

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Imperialists' creation of Pakistan
is responsible for current conflict

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Washington admits testing chemical weapons on its troops

BY JACK WILLEY

The U.S. government has admitted that the Defense Department tested chemical weapons on its sailors in the 1960s, often without their knowledge or consent.

Documents released by the Pentagon May 23 show that Washington used nerve gas and biological agents in experiments conducted from 1964 to 1968.

Agents were sprayed on ships and crews in six different experiments, the reports reveal, to gauge how quickly the poisons would disperse and to test the effectiveness of protective gear and decontamination procedures. The tests used sarin, a nerve agent, VX, a nerve gas, and staphylococcal enterotoxin B, a biological toxin.

According to Pentagon records, the tests, known as Project Shipboard Hazard and Defense, were carried out on at least 4,300 military personnel. Michael Kilpatrick, a medical official in the office of the assistant secretary of defense for health affairs, said, "When you read the overarching plans for the testing, people were to be protected. But when we get to the individual reports, we do not see things like informed consent or individual protection. We don't have the records for what, if any, protection was given to people."

In a 1964 test named Flower Drum Phase I, conducted off the coast of Hawaii, officials had sarin and a chemical simulant sprayed onto a ship and into its ventilation system while the crew wore various levels

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Vancouver union rally opposes gov't cutbacks



Militant/Monica Jones

Lead contingents in march of more than 20,000 in Vancouver, British Columbia. The union-sponsored action mobilized working people against antilabor drive by provincial government, which includes cutbacks in social services, health care, and education.

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Thousands of working people took to the streets here May 25 to protest cutbacks in social services and health care, antiunion measures, and attacks on education and workers' rights being carried out by the Liberal government of Premier Gordon Campbell.

The B.C. Federation of Labor which organized the action reported some 40,000 people joined the march. Police estimated the crowd at 20,000.

The action builds on a number of strikes

and protests this year in the province, including marches of 300,000 in the capital Victoria February 23 and of 10,000 in Vancouver March 23. In January the British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF) carried out a one-day strike—considered illegal by the government—against a contract imposed by Campbell.

The Liberal party won last year's provincial elections, sweeping out the New Democratic Party (NDP) which had headed the government. The NDP is a social democratic labor party with a base in the trade unions. Since then, the Liberals have

pressed forward its anti-labor assault on a number of fronts, igniting deep opposition from working people, Natives, and students.

The city's downtown was closed to automobile traffic for several hours as marchers assembled at four rallying points. First Nations, a coalition of Native organizations, headed a contingent from Victory Square and led the demonstration. The marchers proceeded to pick up the other contingents along the way.

The lively, colorful march featured large

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Socialist summer school prepares SWP convention

BY GREG McCARTAN

A nationwide socialist summer school will help prepare the forty-first convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The three-day convention is scheduled to begin the morning of July 25 in Oberlin, Ohio. The SWP has branches and organizing committees in 25 cities and towns in the United States and is collaborating with the Young Socialists to organize the school around two-weekly sessions in June and July.

A two-centered program of study and discussion through the summer school will enable participants to deepen their knowledge of the world program and continuity of the communist movement, and respond more effectively to the opportunities in the class struggle today.

Every branch and organizing committee of the party will be holding the twice-weekly class series around a common syllabus. The Young Socialists has decided to make Chicago and Los Angeles centers of the summer school and is working with individual members to move to one of the cities in order to jump into the school and political work over the summer months. YS and party members are planning to organize caravans from the two cities to the convention, stopping to sell the *Militant* and meet with workers along the way.

The *Militant* will carry a regular column on the summer school, reporting on the po-

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London-Paris dispute over 'chunnel' is part of rulers' anti-immigrant drive

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Taking the side of the British government in a quarrel over how to crack down on immigrants they consider "illegal," the European Commission has threatened action against the French government of Jacques Chirac. On May 22 the commission stated that Paris has been too slow in addressing how to limit immigrants' use of the tunnel between France and England to make their way to the United Kingdom.

The dispute between Paris and London is one of several disputes over border controls and immigration among member gov-

ernments of the European Union (EU).

The commission's threat of legal action came during talks between British and French officials over London's call for the closure of the Sangatte refugee camp in Calais, the French port of entry for the Channel Tunnel, the undersea road-rail link known as the "chunnel." Converted in 1999 from a warehouse used to build the tunnel to a camp to house 600 people, Sangatte contains about two and a half times that number today. Among those living in conditions described by the *Guardian* newspaper as "cramped [and] squalid" are immi-

grants from Iraq, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.

One deal reportedly under discussion involves the closure of the camp by Paris in exchange for London's acceptance of 1,300 refugees.

"Before the center was opened," said Marc Gentilini of the French Red Cross, "migrants, including women and children, were sleeping in the streets." One immigrant worker told reporters of his determination to find a place to live and work. If the center is shut, he said, "I would go to the train

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New bipartisan welfare bill tightens workfare assault begun by Clinton

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Building on the bipartisan assault under the Clinton administration, the House of Representatives has passed a revised welfare bill that takes further aim at working people.

The bill, which passed the House in a 229-197 vote May 16, incorporates many of the proposals promoted by President George Bush. The legislation requires a person receiving welfare to be engaged in "supervised activity" 40 hours per week—including 24 hours' work, frequently for a pittance—in order to qualify for benefits. Currently the law mandates 20 hours work in a 30-hour week. The bill also instructs states to increase the number of recipients who meet

this requirement from 50 percent to 70 percent by 2007.

The proposed legislation also allocates \$300 million a year to promote "healthy marriage" through advertising, high school courses, and premarital counseling; provides millions more toward encouraging sexual abstinence; continues to deny welfare benefits to legal immigrants; gives governors substantial new powers to reshape food stamp and housing programs for the poor; and allows some states to drop out of the food stamp program and receive in exchange a fixed amount of federal funds that they can spend as they choose on food assistance.

Bush praised the House vote, stating that

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Havana opens new printing plant for books

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

"We print more books per capita than anyone else in this hemisphere," said Cuban president Fidel Castro at the April 27 inauguration of the Alejo Carpentier printing complex in Havana.

The event marked a milestone for the Cuban Revolution—the production of 1 billion books in the 43 years since the 1959 victory of the workers and peasants revolution. Castro said the Cuban leadership is aiming to increase production levels to 50 million books a year, the figure reached before the onset of what Cubans call the Special Period in the 1990s, when the number of books printed each year dropped to less than 10 million.

During the Special Period the Cuban people faced exceptionally harsh economic conditions as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and regimes in Eastern Europe, which ended aid and trade at preferential rates from these countries. This squeeze was compounded by Washington's intensified economic war on Cuba. The ability to begin to increase the output of books is one sign of the relative economic recovery.

The new factory is Cuba's most modern printing facility with printing presses and other machinery purchased from German companies. The plant will boost the country's annual production of books to 37 million. It has the capacity to produce 150 titles with a print run of 100,000 each, or a total of 15 million volumes a year. The average print run of a new title at the country's 123 publishing houses is 9,000.

The plant can produce books "more quickly and at less cost," said the Cuban president in his speech. During the factory's startup he noted that it printed 73 titles and more than 4 million copies.

An article in the Cuban weekly *Granma Internacional* reported that the 140 workers who work in the plant churning out the tens of thousands of books each day are mostly young—65 percent of the workforce are less than 35 years old. Women make up almost 40 percent of the workers in the factory. Workers received training in Brazil, Venezuela, and Germany, and 80 percent are mid-level technicians or have completed at least 12 years of school.

The Cuban leader explained that book prices in the country are subsidized as much as possible, but the costs of producing books

must be calculated to include the cost of paper and other printing material acquired in U.S. dollars at an exchange rate of approximately 20 pesos to \$1. He pointed out, however, that the highest priced books are sold at no more than 20 percent of their price on the international market.

Castro noted that production costs for titles sold at the annual Havana International Book Fair held February 7–17 dropped by 23 percent in comparison with previous years. According to *Granma*, the Alejo Carpentier facility contributed significantly to this cost savings, which amounted to \$514,200. The new plant produced more than 3 million of the 5 million books published for sale at the book fair, which was held in 19 different cities. *Granma* reports

that next year the international book festival will be *expanded* to 30 Cuban cities.

At the April 27 ceremony, the Cuban leader also remarked about plans to use newspaper presses to produce books. This is part of the effort to expand the nation's public library system with "popular libraries," each with 10,000 books—10 copies each of 1,000 titles—established in working-class neighborhoods and rural areas. "This just shows what you can do with very few resources," Castro added.

The expansion of Cuba's book production and next year's book fair deepens the revolutionary "Battle of Ideas" waged in the country to combat the contradictions and inequalities that have developed with the penetration of the capitalist world market over the last

decade. This battle also involves defending the country's socialist course in the face of the imperialist ideological drive portraying capitalism as the only future for humanity.

Castro noted that within "a year and a half, at the very latest, the million color television sets we've acquired will be distributed" across the country, making the University for All more accessible. In addition, the revolutionary government is pressing to finish renovation of schools in the capital before September, in addition to building 33 new schools and 2,000 classrooms.

Cuban author Alejo Carpentier, after whom the printing plant is named, won the Miguel de Cervantes Prize and donated the \$40,000 award money for the purchase of paintbrushes and other art supplies.

Florida carpenters rally for immigrant rights

BY KARL BUTTS
AND HENRY HILLENBRAND

ORLANDO, Florida—"Stop Immigrant Exploitation!" was the central banner of a rally sponsored by the Central/North Florida Carpenters Regional Council (FCRC) here May 17. The event—featuring a bilingual folk singer and speeches by union officials and organizers, representatives and members of immigrant organizations, and Democratic Party politicians—drew 100 people. Florida State AFL-CIO president Deborah Booth also spoke. On May 17 there was a similar rally of 40 in Tampa.

Nearly all presentations were bilingual, many speaking in both English and Spanish, others with interpreters. Members of three farm labor organizations—the Immokalee Coalition of Farm Workers, Farm Workers Association of Florida, and Farm Workers Self-Help of Dade City—made up a third of the participants. Representatives of the three farm worker groups, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, and the League of United Latin American Citizens also addressed the rally.

Fernando Quaeves, formerly a farm laborer who now is an organizer for the Carpenters union, said that when he was 15 years old he hit a supervisor who had struck his father. He said his father then beat him up because "you weren't suppose to stand



Militant/Karl Butts

Carpenters rally in Tampa, Florida, May 17. The Carpenters union has campaigned for the rights of immigrant workers as part of its national organizing drive.

up to the patron."

"Well things are different now," he exclaimed, reflecting the demonstration's militant tone. Quaeves said he recently was told to go to another town for a check on his immigration status before renewing his driver's license. "Why are we Latins being accused of being terrorists, abused, exploited? All we are asking for is our basic human and labor rights," he said.

Marty Bearry, an FCRC business manager, emphasized the union's support for the rights of, and granting legal status to, immigrant workers. One in four new entrants into the U.S. labor market are foreign-born, he noted. "We believe that no human is illegal," Bearry said. "All workers have a right to security and dignity in work and retirement."

This event was part of the national Carpenters union organizing campaign, which has sought to include immigrant workers. According to union organizers at the rally, immigrants now make up half of Florida's construction workers. Miguel Oropeza, an organizer from the Tampa local, said in his experience some 85 percent of concrete workers are Hispanic, most are from Mexico and many without papers.

Oropeza said the growth in the number of immigrant workers is a result of the large construction companies instituting the same crew-leader system commonly used by fruit and vegetable companies in the state. In this system a bilingual crew chief is to find, supervise, and pay the needed workers, relieving the company owners of any direct responsibility while substantially cutting their labor cost.

These workers face growing exploitation by the construction companies, as well as higher injury rates compared to their native-born counterparts. Oropeza explained that workers are often unaware of their right to workers compensation and that in some cases workers are forced to continue on the job despite being injured.

