate said the country has been from the start "a death trap for the Jewish people." Dutrow told him that his campaign is for a revolution against the Israeli state and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine. "That is in the interests of all working people," he said. "Only then will Palestinians and Jews be able to live as equals."

A woman standing nearby said, "Give me that petition. I'll sign for anyone willing to tell the truth about what is happening in Israel today."

Greg Garcia signed after reading the socialist candidate's flyer. "I'll sign for anyone speaking out against Israel's war against the Palestinians," he said. "That aggression has been going on a long time. And the Bush administration is behind Israel all the way."

When approached by a petitioner, one woman asked, "Is he running again? I signed for him when he was running for mayor. I wish he would get elected so I wouldn't have to do all this work in the hot sun!" She laughed as she signed, adding that she thought it was important for working people to run their own candidates.

Opposes Supreme Court decision

A young G.I., home on leave for Easter weekend, asked if he could sign even though he was in the service. He agreed with Dutrow on the importance of rights for workers, particularly immigrants. Like many people the socialist campaigners met, he was concerned about the recent Supreme Court decision striking down a back pay settlement for a worker fired for participating in a union-organizing drive. The court ruled that because the worker was an undocumented immigrant the boss is not liable for paying wages lost due to the unjust firing.

At the meeting with campaign supporters at the end of the day, Dutrow said the response to the socialist campaign "was exhilarating. Working people we met are deeply affected by the determination of Palestinians and other fighters. Many who signed our petitions see their rights and those of other workers in the cross hairs of the so-called justice system—from the courts to the cops."

"We met workers who said they had been looking for a party like ours that doesn't promise anything phony but is ready to fight injustice," he said. "And we know we will meet many more as we campaign."

Jacquie Henderson is a sewing machine operator in Houston. Steve Warshell contributed to this article.

Malcolm X: We're anti-exploitation, anti-oppression

Printed below is an excerpt from *Malcolm X Speaks*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for April. It is from a speech titled "The Ballot or the Bullet," given on April 3, 1964, at a meeting sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] at the Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland. A month earlier Malcolm had announced that he was leaving the Nation of Islam and was organizing a new movement. Copyright © by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY MALCOLM X

Although I'm still a Muslim, I'm not here tonight to discuss my religion. I'm not here to try and change your religion. I'm not here to argue or discuss anything that we differ

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

about, because it's time for us to submerge our differences and realize that it is best for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem—a problem that will make you catch hell whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist. Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. If we have differences, let us differ in the closet; when we come out in front, let us not have anything to argue about until we get finished

arguing with the man. If the late President Kennedy could get together with Khrushchev and exchange some wheat, we certainly have more in common with each other than Kennedy and Khrushchev had with each other.

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out—time has run out! 1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today—I'm sorry, Brother [CORE representative Louis] Lomax—who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer.

Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here. These odds aren't as great as those odds. And if you fight here, you will at least know what you're fighting for.

I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a Democrat, I'm not a Republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Those Hunkies that just got off the boat, they're already Americans; Polacks are already Americans; the Italian refugees are already Americans. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet.

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in de-luding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being



Robert Parent

Malcolm X speaks at Militant Labor Forum in New York, April 8, 1964.

here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation, you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution, you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

A victim of Americanism

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an

American nightmare.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast. As they see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time there's an election the races are so close that they have to have a recount. They had to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rhode Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon when they ran for president. It was so close they had to count all over again. Well, what does this mean? It means that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house.

— LETTERS —

Jailed Cubans

The *Militant* is only place I have found information on issues I am interested in, such as the working peoples' struggles in Argentina and the troubles the capitalists are brewing against Venezuela's president Hugo Chávez. After I read the *Militant* I pass it on with the hope that it is getting a very wide circulation in this prison.

I would also like information about how to write to the five Cuban men being held on false charges in American prisons. I would like to write to them for nothing more than to let them know there are some Americans who care and are praying for them.

A prisoner

Canon City, Colorado

Waterfront struggles

Thanks for the excellent article on the increased attacks on waterfront workers in last week's paper. I work as a mechanic at the port of Marseille and an incident that took place here two weeks ago demonstrates perfectly the intertwining of imperialism's war in Afghanistan and assaults on worker's rights.

The U.S. navy's aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* stopped over in Marseille for four days on its way back stateside after months of murderous service in the Indian Ocean. The French authorities provided "security" measures for the visit. This meant everywhere you looked in the port there were machine gun-toting troops, snipers on the roof tops.