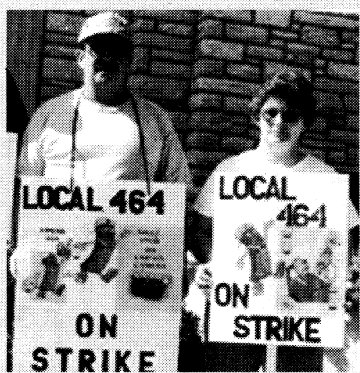
According to one organizer, the Carpenters union recently changed its by-laws to allow undocumented workers to join the brotherhood while they work to gain legal status. Moreover, Oropeza said that in some parts of the country the union has obtained health benefits for extended family members even if they live in Mexico.

Karl Butts is a farmer.

THE MILITANT

Strikers at Hershey resist concessions

Union members at Hershey Foods refuse to buckle to the bosses' cost-cutting demands to double the amount they pay on their health care premiums. The strikers have won solidarity from many other workers who know that medical care is a crucial issue for all working people. The 'Militant' brings you the facts about labor battles like this every week.



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Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Business Manager: JACK WILLEY

Editorial Staff: Rôger Calero, Martin Koppel, Jack Willey, Brian Williams, and Maurice Williams.

Young Socialists column editor: ROMINA GREEN

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Meeting discusses Birmingham church bombing conviction

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—On May 22 a Jefferson County jury found Bobby Frank Cherry guilty of four counts of first degree murder for participating in the September 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. Some 200 people turned out at the church that evening to celebrate the verdict.

The brutal attack was aimed at terrorizing the city's Black population that was waging a battle against the racist system of Jim Crow segregation. Four Black girls killed in the explosion were preparing for a Sunday morning youth day service. The church was a well-known organizing center for activities related to the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Marchers set out from the church for demonstrations that became known as the Battle of Birmingham. The bombing came just five days after the movement had scored a victory in forcing the integration of the Birmingham city schools.

For 15 years, starting in the late 1940s, the Ku Klux Klan, with the full knowledge and protection of the ruling class in the city, used bombing as a common terror tactic. Homes of Blacks in the neighborhood of College Hill were so frequently blown up that it was called "Dynamite Hill." This was an extension of the lynchings and other violence by rightist groups and the police that for decades maintained the racist system of discrimination and second-class citizenship for Blacks.

Cherry, described in the *Birmingham News* as "the man who years ago beat blacks with brass knuckles and pistol butts," is the last living suspect to be prosecuted in the Sept. 15, 1963, bombing. Cherry was an active member of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan was one of a number of reactionary organizations used to terrorize participants in the civil rights movement, as well as the unionization efforts and other resistance taking place in the labor movement in the South. Not only did these groups function with the knowledge of the government, but police and public officials were often Klan members.

Cherry was a demolition expert in the Marine Corps. The explosion took a five-foot-wide and two-foot-deep chunk out of the ladies basement lounge where the four girls were at the time. The blast mangled cars and shattered windows.

Chester Colston, a retired barber whose shop was just a couple of blocks from the church, said at the May 22 celebration, "When the bomb went off I heard it and came running down here." Colston said many youth and others protested in a nearby park every day after the bombing.

The event at the church drew working people from all parts of Birmingham. Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Rev. Abraham Woods, Dr. Calvin Woods, and many other prominent figures attended and spoke.

Woods introduced Shuttlesworth as "the man who met a bull and turned him into a

steer." He was referring to Eugene "Bull" Connor, the racist commissioner of public safety in Birmingham during that period.

"We have white, Black, brown, and other colors here today, which is what we need," Shuttlesworth said. "Today whites should feel just as free as we do," he said. "Whites and Blacks were held captive. Many whites wanted to express their dissent with segregation, but were as intimidated as we were.... Now after 40 years of being free, or acting like he was free, Cherry is going to prison."

'We took our rights'

Sam Harrell, a retired worker who came to join the action, said, "If it was not for the movement, we would still be behind where we were. Don't believe when they say somebody gave us our rights. We had to take them. Every day we lined up to protest the bombing they would lock us up."

Cherry has denied involvement in the bombing throughout the trial and reportedly will appeal. Several of his family members, however, testified in court that they heard him brag about making the bomb, lighting the fuse, or helping to blow up Blacks in Birmingham.

One of the issues Cherry will appeal is the illegal use of several tapes made by FBI snitches, leading up to the bombing. But the garbled tapes don't even include Cherry on them.

These tape recordings and thousands of other incriminating documents the FBI stored up over the years above all show that the federal government knew of the bombings and had definite suspects, but took no real action on it. A so-called investigation was opened by the FBI in the 1960s. The investigation fizzled by 1965 due to "mistrust between local and federal investigators."

Of the three others accused in the bombing, Robert Chambliss was convicted in 1977 for his role in the attack and died in prison in 1985, Herman Cash died without facing prosecution, and Thomas Blanton was convicted May 2001 and sentenced to four consecutive life terms in prison.

Cherry was originally to be tried with Blanton, but Circuit Judge James Garrett postponed the proceedings based on claims of his mental inability to stand trial. In January of this year Garrett found him fit for trial.

Jennie Kim, a 20-year old student at Trinity College in Connecticut, was following the trial. She came back to Birmingham during a break, and saw an ad for the celebration, and came down to join it. "I wanted to see how the city would respond to the event. The turnout; what other people would say about it. When things like this [conviction] happen, it's monumental. You have to be where it happens. It's not enough to just listen or read about it."

Brian Taylor is a coal miner and a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2133.

Unionists in south Korea strike for shorter workweek



Striking workers rallied in Seoul May 26, days before start of soccer World Cup.

BY JACK WILLEY

Thousands of striking workers rallied in Seoul, south Korea, May 26 as part of a flurry of strikes and demonstrations in the days leading up to the soccer World Cup finals, hosted by south Korea and Japan. The World Cup matches take place May 31 to June 30.

In defiance of government pleas to suspend contract negotiations until after the games, the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, the second largest labor organization, launched wildcat strikes of some 40,000 metal, chemical, and hospital workers May 22. Workers are demanding a five-day, 40-hour workweek with no cut in pay. Currently south Koreans work six days a week, including a half day on Saturday.

Although the government declared the hospital workers strike illegal, the unionists have refused to return to work. According to Agence France-Presse, about 5,000 workers held a rally in the capital the day after their walkout began, disrupting rush-hour traffic.

On May 24, they were joined by 10,000 taxi drivers calling for a monthly salary instead of the current system of a paltry base wage and a share of the revenues from trips they make. The drivers threatened to hold large-scale demonstrations with their cars in the 10 cities where the World Cup games will take place if no agreement is reached.

As the fight escalated, the government banned all demonstrations around stadiums. **Continued on Page 11**

Immigrants in U.S. hit with rise in tuberculosis

BY RÓGER CALERO

NEW YORK—There has been a resurgence in the rate of reported cases of tuberculosis in immigrant communities in cities across the United States. According to the Center for Disease Control, the overall rate of infection has dropped in the last decade. Recent immigrants, however, have contracted tuberculosis at a rate seven times that of people-born in the United States.

Of a total of 1,261 new TB cases reported to the New York City Department of Health last year, 64 percent involved people born outside the United States, compared with the 18 percent reported in 1992.

The disproportionate rates of infection among immigrant communities is especially evident here, where lack of access to medical care and other social services, along with crowded living conditions, give rise to conditions that favor the spread of the disease.

In Corona, a neighborhood in Queens where waves of immigrant workers from

Latin America and Asia have settled in the last decade, the rate of TB reached 36.1 cases per 100,000 in 2001. That is more than double the city's average of 15.7 and seven times the national rate.

"It's a dramatic change in the disease," said Sonia Munsiff, assistant commissioner for the Tuberculosis Control Program at the New York City Department of Health. "We are no longer in crisis mode, but in certain places, case rates are many times more than they should be."

In 1992, at the height of an epidemic that ravaged the Black community, the infection rate went as high as 52 per 100,000 people citywide, and 240 in Central Harlem. A 1996 editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* drew some conclusions about the conditions that allowed for the explosion of the disease.

The article listed overcrowded prisons and shelters for the homeless, the discharge of mentally ill people into the community without adequate support services, and the deterioration of public health programs as contributing factors. In addition, the report cited the increased rates of substance abuse and the HIV epidemic that existed at the time.

Cuts in medical services for immigrants

"Its [TB's] case rate is a measure of the socioeconomic well-being of our most vulnerable population and by reflection, the state of social justice in this country," the editorial noted. It warned of the need to monitor the impact of cuts in welfare and social security benefits and the effects of limiting access to social and medical services for immigrants.

The 1996 bipartisan Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, passed under the Clinton administration, excluded immigrants from government assistance programs.

The tuberculosis bacterium is widely associated with congested and bad housing conditions. Transmitted by respiration, it is the leading cause of death due to infectious disease among the world's adults, killing 2.3 million a year. According to the World Health Organization, tuberculosis is the leading cause of death among people living in poverty.

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Hotels sign tentative labor pacts in Las Vegas

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As a June 1 contract expiration deadline approaches, thousands of hotel workers—housekeepers, cooks, bellhops, and food servers—employed by major resorts in Las Vegas, Nevada, are preparing for possible strike action. The workers are members of Culinary Union Local 226 and Bartender's Local 165, which represents close to 50,000 workers on the Strip and in downtown Las Vegas.

The main issues involved in the dispute are protection of the workers' health plan and a demand for decreased workloads. The workers on May 16 voted overwhelmingly by a margin of 18,656 to 877 to authorize a strike at all area hotels that have not signed a contract with the union by 12:00 a.m. on June 1. Women comprise the largest number of the union work force employed at the hotels, with many of them hailing from Mexico and other countries throughout Latin America.

As of May 26, tentative agreements have

been reached with four of the largest resorts—Park Place Entertainment, Harrah's Entertainment, Mandalay Resort, and the Tropicana-owner Aztar Corp.

The five-year pact, which is subject to ratification by the workers, provides an increase of \$3.23 an hour over the life of the contract. [The following day MGM Mirage announced they also would accept the proposed contract.]

According to an article in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, "the bulk of the money would go to protect union health benefits in the first two years of the agreements and toward wage, benefit, training, and pension fund increases in the final three years."

The companies also agreed to freeze the number of rooms cleaned by each housekeeper during the life of the deals, and a few other modest steps to somewhat reduce the workload. The rising workload imposed by the bosses is a major issue for the housekeepers, who make up 9,000 of the 45,000-member of the Culinary union involved in

the contract dispute.

The fight being led by this majority Latina workforce has raised issues that go beyond the immediate worker-employer relations. "It's in the early stages, but there are more and more people saying, 'This is not just about what's going in the workplace, but it's also about what's going on in the schools, the city,'" noted Mayra Ocampo, program director for the local chapter of the Interfaith Council for Workers Justice. "Las Vegas is growing, and we have more and more Latinos and people willing to stand up for their rights."

The Latino population of Clark County, where Las Vegas is located, grew from 83,000 to 302,000 between 1990 and 2000, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Hispanics now make up 22 percent of the county's population.

"The face of the union is changing," stated Glen Arnodo, political director of the Culinary union. "I think what you're feeling is the beginning of a social movement."

'Appeal for Afghan women' gives cover to imperialist war

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Sanctimoniously proclaiming the desire to aid women in Afghanistan, an array of prominent liberals and bourgeois feminist leaders are helping to give cover to expanded use of U.S. military force in Afghanistan.

An "Appeal to George W. Bush," published as a paid ad on the editorial page of the May 24 *New York Times*, is spearheaded by the group Equality Now and signed by 19 individuals, including Eleanor Smeal, president of The Feminist Majority; Kim Gandy, president of the National Organization for Women; Gloria Steinem, founder of *Ms. Magazine*; and actresses Meryl Streep and Jane Fonda.

The organizations and individuals listed on the ad call on the president to "keep his promise" and deploy more troops in Afghanistan in order to "protect the lives and secure the future of Afghan women."

Working people in the United States and all defenders of women's rights should re-

ject this reactionary campaign. Instead, we can expose the real nature of the war against and occupation of Afghanistan and demand Washington get every one of its soldiers, ships, and warplanes out of the region.

Within days of the publication of the ad, working people in one Afghan village were raising an international protest over a nighttime assault on their community by U.S. forces who killed at least one man and took away 50 others. The villagers were particularly incensed, according to reporters, by the fact that the troops bound the hands of one woman and that a young girl trying to escape the onslaught was killed when she accidentally fell into a well. So much for their "lives and secure future."

As the incident shows, this campaign calling for more U.S. troops to be deployed has nothing to do with advancing the fight for women's rights in Afghanistan or anywhere else. Rather, it gives political cover to the most rapacious and brutal imperialist power in the world—the ruling class of the United States—in its drive to strengthen its influence in the region by establishing a protectorate in Afghanistan.

The ad asserts that women in the United States supported Washington's assault on Afghanistan, "in large part because they believed your promises that it would liberate Afghan women from abuse and oppression." The appeal continues, "The war against terrorism will only be successful if the struggle for peace and democracy succeeds. September 11th taught American women that the safety and security and well-being of Afghan women is the safety of us all."

War on working people

But from start to finish the "war on terrorism" is in fact a war on working people—in Afghanistan, the United States, and around the world. The Bush administration's aim is to enforce the domination of capital, which is the source of the modern-day oppression of women and of every reactionary holdover from pre-capitalist forms of class rule. To give any support to this assault sets back the struggle of workers and farmers worldwide to put an end to capitalist rule, which is the only way to open the road to the full emancipation of women.

Aside from whether or not "U.S. women" all believed the cynical expressions of concern for Afghan women from the president, his wife, and of Secretary of State Colin Powell as U.S. forces were pummeling Afghan villages with missiles and cluster bombs, the appeal helps cover over the fact that the very same parties have led a decades-long bipartisan assault on women's rights at home. (Working people should never forget that General Powell, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told a reporter in the wake of the 1991 Gulf War that the number of Iraqi men, women, and children killed in that U.S.-led slaughter was "really not a number I'm terribly interested in.")

The pro-imperialist position of the bour-

Schedule of fund events is filling up

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

NEW YORK—Organizers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* fund in the Garment District, New York, hosted a public meeting on May 24 entitled "From Haiti to the U.S. and Canada: Prospects for Building an International Socialist Movement of Working People and Youth."

Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Willey, who had been part of a delegation of socialist workers from the United States and Canada at a meeting one week earlier of university students and young socialists in Haiti, was the speaker. The Port-au-Prince gathering, he said, showed the new possibilities for collaboration between revolutionary workers, farmers, and students in North America and Haiti.

Supporters of the two socialist periodicals hosted a dinner before the event and organized a fund pitch, explaining the goals of the drive and the need for funds to help finance the working-class publications. Participants in the meeting pledged a total of \$1,295 to the fund, of which \$930 was collected on the spot.

The international drive runs through to June 15. As indicated in the chart below, supporters in local areas have now pledged well over the initial \$50,000 goal.

Willey's presentation prompted a number of questions from the audience and a lively give-and-take at the post-meeting social. He noted that a number of students at the conference in Port-au-Prince asked whether it is possible to make a revolution in a country like Haiti, whose development has been stunted by brutal imperialist exploitation.

Willey said that in countries where there is currently a small working class it is just as necessary as it is in advanced capitalist countries to build socialist parties that aim to lead workers and peasants in struggle to defend their own class interests. Looking to bourgeois or petty bourgeois forces only leads to defeat for working people. Once workers and peasants set out to build such a party, how far the revolutionary struggle can go is an open question. In the case of Haiti, Willey said, advances in the struggles



EQUALITY NOW
www.equalitynow.org

APPEAL TO GEORGE W. BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Dear President Bush:

We the undersigned women leaders and women's rights organizations ask you to take emergency action to protect the lives and secure the future of Afghan women.

- Unlike most wars, U.S. women supported the war against the Taliban in unprecedented numbers – in large part because they believed your promises that it would liberate Afghan women from abuse and oppression.
- Your refusal to expand the size and scope of peacekeeping forces in Afghanistan – as requested by Afghan women leaders, and also by the Afghan Interim Authority and the United Nations – has left the women of Afghanistan in great danger. There are alarming reports of rapes, lootings, beatings, kidnappings and other intimidation in Afghanistan. This insecurity is



Ad published in *New York Times* and signed by 19 prominent feminists accepts imperialist framework of the "war against terrorism."

socialists justified support to the colonial policies of their own bourgeois governments in the name of bringing "civilization" and "enlightenment" to the darker-skinned peoples of the world. Just as Equality Now and Co. propose today in Afghanistan.

For those who are genuinely fighting to advance women's rights in Afghanistan and elsewhere, the pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara is well worth reading. Sankara was a leader of the 1983–87 revolution in Burkina Faso. That revolution gave a glimpse of what is possible, even in one of the poorest countries in the world.

At the time of the revolution Burkina had the highest infant mortality rate in the world at more than 20 percent, 92 percent of the population could not read or write, and the overwhelming majority of the population lived under semi-feudal conditions. Peasant women made daily trips of as much as 10 miles to collect water from the nearest well. The revolution there took on all of these questions, and viewed the advancement of women as essential to advancing all of Burkinabe society.

Speaking to thousands of women March 8, 1987, at an International Women's Day rally in the capital, Ouagadougou, Sankara explained, "Inequality can be done away with only by establishing a new society, where men and women will enjoy equal

rights, resulting from an upheaval in the means of production and in all social relations. Thus, the status of women will improve only with the elimination of the system that exploits them. In fact, throughout the ages...there has been a close parallel between class exploitation and women's inferior status."

He went on to detail the revolution's efforts to combat the specific oppression faced by women, including the dowry price and so-called female circumcision and to increase access to water, child care, and education.

But to begin taking these steps, the toilers of Burkina Faso first had to organize to fight imperialism and establish a popular revolutionary government. The same challenge is posed in Afghanistan, and throughout the world.

In the United States, the most important contribution working people can make to the emancipation of women—and all of humanity—is get the boot of imperialism off the back of workers and farmers around the world. This can only be done as part of a revolutionary struggle to overturn the rule of the capitalist class and replace it with a government of workers and farmers. Then, together in collaboration with brothers and sisters from other countries, we can begin a common battle to put an end to the exploitation of capitalist society and the oppression of women that is deeply rooted in class society.

of working people will find a response of solidarity from workers in the Dominican Republic, Haitian immigrants in the United States, and the Cuban Revolution.

Two days after the Garment District event supporters organized a fund meeting in Chicago titled "Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Revolutionary Cuba Doesn't End." The speaker was Romina Green from New York, a leader of the Young Socialists who participated in events in Cuba organized to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Young Communists.

Earlier the same day, Green joined a YS class on the Pathfinder title *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*.

Participants in the Chicago fund event, Green told the *Militant*, included YS members and contacts, longtime readers of the socialist press, and a garment worker who received a flyer advertising the event from a co-worker. In the discussion period, she said, several people commented on the visit of former U.S. president James Carter to Cuba, and pointed out his record of hostility to the Cuban, Grenadian, Nicaraguan, and Iranian revolutions.

The schedule of fund events over the two-and-a-half weeks that remain in the campaign is rapidly filling up, from Australia, to Canada, to the United States. (Information on upcoming meetings are on page 12.)

Almost \$4,000 has been received toward the fund over the past week. However, a number of areas have still not sent in anything. Partisans of the fund are encouraged to step up their efforts at bringing in the contributions that have been pledged and at soliciting new ones. Every worker, farmer, and young person who rec-

ognizes the value of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* should be approached for a contribution. The fund drive should also benefit from the efforts of campaigners in the international circulation campaign to meet their goals.

Militant/PM May 1—June 15 International Fund Drive			
	Goal	Paid	%
Seattle	3,600	1,953	54%
Brooklyn	1,800	912	51%
NY Garment District	4,000	1,690	42%
Charlotte	2,700	750	28%
Detroit	1,500	334	22%
Chicago	3,000	500	17%
Atlanta	2,000	300	15%
Washington DC	1,600	145	9%
Miami	1,000	75	8%
Newark	2,000	120	6%
Los Angeles	5,000	200	4%
San Francisco	4,000	110	3%
Allentown	800	0	0%
Birmingham	2,000	0	0%
Boston	1,850	0	0%
Cleveland	1,000	0	0%
Des Moines	1,000	0	0%
Houston	2,800	0	0%
Omaha	660	0	0%
Philadelphia	1,500	0	0%
Pittsburgh	2,000	0	0%
St. Paul	3,500	0	0%
Tampa	800	0	0%
Upper Manhattan	2,500	0	0%
Western Colorado	2,000	0	0%
Other	0	50	
U.S. Total	54,610	7,139	13%
New Zealand	630	333	53%
Australia	875	0	0%
Canada	1,900	0	0%
Sweden	400	0	0%
Int'l Total	58,415	7,472	13%
Total Should be	50,000	20,000	40%

Socialists step up sales for target week

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Partisans of the circulation drive to win new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are gearing up sales activities for the June 1–9 target week that will set the pace for the rest of the drive. Several areas have sent in reports highlighting results from participation in regional sales teams and from joining with workers and young people involved in labor battles and social protests. At a recent rally of carpenters in Orlando, Florida, “we sold three *PM* subscriptions and one *Militant* subscription,” wrote Henry Hillenbrand from Tampa. He said they also sold a *PM* subscription at an earlier action of carpenters in Tampa, bringing to three the number of carpenters in the area who have become regular readers of the publications.

There are a number of examples of how socialist workers and young socialists are working with people who purchased one of the periodicals or Pathfinder books to get them to come to the local Pathfinder bookstore, a *Militant* Labor Forum, or protest action. This is exactly what the subscription drive is for: to meet new workers and youth who are attracted to the revolutionary perspectives put for-

scription and five papers at a flea market and a number of *Militants* as they went door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods. They are planning a visit to the coalfields on the Navajo Nation to meet with miners employed by the Peabody coal company, as well as Native American ranchers and farmers who are locked in a struggle with the coal bosses over water rights.

Several team members went to Wyoming where they sold 17 papers, including seven at the coal portal of the Kemmerer mine and nine copies plus a subscription to the *Militant* while talking to workers at their homes in Diamondville. They also went to the Union Pacific railyard in Green River, Wyoming, where they sold a *Militant*.

One team went to Rifle, Colorado, and sold six copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, five copies of the *Militant*, along with two subscriptions. About a year ago, 2,000 people marched in Rifle to protest the racist murders of four Mexican workers. Another team sold a *Militant* subscription, five papers, and a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* while going door-to-door in Meeker, Colorado.



18 subscriptions sold at Vancouver protest

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—As at least 20,000 working people marched in Vancouver to protest massive cuts to health care and education and sweeping attacks on workers’ rights, a team of Young Socialists and socialist workers from Vancouver and Seattle got good results selling the *Militant* and Pathfinder books. We set up three tables at assembly points for the march and the main rally site. We sold 18 *Militant* subscriptions as well as 116 copies of the *Militant*, and eight people signed up to be called back about taking advantage of the paper’s introductory subscription offer. One young person we met at the demonstration came to the Pathfinder bookstore here the next day to talk politics with us. She left with a subscription to the *Militant* and a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*.

Protesters also bought three copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and five other Pathfinder titles. Many who bought the *Militant* were seeing the paper for the first time, but others commented that they had seen the paper at previous protest actions against the British Columbia government. One person who had purchased the *Militant* at the February 23 rally of 30,000 people in Victoria came to the table looking for the paper, and ended up getting a subscription.