But it was my CGT union brothers from the ship repair yard that got a real taste of so-called security. They were blocking one of the access roads into the port as they have been doing off and on for a year now as part of the fight to save their jobs in the face of threats to shut down the company. In the past cops had not been called out, but this time the workers were brutally assaulted by anti-riot units.

One worker suffered a broken nose and another a dislocated shoulder. The next day police authorities justified the attack in the name of protecting U.S. sailors from possible violence.

Marc Kinzel

Marseille, France

There is power in a union

It's like clockwork. Every three years the

University of Michigan and the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO, the union that represents graduate student classroom instructors) have to sign another contract, and every year the university says that they don't have the money to give GEO what it wants.

This year, on February 1, the contract expired, and the University kept saying during negotiations that they couldn't afford child care for instructors or a clause that protects employees against harassment. But Dan Gamble and the other negotiators for the University couldn't battle against the thousands of undergrads and GEO members walking out of class together and picketing on March 11. A week later, the University folded and granted GEO all things they once said were economically "impossible."

Michigan can afford to give graduate student instructors child care the same way Harvard can afford to give their janitors a living wage. It all comes down to pressure and asserting power. And once again, it has been proven that worker's power is in a union.

Ari Paul

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Kennedy and Cuba

Militant readers are quite aware of the never-ending hostility of U.S. policy toward revolutionary Cuba. But here's a real jewel: declassified information from the Kennedy administration spells out just why. Advisor Arthur Schlesinger warned Kennedy that the problem in Cuba is "the spread of the Castro idea of taking matters into one's own hands." The U.S. was—still is!—worried about the example Cuba set in Latin America, where "the distribution of land and other forms of national wealth greatly favors the propertied classes... (and) the poor and underprivileged, stimulated by the example of the Cuban revolution, are now demanding opportunities for a decent living." Enough said!

Mark Heinecamp

Auburn, Washington

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.

April BOOKS OF THE MONTH

★ ★ ★ ★ Pathfinder Readers Club SPECIALS

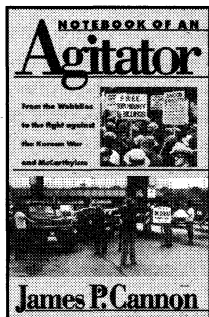
Notebook of an Agitator

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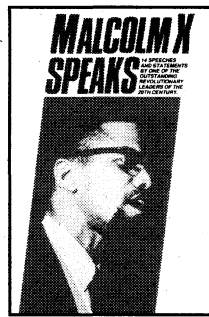
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Land remains central question in Zimbabwe

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

In the aftermath of the presidential election in Zimbabwe, imperialist governments are taking further steps to squeeze that south African country. Australian prime minister John Howard announced March 19 a year-long suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth, a group of 54 countries made up mostly of former British colonies.

Howard made the announcement at a news conference in London and was flanked by Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo, the presidents of South Africa and Nigeria, respectively. According to the *New York Times*, "Western officials," meaning Washington and London, "have prodded [Mbeki and Obasanjo] to act more strongly against Zimbabwe." Both African leaders were silent during the press conference, which reflected the fact that many governments in Africa and the Caribbean opposed suspending Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth.

The suspension was imposed under the guise of punishing the government of Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe for organizing rigged elections. Official balloting results show Mugabe winning the election with 56 percent over his rival Morgan Tsvangirai, who garnered 42 percent. Washington, London, and other imperialist governments in the European Union condemned the elections as "unfair and unfree." South African election observers said the voting was legitimate.

Election results

In the lead-up to the election the Zimbabwe government launched a campaign of intimidation against the opposition, including banning some of Tsvangirai's campaign rallies. The government also reduced the number of polling booths in the cities where the opposition is strongest. Many people were forced to wait as long as 10 to 15 hours to vote. Thousands were waiting to vote when the polls closed, which prompted a judge to order the government to extend the voting for one more day.

Official election results indicated a broad base of support for Mugabe in rural areas where the government had increased the number of voting stations. Tsvangirai dominated the vote in cities such as Harare and Bulawayo where discontent among working people is rising over soaring prices, food shortages, and unemployment.

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) announced a three-day general strike March 20-22 to condemn government harassment of union members, but the labor action was a flop, and "failed to attract widespread support," CNN reported March 21.

Tsvangirai, who was formerly the secretary-general of the union federation, backed the general strike called by ZCTU. He has campaigned for the Commonwealth to impose sanctions and has received support from the imperialist powers.

British imperialists lead the charge

The British rulers, Zimbabwe's former colonial masters, have been leading the charge against Mugabe. London is concerned that Mugabe's stated intention of moving ahead with government takeovers of capitalist farms in the country will undercut the ability of British imperialism to exploit the country's resources. In addition to the massive farms owned by descendants of the colonial settlers, Zimbabwe is rich in chromium, gold, nickel, copper, iron, and coal.

The British and U.S. governments, as well as other governments in the EU, have imposed travel and financial sanctions on Zimbabwean officials. The government of Switzerland followed suit, while the rulers in Australia urged its citizens to boycott the

country. The Canadian government announced March 14 that it was halting all aid to the Zimbabwean government after its prime minister, Jean Chrétien, met with U.S. president Bush in Washington. The next day the rulers in Germany vowed to take the same action.

Senior officials in South Africa announced March 20 that they had no plans to apply economic pressure on Zimbabwe. "If we were to tighten things, it would be the people of Zimbabwe who would suffer," said one official.

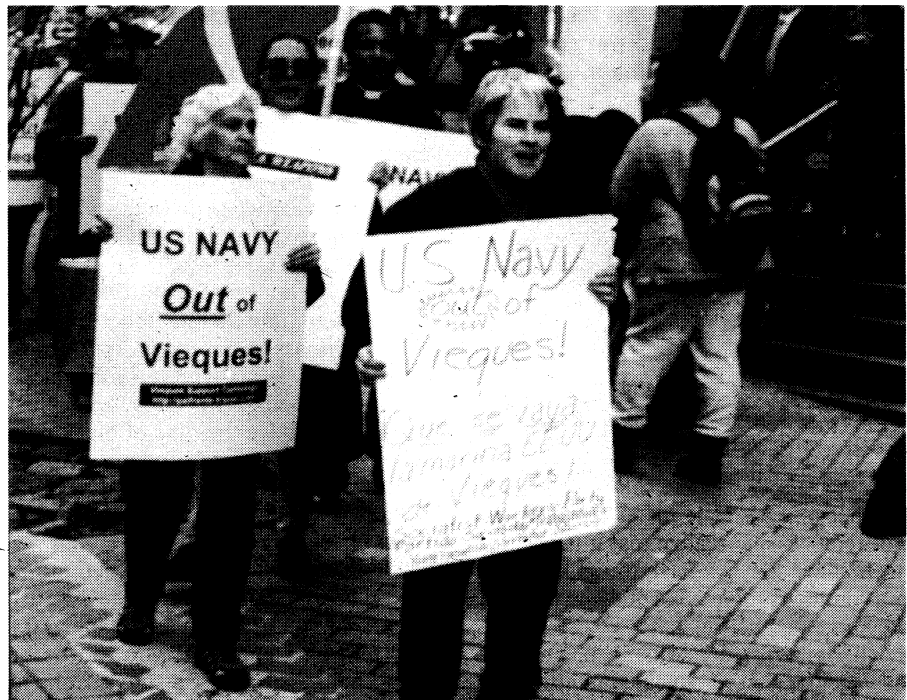
This most recent conflict between Harare and the imperialists began in 2000 when the government put forward a referendum in support of the seizure of farms without compensation and to expand presidential powers. A hue and cry went up in the big-business press that Zimbabweans could never feed themselves if the large, "efficient," farms were given over to landless peasants.

Tsvangirai's opposition forces were able to defeat the referendum. The two main groups that campaigned against the measure were the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Tsvangirai, and the Commercial Farmers Union, representing the 4,000 mostly white farmers in the country. The referendum received wide backing among peasants in the countryside, but was voted down by large majorities in the cities.

Mugabe then organized "war veterans"

Continued on Page 12

New York protesters call for withdrawal of U.S. Navy from Vieques, Puerto Rico



Militant/Patrick O'Neill

NEW YORK—Carrying placards that read "U.S. Navy Out of Vieques" and "Stop Bombing Vieques," interspersed with Puerto Rican flags, around 90 people picketed New York's Office of Federal Affairs in Puerto Rico on April 1. The protest coincided with the resumption of U.S. naval exercises on the Puerto Rican island. On Vieques itself, Navy police handcuffed and detained five protesters.

The Navy claims ownership of two-thirds of the island and has used it as a practice range for more than 50 years. Protests erupted three years ago when a Vieques resident was killed by a bomb. Faced with growing opposition, Washington agreed to evacuate by May 2003, and to halve the number of days spent exercising.

That deal "may be jeopardized by a post-September 11 law requiring the Navy to use Vieques until it finds a suitable replacement," reported the *New York Times*, adding that "the Navy says there is no other place where it can do what it does on Vieques. Here, simultaneously, planes drop bombs, ships lob shells at the shore and marines practice amphibious landings." Left unmentioned was the special advantage Vieques offers Washington as part of its colonial possession of Puerto Rico.