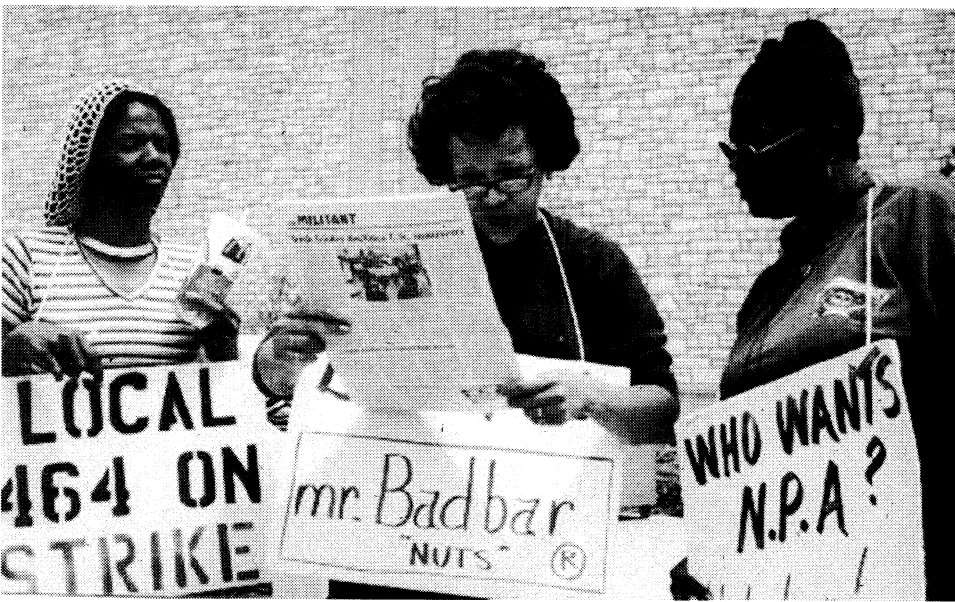
‘Militant’ campaigners join rally against killer cops in New Jersey

BY DON HAMMOND

NEWARK, New Jersey—Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* here recently joined a protest at the Bloomfield, New Jersey, police station. The demonstrators were demanding justice for Santiago Villanueva, a Dominican garment worker killed on the job in April by Bloomfield cops while he was having an epileptic seizure. His wife Lisa Ann Villanueva, who attended the protest, said, “My husband will not rest peacefully until there is justice.”

One person participating in the demonstration bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Another protest action is planned for May 31.

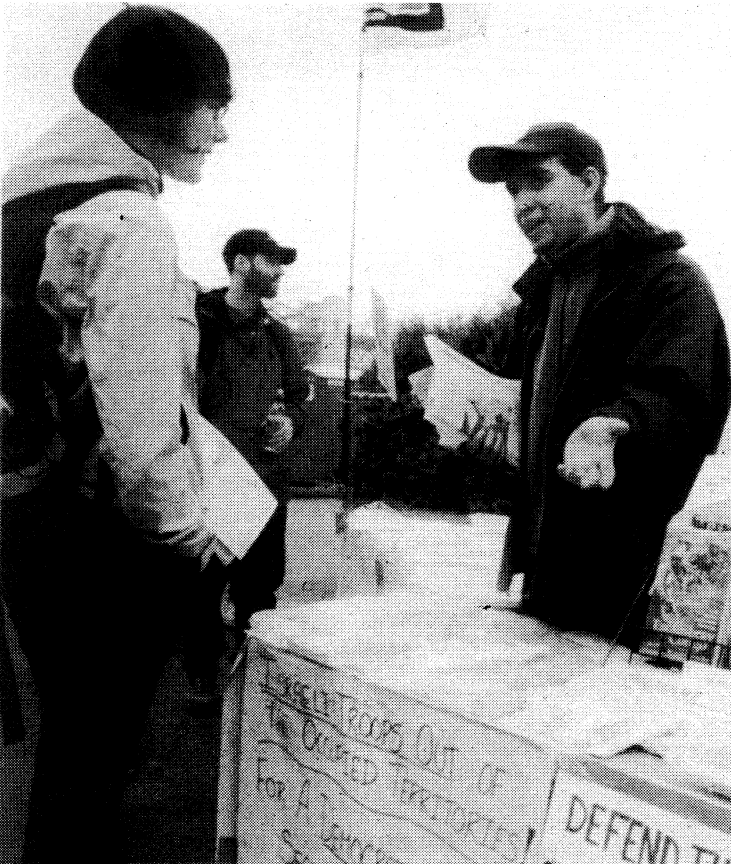
Before joining the rally partisans of the circulation drive visited homes of workers in Bloomfield where they sold one subscription to *PM* and one to the *Militant*. Socialist workers also



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

Strikers on picket line at Hershey Foods Corp. check out *Militant*. Unionists involved in labor actions and workers engaged in social protests are attracted to socialist press.

sold a *PM* subscription in the working-class district of North Newark where the Pathfinder bookstore is being relocated. Some workers who live in this area work at the nonunion Nebraska Meat Corp. where socialists sell the paper at the plant gate every week. “We’re trying to get the union in here,” said one of the meat packers who recently purchased a copy of the *Militant* at the plant gate.



Militant/Monica Jones

Socialists join May 25 protest in Vancouver, British Columbia, against government cuts. Participants at demonstration welcomed the *Militant*, buying 116 copies and 18 subscriptions.

ward by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and to introduce them to the Socialist Workers Party, Communist League, or Young Socialists in the area.

Through six weeks of the subscription drive, partisans of the socialist press have sold 502 *Militant* subscriptions, 215 *PM* subscriptions, and 265 copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. While the campaign has fallen behind schedule, sales reports from a number of places indicate socialists workers and young socialists are building up steam for the target week.



Good start to western coal team

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

CRAIG, Colorado—“We sold 45 copies of the *Militant* to miners at the McKinley Mine in Tse Bonito, New Mexico, during our two visits there,” reported Jeff Powers, who joined with two others for a three-day sales team to the coalfields in Arizona and New Mexico. One of the miners purchased a subscription to the *Militant*.

Powers, other socialist workers, and young socialists met here to map out plans for a week of selling the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder titles to working people in the coalfields of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Wyoming. The team included participants from Los Angeles; San Francisco; Seattle; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Atlanta; Brownsville, Texas; and Colorado.

On May 25, the first day of the regional sales effort, one team went to the Twenty Mile Coal Mine, in Hayden, Colorado, where they sold several copies of the *Militant*. The sales team that traveled to New Mexico sold a *Militant* sub-

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 13–June 23 (week 6)

	Militant			PM		Book	
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden							
Stockholm	10	8	80%	3	2	5	3
Gothenburg*	16	12	75%	3	2	9	7
Sweden Total	26	20	77%	6		14	10
Canada							
Vancouver	30	27	90%	6	1	20	13
Toronto	30	19	63%	6	2	15	12
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	3	16	13
Canada total	75	53	71%	17	6	51	38
United Kingdom							
London	35	19	54%	12	5	20	12
Dundee		2					2
UK total	35	21	60%	12	5	20	14
New Zealand							
Auckland	10	7	70%	1		5	2
Christchurch	8	3	38%	1		3	2
N.Z. total	18	10	56%	2		8	4
United States							
Los Angeles	35	28	80%	15	10	10	5
Seattle	30	23	77%	12	4	16	12
Washington	25	16	64%	12	9	15	11
Miami	30	19	63%	15	1	15	7
Tampa	25	15	60%	6	1	12	4
Detroit	40	23	58%	13	10	20	12
NY Garment Dist.	80	45	56%	40	18	50	21
Allentown*	25	14	56%	8	5	10	1
Cleveland	25	13	52%	5	2	20	12
Brownsville	8	4	50%	3	1		3
San Francisco	30	15	50%	18	4	15	1
Brooklyn	45	20	44%	35	10	35	14
Charlotte	18	8	44%	7	4	10	1
Philadelphia	25	11	44%	10	4	15	1
Pittsburgh	45	19	42%	5		20	1
Tucson	5	2	40%	1			
Newark	55	21	38%	25	14	35	13
Twin Cities	50	19	38%	25	24	25	3
Western Colorado	18	6	33%	8	4	12	4
Des Moines	40	13	33%	25	17	21	6
Birmingham	20	6	30%	8	6	10	3
Houston	30	9	30%	12	6	20	11
Upper Manhattan	75	22	29%	50	21	40	21
Chicago	35	8	23%	20	8	25	8
Omaha	9	2	22%	15	9	10	5
Atlanta	40	8	20%	15	6	30	12
Boston	30	4	13%	15	4	20	4
U.S. total	893	393	44%	423	202	511	196
Iceland	6	2	33%	1		4	1
Australia	20	3	15%	4	2	12	2
Int'l totals	1073	502	48%	465	215	620	265
Goal/Should be	1050	630	60%	460	276	625	375
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Canada							
UFCW	7	2	29%	1		4	2
UNITE	3		0%	2	1	3	
Total	10	2	20%	3	1	7	2
United States							
UMWA	15	7	47%	2	2	10	1
UFCW	50	9	18%	45	7	50	4
UNITE	50	6	12%	50	30	50	17
Total	115	22	19%	97	39	110	22
New Zealand							
NDU	1		0%			1	
MWU	2		0%				
Total	3		0%			1	
Australia							
AMIEU	3		0%			3	
MUA	2		0%			3	
Total	5		0%			6	
raised goal*							

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textiles Employees

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London-Paris dispute targets immigrants

Continued from front page

station and sleep there, and then try to go to England, because I have no other chance."

Eurotunnel, the French-British company that operates the chunnel, reported that in the first six months of 2001 its officials stopped some 18,500 people—an average of 200 a day—from entering Britain. The company has reinforced the perimeter of its Calais terminal with six miles of razor wire and 300 video cameras, but spokespeople say that without the camp's closure and stiffer security measures by French authorities, refugees will continue to risk their lives to enter the chunnel in order to get to the United Kingdom.

On Christmas day, 500 immigrants breached the Calais security and stormed the chunnel's entrance. The French authorities jailed four people from Iraq and Afghanistan on charges of toppling the security barriers.

A spokesperson for English Welsh and Scottish Railway (EWS), the chunnel's main UK user, stated that in the last six months the presence of refugees has forced the company to cancel 3,000 crossings. "It is costing us millions and it has been hurting international rail freight, which is a key part of the [UK] government's transport strategy," complained Graham Smith, EWS's planning director. EWS officials say that even with the closure of the camp, round-the-clock security is needed in the Calais railway yards. The company has called on the European Parliament to ensure that both more fencing and cops are deployed on the French side of the tunnel. EWS allegations that the "unimpeded movement of goods" has been disrupted is the basis for the EU's possible legal action.

The French government, which states that it is unable to cope with the influx of refugees over its borders, has promised to beef up patrols by police and gendarmes starting in September. Meanwhile, it has cut back the number of trains using the tunnel.

French interior minister Nicolas Sarkozy said that "closing down Sangatte can be—must be—a goal, but cannot come first. The long-term solution can only come from a community policy, a European-wide policy, about asylum."

Blair promotes new attacks

The governments of both France and Germany, however, have been muted in their reaction to a proposal by British prime minister Anthony Blair for an EU policy targeting both illegal immigrants and the countries from which many come. According to the *Financial Times*, London hopes to im-

pose a plan that "would see aid to developing countries tied to agreements to take back failed asylum seekers and economic migrants, while aid to countries along the EU's borders could be conditional on helping stem the flow of immigrants."

The *Times* noted that many EU governments, including France and Germany, have been reluctant to accept a Europe-wide asylum policy in the past because they view immigration as being "an issue that they see as seriously affecting national sovereignty."

Speaking May 20 after gaining the backing of Prime Minister José María Aznar of Spain, Blair stated, "There has got to be some order and some rules brought into the system whereby people come into Europe." The previous week, his government had issued an "action plan" designed to bring about a "radical reduction" in the number of allegedly "unfounded asylum applications."

The authors of the "leaked" document advocated the stationing of British immigration officials at Paris and Amsterdam airports and the tightening of visa requirements for citizens of Zimbabwe and other countries. They also proposed the deployment of naval ships to intercept boats with refugees on board, and use of Royal Air Force planes for "bulk" deportations.

The Labour leader claims he advocates measures in order to undercut support for ultrarightist parties in Britain and France that scapegoat immigrants for unemployment and other social problems like crime. In April, Blair's government introduced a new bill that attacks workers' rights by targeting immigrants in Britain. The bill would give expanded powers to immigration officers to enter workplaces in pursuit of undocu-



A demonstration in Paris in 1996 demanding legalization for undocumented workers. The British government is proposing new measures against immigrants in Europe.

mented workers, restrict the rights of appeal against deportation, and force new citizens to take an oath of allegiance to the British nation and to learn its language, history, and customs.

Speaking in support of these measures in the House of Commons on April 25, Blair turned the situation on its head, blaming working people in Britain for the situation by admonishing them that they could find "no future in the type of narrow-minded racism and nationalism" espoused by ultrarightist Jean-Marie Le Pen in France.