Speak-out defends workers' rights in Australia

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—"We committed no crime. The crime's been committed against us just because we're Muslims," said Maha Habib, whose home was raided by Federal Police and agents of the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) soon after the September 11 attacks in the United States.

The raid occurred September 20 as part of a coordinated wave in the Sydney neighborhoods of Campsie, Lakemba, and Birrong. No one subjected to the arbitrary searches has ever been charged with a crime.

Habib was speaking at a March 17 Militant Labor Forum, which brought together people standing up to government acts of intimidation, harassment, and spying with others fighting for immigrant and refugee rights.

The free-speech meeting also heard from Javid Qasimi, a refugee from Afghanistan and an active participant in refugee and immigrant rights protests; Steve Hopper, the lawyer for the Habib family; and Bob Aiken, a meat worker and member of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union, who spoke for the Communist League.

Held incommunicado

Habib only recently learned that her husband Mamdouh has been held incommunicado in an Egyptian jail for the last five months, since being secretly spirited out of Pakistan as part of the worldwide dragnet of those accused of links with al-Qaeda.

"They were waiting for us when I returned home with one of my children," she said, describing the raid. A warrant was produced, but "I could not understand a word." Habib asked for 10 minutes to explain to her children what was happening but the cops refused. After about an hour the Federal Police were joined by ASIO agents. The Habibs are Australian citizens of Egyptian origin.

In all 16 cops and agents took part in the raid, which lasted nearly seven hours. Family photos, a laptop computer, mobile phones, and passports and documents were

taken, according to Habib. Asked to sign a receipt for her confiscated property, Habib refused, saying, "I'm not signing anything—I'm not agreeing for you to take it."

Eight months in detention

Another case is that of Javid Qasimi, who spent eight months in the Curtin detention center, a former military base in a remote part of Western Australia. A Hazara from Mazar-i-Sharif, he left Afghanistan in November 1999 because of the likelihood of being killed in the civil war raging among the various factions. He ultimately gained refugee status here and a three-year "temporary protection visa" that allows him to work.

Qasimi escaped to Pakistan where he spent a month, and then made his way to Indonesia, where he waited for another month for transport to Australia. The sea journey, he was told, would take only two days. After six days and nights in a leaky and overfilled boat, they arrived at the Australian landfall known as Ashmore Reef. They were arrested and kept in the boat for three more days and then sailed for Broome, on the mainland. "In all, we were 11 or 12 days at sea," he said. "But we thought, 'Now we are safe. We've come to a good and safe country where refugee status would afford us respect,'" he explained.

He described the harsh reality of life in the Curtin jail. "In the middle of the night, every night, they would repeatedly shine torches [flashlights] in our faces and ask us, 'What's your number?' They said they had to count us to prevent escapes. But how can you escape? You don't know where you are, there is nowhere to go, and you don't know the language," Qasimi said.

'Put spotlight on ASIO'

Steve Hopper, who is representing a number of those targeted by the police and ASIO raids, noted that there had been two waves of raids in Sydney, one in September 2001 and the other in January 2002. "Not one person has faced a charge" as a result, he said.

The common thread is the targets of the raids are all Muslims and have been to Pakistan recently, he explained.

"The best way to fight these abuses is to put the spotlight on ASIO," Hopper explained. "They don't want their actions to be known. They're a fairly unaccountable organization."

Hopper also took up the serious threat if new legislation is passed strengthening the powers of ASIO to detain people without charges for up to 48 hours and for people to be imprisoned for refusing to answer questions.

Bob Aiken condemned extensive factory and workplace immigration raids in Sydney just three days before, on March 14. In all 86 people were reported arrested, including at least four at the Primo meatworks where he is employed. "The goal of the government's immigration and refugee policies is to keep this section of the working class in second-class status. This helps the bosses to keep wages and conditions down for all workers," he explained.

"The struggle of refugees for their rights helps break down the isolation of those working people the government hopes to keep silent. It is crucial for the labor movement," he went on. "And it will strengthen it."

Aiken also condemned Canberra's plans to strengthen ASIO's powers along with those of the Defence Signals Directorate, its top-secret electronic spy agency. He also noted that "there are at least two Australian citizens rotting in prisons overseas and the Australian government is sitting on its hands."

Aiken also pointed to the range of people in the United States who were targeted by the government in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks who are now speaking out. "By putting the spotlight on all these moves and reaching out for solidarity, they can be pushed back," he said.

Doug Cooper is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia in Sydney.