Attacks on Muslims

The kind of policies implemented by Blair and many other European governments—along with attacks on other rights of working people dressed up as measures against "terrorism"—provide the backdrop to a re-

ported increase in violence and verbal abuse directed at members of Muslim communities, and others who "look Muslim."

According to a report published on May 23 by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), the number of incidents has been highest in the Northern European states of Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden. Along with schoolchildren, women wearing head scarves have been the most frequent targets, while Sikh men, who traditionally wear turbans, have also been singled out. The report also listed numerous attacks on mosques.

Referring to government measures enacted since September 11, the EUMC's director said, "An atmosphere has been created in which Muslims have to justify themselves that they're not terrorists."

Meanwhile, the Swedish and Danish immigration ministers have publicly fallen out over new Danish legislation that will cut welfare allowances for immigrants, stiffen the criteria for gaining asylum, and abolish an immigrant's right to be reunited with his or her spouse.

The measures will go into effect on July 1, the day that Denmark takes over the EU presidency from Spain.

After Swedish minister Mona Sahlin criticized the law, her Danish counterpart, Bertel Haarder, accused "certain Swedish ministers of making a hefty contribution to damaging Denmark's international reputation." Sahlin retorted that Copenhagen's policy was designed to "demonize refugees" and that any damage to its standing was its own fault.

The Danish prime minister and other Danish politicians weighed in, attacking the Swedish government for "meddling" in another country's affairs. Pia Kjaersgaard, the leader of the rightist and anti-immigration Danish Peoples party, condemned the Swedish "stab in the back" and called for the closing of the Oresund bridge, which links Denmark with Sweden and the rest of the European continent. The bridge has been open for less than two years.

Unions in Spain call one-day strike to oppose attack on unemployment benefits

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Labor unions in Spain have called a general strike for June 20, to occur on the eve of a European Union summit scheduled to take place in Seville. The action will protest government plans to further restrict unemployment benefits for the 2.4 million people officially listed as being without a job.

The planned strike action occurs after a massive protest of nearly 1 million people in Italy March 25 condemned the government's plan to rewrite the country's labor legislation making it easier for bosses to fire workers, and after strikes in Germany by more than 100,000 metalworkers over the course of 10 days last month for a wage increase.

The unionists in Spain are protesting proposals promoted by Prime Minister José María Aznar to cut wage payments to workers fired by their employers while labor courts rule on their appeals. Aznar is also pushing to deny unemployment benefits to those who refuse jobs offered within a 31-mile radius of their hometown. He also is seeking to phase out unemployment subsidies for temporary agricultural workers who are entitled to a monthly state income of \$270 if they can prove that they have been employed for 32 days a year.

The strike is being planned jointly by the General Workers Union and Workers Commission, federations that represent 2 million workers.

The official unemployment rate in Spain is nearly 13 percent—the highest in the European Union. Some areas of the country like Extremadura and Andalusia, among the nation's poorest regions, have higher unemployment rates. Union representatives have pointed out that even prior to these proposed new measures more than 40 percent of Spanish workers currently out of a job are denied unemployment benefits.

Meanwhile, in Portugal, trade unions are planning a one-day general strike against government moves to privatize parts of the social security and pensions programs.

Vancouver march condemns antilabor assault

Continued from front page

banners, homemade signs, Native drummers, and spirited chants such as, "They say cutback, we say fight back" and "Hey, hey! ho, ho! Gordon Campbell's got to go!" At St. Paul's Hospital along the route, a choir from the Hospital Employees Union sang from the flatbed of a truck decorated with a Teamsters banner. The group performed union songs including some written about the current fight in British Columbia.

Despite a steady drizzle, thousands stayed at the rally site after the march to hear speeches from labor officials and other rally organizers. Many stopped to look at and discuss politics at the numerous booths featuring literature and displays.

Government cuts in social services were the focus of many protesters' anger. "The Campbell government has gotten rid of

wage equality provisions so instead of making \$16 an hour, we'll go back to \$12.31 an hour as of April 2003," said Tina, a child care worker and member of the British Columbia Government and Services Employees Union. "Medical benefits will also be cut for several thousand workers. I'm here not just because I'm directly affected but also because of the affect on health care and education. I don't want to see 40 in a class," she said, referring to expected increase in the number of students in a classroom due to attacks on education.

Jackie, an elementary school teacher and member of the BCTF, came to the rally with a group of teachers from Brunbury. She told the *Militant* she is being laid off. The school system is "going back to five years seniority in laying off high school teachers." Some 96 high school teachers, 52 elemen-

tary teachers, and 4 from the school of the deaf are being laid off, the teachers said. "The grade one class I was teaching this year will increase in size from 18 to 23," Jackie added.

The shutting down of long-term care facilities for the elderly by the government has angered many people. For example, when a Chilliwack couple in their 80s who have been married for 60 years were separated because of their residence being closed, 200 people turned out to demand that the government find them spaces where they could continue to live together.

More workers employed in the private sector turned out for the Vancouver march than for previous actions against the cuts. Carpenters, painters, and construction workers had significant contingents at the May 25 action.

This was due in part to their opposition to changes the B.C. government has begun to make to the labor code. The new measures will make it more difficult for workers to unionize. They change minimum employment standards so the bosses can make employees work more than eight hours without paying overtime rates. Companies can now hire workers under the age of 15 with fewer protections and alter their shift schedules without any notice.

The stakes for all working people in resisting the offensive waged by the Liberal government are becoming apparent to many workers. "They want to run the whole province like they do this company," said a worker from a nonunion meatpacking plant who joined the march.

Beverly Bernardo is a meat packer. Ned Dmytryshyn contributed to this article.

Immigrants in U.S. hit with rise in TB

Continued from Page 3

Health Organization an infected person can transmit the infection to 15 to 20 people a year on the average.

The high cost of housing in New York City has forced thousands of working families into overcrowded housing situations. According to a report released in 2000 by the Coalition for the Homeless, the number of housing units considered crowded—more than one person per room—went from 6.5 percent in 1978 to 11 percent in 1999. The number considered seriously crowded, based on a standard of 1.5 people per room, went from 1.5 percent to 3.9 in the same time period.

The *New York Times* recently described the shift in the rate of infection among immigrants as "a kind of turning back of the clock to the turn of the 20th century, when tuberculosis rippled through the city's immigrant population, spreading rapidly through tenements and windowless factories."

In the past year New York City officials have also expressed concern that the increase in the cost of housing, combined with a reduction in the number of landlords honoring government vouchers and further cutbacks in social programs, could force thousands of people with AIDS and other disabilities into the streets.

Washington admits to chemical weapons testing on its soldiers

Continued from front page

of protection. In phase 2, VX gas was sprayed onto a barge to examine the effectiveness of the ship's wash-down system and other decontamination measures.

One test, named "Fearless Johnny," was carried out southwest of Honolulu in 1965. The *George Eastman*, a Navy cargo ship, was sprayed with VX nerve gas and a simulant to "evaluate the magnitude of exterior and interior contamination levels."

Sarin gas and the VX nerve agent are highly lethal. VX gas penetrates the skin and lungs to disrupt the body's nervous system and stop breathing. Exposure in small quantities causes death.

Germes sprayed onto tugs

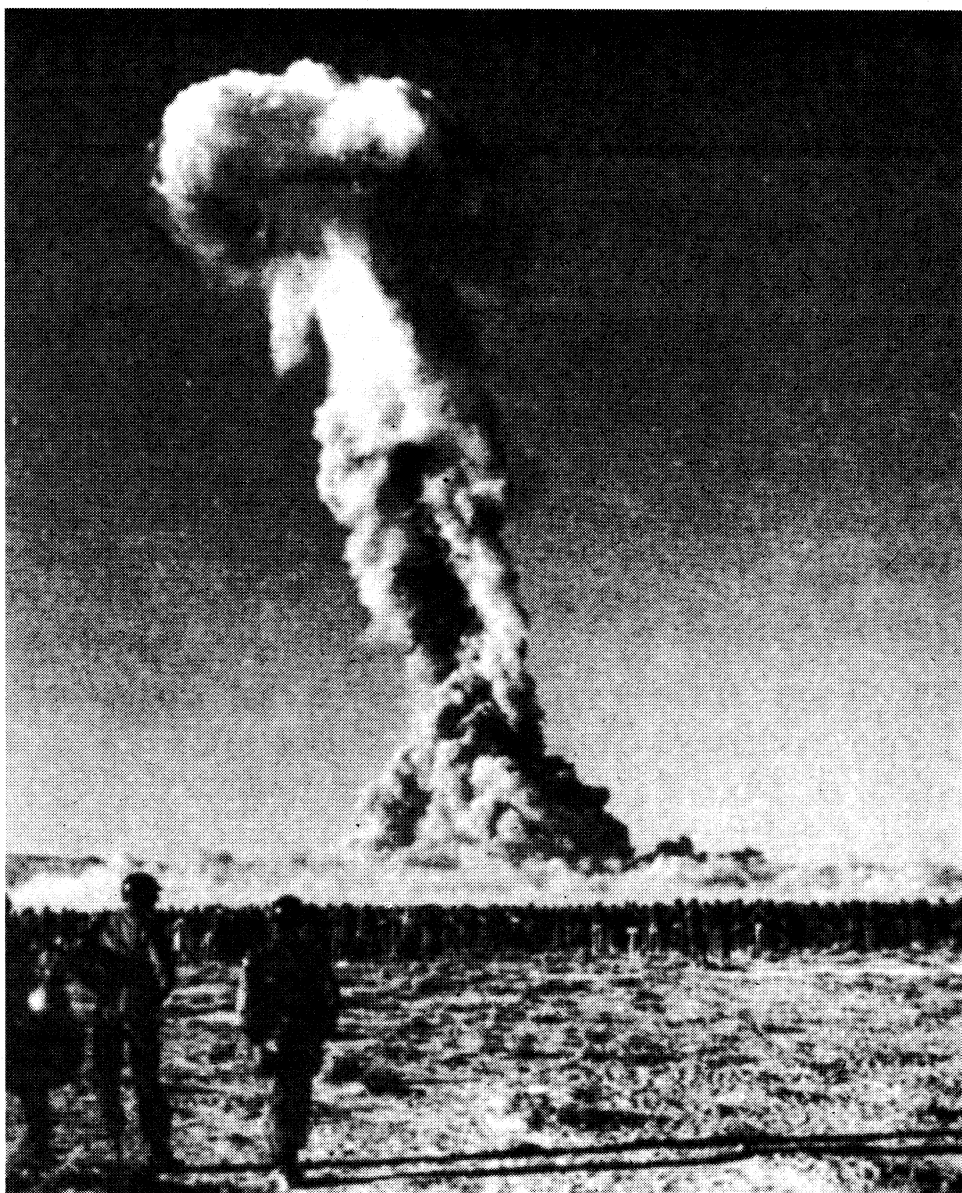
Another experiment, Deseret Test Center Test 69-32, took place in Hawaii in 1969. Two germs, *Serratia marcescens* and *Escherichia coli*, were sprayed onto five tugs from military aircraft. *Serratia marcescens* is an opportunistic pathogen that causes infections of the endocardium, blood, wounds, and urinary and respiratory tracts.

Since September 2000 the Department of Veterans Affairs has notified only 622 of the 4,300 veterans who were used as human guinea pigs and exposed to deadly, and in many cases carcinogenic, agents. Those who are still alive and are informed that they were part of the testing will still have to prove that any medical problems or disabilities are a direct result of exposure. This is the same requirement the government uses in the cases of uranium miners and with soldiers exposed to nuclear radiation.

The government has given no guarantee of how long the process will take or what kind of treatment will be provided under the notoriously poor care of the Veteran Administration. In St. Petersburg, Florida, for example, 4,429 veterans are scheduled for their first doctor's appointment through the Veteran Administration (VA) in October 2005.

The tests are part of a long list of lethal military activities carried out by the armed services against U.S. soldiers. According to the National Association of Atomic Veterans, more than 382,000 troops and civilians were exposed to hazardous levels of ionizing radiation through more than 200 atmospheric atomic and nuclear weapons tests from 1945 to 1963. An additional 195,000 troops were part of the occupation and cleanup of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Washington dropped atomic bombs on those cities. A VA report explains that "troops, ships, and various types of equipment were placed from several hundred yards to several miles from the center of each [nuclear] detonation. On many occasions military personnel performed maneuvers in and around ground zeros without protective clothing or respiratory devices."

Another 600,000 workers employed by the nuclear weapons industry since the 1940s are covered by the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA), passed in 1990. The act was established to provide compensation to former uranium miners, soldiers, and people living downwind from test sites who were exposed to radiation. In



U.S. Army troops observe detonation of atomic bomb by Department of Defense at Nevada Proving Ground in 1951.

more than a decade the Justice Department has approved just 3,907 claims, denied 3,587, and left 3,160 still pending.

In 2000 the government allowed RECA to run out of funds, and started issuing IOUs

to miners whose claims had been approved. Workers in Colorado and New Mexico organized protests and lawsuits to demand compensation awards and full funding for the program.

Judge initially rules against federal death penalty

BY RÓGER CALERO

A federal judge in Manhattan is expected to issue a final ruling on his initial decision declaring the death penalty unconstitutional after attorneys have had a chance to submit their arguments seeking to convince him to uphold the federal government's use of capital punishment.

On April 25, federal judge Jed Rakoff said that the death penalty created "an undue risk that a meaningful number of innocent persons" were being executed. Supporting his statement with the findings of a Columbia University study done last February, the judge pointed to the large number of people who have been exonerated through the use of DNA and other evidence. The Columbia University study sought to explain the fact

that 68 percent of all death penalty cases between 1973 and 1995 ended up in new trials or sentencing hearings.

The problem of wrongful convictions went well beyond DNA testing, said Rakoff, noting that at least 20 people had been released from death row in cases in which testing was unavailable or irrelevant. "The inference is unmistakable that numerous innocent people have been executed whose innocence might otherwise have been similarly established," said the judge.

The federal judge's order to the prosecutors to reply to his decision arose during the case of two men scheduled to go on trial in September on charges of killing a cop informant. The two could face the death penalty. Last October Attorney General John Ashcroft

overturned the decision of the U.S. Attorney in Manhattan, Mary Jo White, to not seek the death penalty in the case.

In their May 15 reply the prosecutors said that the 12 DNA-based exonerations referred to by Rakoff were cases handled by the states, and that, in the words of the *New York Times*, "none of the 31 people sentenced to death in federal courts since 1994 had had their convictions overturned."

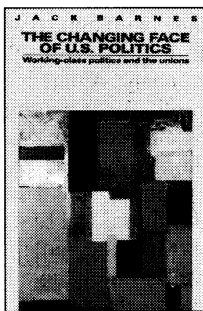
More than 700 people have been put to death by state courts in the past 25 years. Two people have been executed by federal court since 1994 when the federal death

penalty was reinstated.

The debate is unfolding in the context of growing opposition to state-sponsored executions among working people in the United States. The growing body of evidence revealing the true anti-working class character of the death penalty has made it difficult for the capitalist rulers to continue justifying the use of this weapon of terror against working people.

From Pathfinder

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS



by Jack Barnes

A handbook for the new generation coming into the factories, mines, and mills as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism today. It shows how millions of working people, as political

resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions and other organizations, and all of society. Available in English, Spanish, and French. \$19.95

Capitalism's World Disorder WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AT THE MILLENNIUM

by Jack Barnes

"A new pattern is being woven in struggle today, defined by the actions of a vanguard whose ranks increase with every single worker or farmer who reaches out to others with the hand of solidarity and offers to fight together." See advertisement page 9. \$23.95

History of American Trotskyism

by James P. Cannon

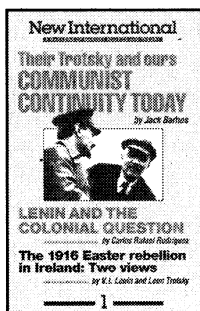
"Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine," says Cannon, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist International." In this series of 12 talks given in 1942, Cannon recounts an important chapter in the efforts to build a proletarian party in the United States. \$18.95

Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today

By Jack Barnes

in New International no. 1. Also includes

• Lenin and the Colonial Question, by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez • The 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland: Two Views, by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. \$8.00



At bookstores, including those listed on page 12; write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 6690; or visit www.pathfinderpress.com.

Summer schools

Continued from front page

litical questions under discussion and other aspects of how participants are digging into the rich material and historical lessons contained in the readings.

Concurrent with the school, SWP branches are organizing preconvention discussion sessions around documents submitted by the party leadership and other written contributions to the *Discussion Bulletin*, which is open to all party members.

Pathfinder Press and its supporters in the reprint project are engaged in a big effort over the coming weeks to publish several new books and editions allowing participants in the summer schools to mine their wealth in preparation for the convention.

These include a 2002 edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, by Jack Barnes, in English, with French and Spanish soon to follow; *The History of American Trotskyism*, by James P. Cannon, in French and Spanish for the first time; and a new edition of the book in English. All three will include a 24-page photo section. Another new publication in Spanish is *Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today*, by Jack Barnes, along with a new English edition, and a French edition soon to follow.

The summer school will be an opportunity for a number of participants to read the material for the first time, along with others who can reconquer the works through the lens of the experiences of the SWP in the class struggle and the unfolding of the world political situation today.

Celebrate Pathfinder's publication in French of

History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon

Build the Communist League
and Young Socialists, build the
world communist movement

Montreal, Saturday, June 15, 4:00 p.m.

Speakers:

Michel Prairie, leader of the Communist League in Canada and editor of *L'histoire du trotskysme américain*.

Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

Natalie Séguin, YS leader in Canada, participant in conference on "Socialism, the alternative for the world and Haiti" in Haiti.

Derek Jeffers, CGT member at Peugeot in Paris and volunteer in Pathfinder's French-language publication program.

Alexandre Lampron, leader of the Young Socialists in Quebec.

Susan Berman, Toronto, volunteer in the Pathfinder Reprint Project.

Location to be announced.

The program will be followed by a fund-raising dinner for Pathfinder's French-language publication program.

Organized by the Communist League and the Young Socialists in Montreal and Toronto.

Contact: **Montreal:** (514) 282-7369, librpath@sympatico.ca; **Toronto:** (416) 767-3706, milpathtoronto@sympatico.ca

Interest high in Pathfinder at Tehran fair

BY TONY HUNT

TEHRAN, Iran—More than 1.5 million people visited the Tehran International Book Fair this year from May 1 to May 10. Students and working people descended on the event from all parts of the country.

Coming in the context of the imperialists' "war against terrorism" and the upsurge in the Palestinian struggle, interest was high in political literature. Protesting U.S. president George Bush's designation of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as the "axis of evil," Iranians had poured into the streets this past February on the anniversary of the country's 1979 revolution.

This spring more demonstrations were held in cities and towns in support of the Palestinian people and their struggle has been a main news story in the media.

At the book fair a special hall was set aside for Palestine. It presented books on Palestinian history and struggle, and huge video screens showed scenes of recent Palestinian resistance to the Israeli military assaults.

The fair was held in northern Tehran at the city's permanent fair grounds on the slopes of the Alborz mountains. There was an atmosphere of a national cultural festival as the press, radio, and television gave wide coverage to the event, introducing native publishers and those from around the world, mainly from Arab countries and Europe.

Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan

Parallel events were organized during the book fair. A press fair presented the growing number of magazines and newspapers published in the cities and towns across the country. Some local papers carried articles in languages other than Farsi, the official language in Iran.

Akhtar, a newspaper published in Tabriz, had articles and poetry in Azerbaijani Turkish. Special halls were designated for Afghanistan and Tajikistan, where Farsi is also a major language. At those halls panel discussions on literature and history were held, and poets from each country read and discussed their poems. Another event took place introducing the literature and libraries in the Turkic-speaking Central Asian re-



Scenes from the Tehran International Book Fair, taken from the Iranian press.

public of Kazakhstan.

To make it possible for adults to participate fully in the book fair, a large center was set aside for children. There they could choose the activities they wanted to be engaged in, ranging from puppet shows, plays, and story telling to reading, painting, calligraphy, and clay modeling. They received lessons in biology, using microscopes, and were introduced to astronomy in a small planetarium built for that purpose. At any one time you could see hundreds of children busily engaged.

Government subsidy for books

This was the 15th annual book fair. Foreign books published in the last two years were subsidized by the Iranian government as much as 70 percent to compensate for

the unequal rate of exchange that makes these texts so costly in semicolonial countries. The publishers received the full cover price of the book. Foreign books published prior to 2000 were on sale in a different hall for cash payment in rials, the national currency. While only college students, teachers, researchers, and other professionals are eligible to buy books in the subsidized hall, anyone can buy books in the unsubsidized hall.

Pathfinder Distribution in London, a participant in the fair for the last 10 years, had books in both the subsidized and unsubsidized halls. The company offered discounts in the unsubsidized hall. More than 600 books and pamphlets were sold over a period of 10 days.

A lot of the visitors to the two Pathfinder

stands wanted books about the Palestinian struggle and the related Jewish question. A young airline mechanic came up and asked if Pathfinder had anything accurate on the Middle East conflict, saying he didn't trust books from the imperialist countries. He ended up getting *Israel's War Against the Palestinian People*, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* and *Capitalism's World Disorder*. He bought the latter book after being shown a passage about the Bolsheviks' attitude in Lenin's time toward Muslims.

A student who had read Malcolm X's *February 1965: The Final Speeches* in his university library took a look at *Socialists and the Fight against Anti-Semitism*. He commented that "our enemy is Israel, not the Jewish people."

A high school teacher from a Kurdish town near the border with Iraq came with his students. "I love Pathfinder books," he said. "They're all by fighters, of all the different nationalities." Students from Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Malaysia, and Afghanistan also visited the stand.

Media interest

Media interest in Pathfinder was a little higher than previous years. Representatives of Pathfinder Distribution gave nine interviews in all: five to TV stations, one on a live national radio program for youth, one to the official book fair newspaper, and two to news agencies. The requests continued right up to the final day.

One of the interviews was by the local stringer for CNN International. Quite a number of students of technical subjects came to the stands in search of political works. Three students of chemical engineering told Pathfinder staff that for them reading about the Cuban Revolution was a hobby. They were disappointed that *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*, featuring speeches by Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, had sold out at the unsubsidized stand. An engineering student, who has visited the booth over previous years, returned this year and explained he usually spends about half the quota he is allowed on his course subjects and the other half on political books. He asked about books by Jack Barnes and political developments in the United States, writing down the details of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and *Capitalism's World Disorder*. Other books by Barnes that were sold included three copies of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*.

Pathfinder books on the Cuban Revolution were the most popular, especially titles by Ernesto Che Guevara. *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* in English and Spanish was the best selling title, for the second year in a row.

The 10 other top sellers were *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Mary-Alice Waters; *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes; *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; *New International no. 10* featuring the article "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War" by Barnes; *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* by Maxime Rodinson; *Capitalism's World Disorder* by Barnes; *How Can the Jews Survive?* by George Novack; *The Jewish Question* by Abram Leon; *Marxism and Terrorism* by Leon Trotsky; and *Problems of Women's Liberation* by Evelyn Reed.

Readers purchased nearly 300 books at Pathfinder Distribution's unsubsidized stand. The librarian from a pharmaceutical factory bought five books, most of them about U.S. politics. Four sets of *Capital* by Marx and Engels were purchased, as well as numerous other titles by the founders of the communist movement.

Reportedly more than 500 copies of Pathfinder titles that are translated into Farsi were sold in the Farsi section of the book fair. Two publishing houses presented three new translations of Pathfinder books at the fair: *Problems of Women's Liberation*, *The Long View of History* by Novack, and *Marxism and Terrorism* by Trotsky. The latter sold 177 copies during the fair.

The third edition of the Farsi translation of *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, came out just before the fair and sold 95 copies. The second edition of *A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics*, by Barnes, also just published, sold 14 copies.

Plantation and hospital workers in Haiti organize strikes, protests for their rights

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—One day before attending the May 17-18 young socialists forum, members of the delegation from the international Young Socialists, the Communist League of Canada, and the Socialist Workers Party visited the State University Hospital here during a one-day strike by hospital workers. The action at the country's largest public hospital was in solidarity with resident interns in the orthopedic ward who had been on strike for three weeks.

The resident interns, who function as the main physicians at the hospital, demanded more and better quality equipment in order to provide care for patients.

The conditions in the hospital resemble those in such institutions in many semicolonial countries. Pierre Paul, a member of the Federation of University Students of Haiti (FEUH) and a student intern at the hospital, said that workers and peasants from city and countryside use the facility.

When the ward runs out of bed space, he said, patients are assigned two to a bed. Unsanitary conditions promote the spread of disease and infections, while medicines are expensive and scarce. This reporter saw only two patients being given intravenous drugs. The hospital depends upon patients' families to supply medicines. Several patients suffer from malnutrition and some die from routine infections owing to the lack of medicines.

In the orthopedic ward, which deals primarily with broken bones, jugs filled with sand, rocks, or other heavy objects serve as traction. Pierre Paul said that several amputees were injured at work when their arms were pulled into manually-fed machines used in the sugar processing mills in the countryside.

The resident interns won some of their



Workers at Guacimal orange plantations gather in the course of their long struggle against plantation owners and French-owned Remy Cointreau liquor company.

demands for better equipment and returned to work the next day, May 17.

In the last couple of months workers and peasants have held other demonstrations around the country. On April 2, peasants blocked the national highway in the town of L'Estere demanding that running water, telephone service, and electricity be provided in the Artibonite Valley. On April 29 and 30, demonstrators in the capital burned tires and threw rocks to protest the unfilled promises of the Aristide government. They demanded health care, schools, jobs, telephone service, and running water.

Municipal workers in the Port-au-Prince neighborhood of Pétion-Ville staged a walk-out because they had not been paid in ten months.

Workers at Guacimal orange plantation in St. Raphael in the north of the country have been fighting for union recognition and

the right to collective bargaining since they formed a union two years ago during a fight for better pay and working conditions. The St. Raphael workers grow and harvest oranges that provide the extract for liqueurs for Remy Cointreau. The French company is a part-owner of the plantation. Union supporters recently came up against repression by the government and the company. In late March one worker was brutally beaten, while two peasants have also been imprisoned for more than a month. Many peasants have relatives who work on the company's orange plantation.

Guacimal has failed to carry out improvements to the local infrastructure agreed to as part of the land-lease agreement signed 40 years ago. Peasant supporters of the union have been prevented from cultivating the plots of land between the orange trees during the off-season.

The capitalist nightmare unfolding in Latin America

The spectacle of Washington simply allowing the social crisis in Argentina—once hailed as a prime example of how to advance economic development in Latin America—to spiral downward with no end in sight is a harsh lesson for working people on the character of imperialism. The brutality of the bondholders and bankers who demand the government in Buenos Aires carry out whatever measures are deemed necessary to resume payments on the \$141 billion national debt, no matter what the consequences for working people, is rooted in the very system of finance capital.

The excerpt printed below addresses these questions and explains the workings of imperialism. It is from a talk given by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes at a regional socialist educational conference held in Los Angeles, California, over the 1994–95 New Year's weekend. The report is entitled, "So Far from God, So Close to Orange County: the Deflationary Drag of Finance Capital."

At the end of December 1994, Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo had announced the devaluation of the Mexican peso. In the sell-off by international currency traders that followed the announcement, the peso dropped by 40 percent against the U.S. dollar. This development coincided with the loss by U.S. investors of nearly \$7 billion in Mexican stocks, and the decline by some 20 percent in the value of their holdings in pesos and Mexican bonds.

It was also during December of that year that wealthy bondholders possessing investments in Orange County, California, faced huge losses when the county filed for bankruptcy after losing almost \$2 billion on investments in securities. Barnes explains that such developments are the results of the normal workings of capitalism in the imperialist epoch.

The talk can be found in *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* by Jack Barnes. Copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.



BY JACK BARNES

The biggest nightmare in Latin America is not what President Zedillo in Mexico, or President Cardoso in Brazil, or President Menem in Argentina have been waking up to in recent days. The real nightmare is the economic and social reality that hundreds of millions of workers and peasants wake up to each and every morning. Actual nightmares, of course, are unpredictable, chaotic. But the one unfolding across the Americas and elsewhere is not born of chaos. It is the product of the lawful, predictable, irreversible, and unreformable inner workings—the "value relations"—of the world capitalist system.

No Third World country can or will develop today into an economically advanced industrial power with the class structure of the United States, Canada, the countries of Western Europe, Japan, Australia, or New Zealand. No new centers of world finance capital are going to emerge. That has been settled by history. That is one of the great lessons of the twentieth century. It hasn't changed since Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin summed up the scientific conclusion of the communist workers movement seventy-five years ago. The imperialist world, Lenin said, has been "divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces."

It must have seemed unbelievable to many people when Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and other leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and Communist International insisted on this conclusion at the time. After all, it had not been true for that long. It had not been true in the previous century. Only seventy-five years before Lenin spoke those words in 1920, Germany was still one of the most economically backward regions in Europe; it wasn't even a united nation-state at the

time. And even just a decade or so prior to the turn of the century, no one could have accurately predicted that coal- and oil-poor Japan—just beginning to emerge from feudalism—would soon develop into an imperialist power, while Argentina would end up among the oppressed not the oppressor nations in the world.

Since the consolidation of imperialism at the opening of this century, every action by finance capital in relation to the more economically backward countries ends up further warping the economies of the colonial or semicolonial countries. That is the effect of every bank loan to their ruling classes; every investment in landed, industrial, and commercial capital; every purchase of bonds issued by a semicolonial administration; every trade pact; every scheme to peg the value of weaker currencies to stronger ones. Every one of these moves makes the oppressed nations of Latin America, Asia, and Africa more, not less, dependent on capital, technology, and imports from the imperialist nations. Their currencies are ever more reliant on, and vulnerable to, the U.S. dollar, the British pound, the German mark, the French franc, or the Japanese yen.

Capitalist classes do arise in these countries, and they do come into conflict with the imperialist overlords over division of the surplus value produced by the peasants and workers. But the national bourgeoisies are ultimately too weak to come out on top in these conflicts, short of the kind of working-class and peasant mobilizations that would threaten the privileged classes' own wealth and power in the process. That is why as long as the bourgeoisie remains in power in a semicolonial country, national sovereignty cannot be achieved.

When you read or hear the terms "developing countries" or "emerging economies," be sure to notice the "-ing" on the end of the adjectives—"develop-ing," "emerg-ing." That is the tip-off that not one of these "developing" countries has developed into an advanced industrial power in the twentieth century. Not one "emerging" economy has emerged from bondage to the big banks and strong currencies of the ruling families of finance capital. Emerging forever; emerged...never. Not one.

It is not surprising, in face of this reality, that many workers and young people initially conclude that the deepening crisis that surrounds them must be a symptom of chaos. Everything seems to be out of control. Everything seems unpredictable. Others suppose there must be a conspiracy. I am sure all of us will be talking to workers over the next few weeks who will tell us something to this effect: "I didn't expect miracles in Mexico, but I thought things were getting a little better. I thought there would be some progress. What happened? How could it be so sudden? There must have been some kind of a plot."

That is not an unreasonable assumption. Workers know from bitter experience that the employers and their politicians scheme and plot all the time. They scheme to cut wages and extend the workday. They plan ways to cut social programs the working class has fought for and won to the benefit of all. They are always cheating on the edges; they are always plotting to one degree or another. They lie as a matter of course. And workers learn never to trust them.

But no plot is necessary to explain what is happening in Mexico—or in Orange County either, for that matter. Nor is what is happening chaotic. It is the outcome of the lawful workings of capitalism in the imperialist epoch. It can all be understood and explained to other workers. Our point—the point of the politically conscious vanguard of the working class—is not that something didn't work, but that this is *how* it works.

Capitalism by its very laws of motion operates to take tools and land away from working farmers and other small producers. It operates to amass the wealth produced by the toiling majority in the hands of the propertied minority. It operates to produce and



Militant/Romina Green

Hundreds of unionists and other workers march in Neuquén, Argentina, in January to oppose devaluation of peso and other measures by President Eduardo Duhalde. Millions of workers and peasants in oppressed nations of Latin America, Africa, and Asia face capitalist nightmare of hunger, homelessness, or being driven off the land.

reproduce not only commodities and the profits from their sale, but also the entire class structure and social relations of subordination that make this system of exploitation possible.

As I was leaving to catch the plane to come out here this morning, a comrade in New York handed me a copy of Lenin's *Imperialism*. He urged me to reread it during the flight. Given what had begun happening in Mexico, he said, I was bound to find something useful in preparing for this meeting. He was right.

When Lenin used the term "imperialism"—and Marxists still use the term the same way—he was not just speaking in a political and military sense about the aggression and oppression imposed by the rulers

The crisis 'is the product of the lawful, predictable, irreversible, and unreformable inner workings of the world capitalist system.'

of a handful of wealthy and powerful nation-states on colonial peoples. He was not just referring to the colonial system and related forms of semicolonial exploitation. That is a permanent aspect of imperialism, but Lenin was referring to something more fundamental.

Imperialism, Lenin explained, is the final stage of capitalism. He described its features. Reading *Imperialism*, I discovered once again, is well worth the effort. The chapter that struck me in a new way this time is the one entitled "The Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism."

Lenin wrote the booklet in 1916, just a year before the Russian revolution. At that stage in the development of world capitalism, he explained, "The income of the bondholders is *five times greater* than the income obtained from the foreign trade of the greatest 'trading' country in the world [Britain]."

"This," Lenin said, "is the essence of imperialism and imperialist parasitism."

For that reason, Lenin added, Marxists should not object to those at the time—including some bourgeois commentators—who had begun to refer to the major capitalist industrial powers of the day as "rentier states" or "usurer states." The rival imperialist powers remain industrial giants and fight over markets for their exports, Lenin said. But at the same time, "The world has become divided into a handful of usurer states on the one side, and a vast majority of debtor states on the other."

Since Lenin's time, of course, the absolute increase in the industrial output and exports of manufactured goods by the imperialist powers has been enormous. But Lenin would not have been at all surprised by the even greater relative increase, especially over the past two decades, in the income capitalists derive from interest, dividends, commissions, royalties, and returns on a widening range of paper securities—what Marx called "fictitious capital."

Lenin would not have been surprised that the world's quantity of bonds, stocks, and other paper values since 1980 has grown two

and a half times faster than the national income of the major imperialist countries, and that the volume of trade in these securities has accelerated even more. He would not have been surprised that international sales and purchases of U.S. Treasury bonds alone shot up from \$30 billion in 1983 to \$500 billion in 1993, nor that the ratio of international currency transactions to world trade in actual industrial and agricultural goods rose from 10 to 1 in 1983 to 60 to 1 in 1992.

Nor would Lenin have been at all surprised by the much-talked-about proliferation of "derivatives" on Wall Street in recent years—basically, bets placed on the future rise or decline in the prices of stocks, bonds, or other pieces of paper—whose total value has now reached some \$20 trillion. In fact, he would remind us that such speculative devices always become necessary to the capitalist rentier class at a certain point. When the total yield from their bonds goes down, they always attempt to float new kinds of paper that turn a heftier profit.

Yes, bonds are just pieces of paper. But as long as capitalism exists, they are the most important pieces of paper in the social world. And if you want to know what happens when you do not show the bondholders the proper respect, just ask the Mexican bourgeoisie or the officials of Orange County!

"The creditor is more permanently attached to the debtor than the seller is to the buyer," Lenin approvingly cites that assessment from a book on British imperialism by a bourgeois writer. And it remains true today.

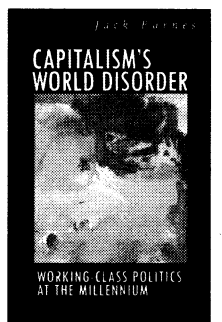
¹V.I. Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions" to the Second Congress of the Communist International, July 26, 1920, in *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 240 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966). It can also be found in Pathfinder's *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920*, vol. 1, p. 212.

from Pathfinder

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

BY JACK BARNES

"The capitalist rulers offer us social disaster. They offer us depression. They offer us death from curable disease. They offer us war. They offer us fascism. They offer us an unending list of horrors. But we offer ourselves the ability to prevent those horrors from becoming the final reality, the confidence that we can transform that future." Also available in Spanish and French. \$23.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12 and at pathfinderpress.com.

Hershey strikers: 'We have to take a stand'

BY JOHN STUDER

HERSHEY, Pennsylvania—Dozens of members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 90 from Harrisburg joined striking chocolate workers at Hershey Foods here May 25 to picket in the ongoing walkout against the world's largest candy-making company.

The members of Chocolate Workers Local 464, affiliate of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International, have been on strike at two of the company's plants here since April 26, making it the longest strike in the 108-year history of the company. In addition to joining the chocolate workers' picket lines, AFSCME members brought bags filled with lunch for pickets outside the two struck plants.

When company founder Milton Hershey opened his candy factory in 1894, he also set up a company town. "Residents bought their homes from Hershey and mortgaged them through his bank," one local newspaper reported. "He owned the lumber mill, the water company, the electric company, the telephone company—virtually every service they used."

The strike was provoked by company demands for a 100 percent increase in worker payments for health care and other takebacks. Retirees, as well as salaried workers and employees at a number of Hershey's nonunion plants have already had a similar health-care payment increase imposed on them by the bosses.

Many workers on the picket line explained the importance of health care for themselves and workers all over the country. A number of them are afflicted with tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome for repetitive motion on their jobs. The largest job category in the Chocolate Avenue plant is for the workers who package the candy bars as they come off the line. One striker explained that on her line they pack 138 Hershey bars a minute.

"It's just a rolling trend with industries," striker John Stickler said. "They just want their employees to keep paying more for

their benefits, and as long as they keep making more money and we go along with it, they're going to do it. Somebody has to put their foot down and just say no."

Last year Hershey hired as their new CEO Richard Lenny, a corporate cutback artist who made his reputation boosting profits at the workers' expense at Kraft foods. Lenny worked with other managers to demand concessions from workers at Hershey in order to boost company profit rates. For his efforts, Lenny earned \$22 million last year in pay, stock options, and bonuses.

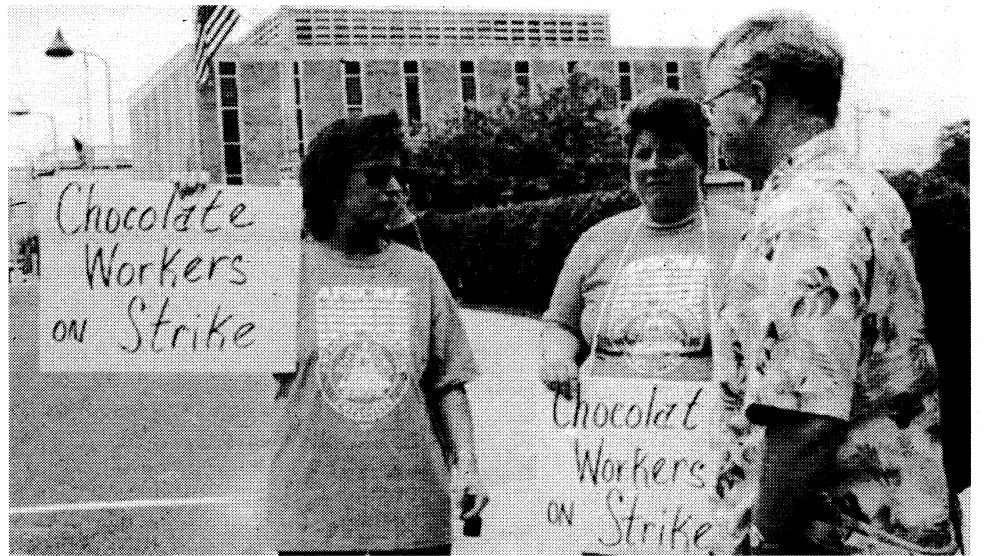
In the first quarter of 2002, Hershey posted an \$87 million profit.

"The strike has been a long time coming. They have been coming after us little by little, but they decided to take one big whack with the final ax by hiring Lenny," striker Terence Colbert told the *Militant*. "They didn't think we would have the guts to go out on strike."

The Harrisburg *Patriot-News*, the daily paper in the nearby state capital, cited company statistics to show that to drop their cutback demands and leave health-care costs as they were in the last contract would cost the firm's investors a half-cent per company stock share. To drop the health-care costs back to this level for all 14,000 of the company's workers around the world, union and nonunion alike, would cost two cents per share.

Last week the company sent out a four-page letter to the 2,700 strikers, attacking the union leadership, hoping to divide and conquer. Claiming that the company has gotten "calls" from workers asking to go back to work, the bosses threatened the strikers. "You must understand that we have an obligation to our customers, shareholders, and other employees to meet the demand for our products," the letter said.

In the face of the company's attacks, spirals remain high on the picket line. The union has not issued any printed picket signs so strikers have made placards of their own. Many lampoon CEO Lenny. One is a piece of cardboard with a white dress shirt buttoned over it, complete with a business tie, and a picture of Lenny pasted on top. Oth-



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

Unionists join picket line of strikers at Hershey Foods in Hershey, Pennsylvania.

ers are drawings of Hershey Kisses with suggestions for what part of strikers' anatomy they can be placed on.

Drivers of cars and trucks going by on the busy main street—the downtown plant is located at the corner of Chocolate and Cocoa streets—honk, wave, and give the thumbs up sign. Strikers yell back and wave.

There are a number of Internet web sites organized by strikers and the union, including one with pictures of pickets put up by a retiree, and another run by the international union.

One site organized by the local is full of contributions from strikers about meeting the

challenge of keeping the 23 picket locations covered 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and the best ways to answer company lies.

"The people are in very good spirits and the strike is together," stated Terence Colbert. "It has brought the union up to a new level with one purpose. I haven't heard of anyone losing faith or breaking down. We have to take a stand now or we will lose our basic rights."

John Studer is a garment worker in Philadelphia, and a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 15.

Palestinian arrested in New York

Continued from Page 16

tember 11. He asked if they had a warrant; they replied that they had none and did not need one. The cops claimed they believed there were weapons and explosives in the apartment.

Threaten to break down door

When the police threatened to break down

the door and were let in, they demanded to see Abdel-Muhti's identification. They announced he was under arrest for being in the country illegally, said he would be deported, and took him in handcuffs without bothering to search the apartment. According to his attorney, Gilma Camargo, of the American Association of Jurists, INS agents said one of the reasons for his arrest was his outspoken criticism of Israeli policies toward the Palestinians.

That same afternoon a press conference was held to protest the arrest. Speakers included his 23-year-old son Tarek Abdel-Muhti and McFall, both of whom witnessed the arrest. The Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants has been supporting the effort to free him.

Abdel-Muhti was taken to INS offices and interrogated. After his attorney showed up to ask what the charges were, an immigration agent told her that based on the alleged expiration of a work permit they had a deportation order against him since 1995, a document the INS has yet to show his lawyer. Abdel-Muhti was then locked up in Middlesex County jail in New Jersey. Later that day he reported by phone that U.S. agents had subjected him to constant interrogation, had denied him food, and had beaten him. They told him he would be released if he agreed to provide U.S. authorities with information on his contacts in Palestine and the Arab community in the United States, but threatened that if he did not collaborate he would be deported and turned over to Israeli intelligence police.

Supporters of Abdel-Muhti note that the involvement of the New York cops in the arrest underscores the shift in the city government's official position that its police department will not aid the INS in reporting or arresting people on immigration charges. A 1985 executive order bars the local police from asking immigrants about their status, much less reporting them or helping the INS detain them.

In early April U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft announced that the Justice Department was considering changing its policy in order to deputize local police as INS agents, allowing them to make arrests solely for civil violations of immigration law. The 1996 immigration law signed by President William Clinton authorized such federal arrangements with local and state police, but until recently they were not official policy in most areas.

The Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants is asking that defenders of Abdel-Muhti contact the INS district director in New Jersey, Andrea Quarantillo, and demand his immediate release: tel. (973) 645-4421, fax (973) 297-4848.

New welfare bill builds on Clinton-era assault

Continued from front page

this legislation "will help millions of Americans realize a life of hope, dignity, and independence."

In the Senate, Hillary Clinton, a Democrat from New York, has joined with some other Democratic senators, including John D. Rockefeller IV of West Virginia, Zell Miller of Georgia, and John Breaux of Louisiana, in supporting a bill to increase the work requirement for welfare recipients to 37 hours a week, a significant increase over the current 30-hour-a-week obligation.

Clinton's stance drew scores of protesters outside her Washington, D.C., house May 21. She defended her position on the bill with the argument that she was able to extract promises to increase funding for child care and maintain limited exemptions from work requirements for mothers of children under six. She said the Senate version of the bill "is a vast improvement" and "not even comparable" to that approved by the House.

According to various news reports the issue of funding for child care was a point of contention between some Democrats and Republicans, with both sides arguing their approach would place the greater number of women in workfare programs. The House bill calls for a measly \$5.2 billion a year in child-care spending, while some Democrats want to increase the yearly total to \$7 billion.

The proposed legislation builds upon the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act signed by William Clinton in 1996, and promoted by him as one of the centerpiece of his administration under the theme of "ending welfare as we know it." Unless reauthorized by Congress, the 1996 law expires September 30.

The bipartisan assault under the Clinton administration eliminated cash assistance and the federally funded entitlement Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The government imposed a five-year lifetime limit on any individual's ability to collect welfare payments. The elimination of the AFDC program, which was part of the

1935 Social Security Act, was the biggest single blow to this entitlement since its enactment.

Since then most capitalist pundits have hailed the law, pointing out that it has cut the number of individuals receiving welfare payments by more than half—from 12.2 million in 1996 to 5.3 million today. In New York City alone some 38,000 families were cut off federal welfare programs last December after reaching their five-year lifetime limit.

Impact of 1996 law

A recent study published by the Joyce Foundation, an institution based in Chicago that supports the changes in government aid, details the extent to which many of those who have had their welfare payments eliminated have sunk even deeper into dire straits.

The welfare rolls in seven Midwestern states have shrunk by two-thirds over the past eight years, according to the study. Many of the 2 million former aid recipients remain in poverty, struggling to pay utility and grocery bills as they juggle part-time, temporary jobs.

The study reports that Illinois and Wisconsin reduced their welfare rolls by more than 70 percent each, while Minnesota and Iowa cut theirs by a third, and Indiana by 11 percent. However, wages earned by these individuals remained well below the official federal poverty level of \$14,630 a year for a family of three. Researchers found average incomes for those they were tracking to be \$12,000 in Iowa and Ohio and \$14,000 in Indiana and Minnesota. In Michigan, 49 percent of those who worked full time, 88 percent of those on welfare, and 71 percent of those combining welfare and wages remained in poverty.

The study reports that half the former recipients in some states said they were unable to buy food, pay rent, or pay utility bills, and a similar number reported their phone service being cut off for more than 24 hours. Several studies found that 1 in 10 former recipients had been evicted or become homeless.

Trade conflicts rise around U.S. farm subsidies, steel tariffs

BY JACK WILLEY

U.S. treasury secretary Paul O'Neill has confronted anger and opposition to the farm bill recently adopted by Congress at every stop of his two-week tour through Africa as a predatory trade assault on the semicolonial countries across the continent.

Washington's imperialist rivals have also responded to the bill, as well as other protectionist measures aimed at defending U.S. capital against foreign competition, with formal complaints to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and threats of retaliatory measures.

The U.S. farm bill allocates \$180 billion over the next 10 years, primarily to capitalist farmers and corporations. The bill's aim is to reinforce the ability of a handful of agricultural monopolies to export food and fiber on the world market by undercutting competitors around the world.

"It is a terrible move that will hurt the whole of Africa," said Zambia National Farmers Union president Ajay Vashee. "Zambian farmers will be forced to produce goods at uncompetitive prices because the U.S. will be able to dump cheaper agricultural produce on the market."

"It is strange that Mr. O'Neill is in Africa talking about debt relief, giving with one hand and taking with the other," one South African senior official said.

Non-governmental organizations in Ghana told O'Neill they opposed the bill. They gave the example of how the country's domestic rice industry was crushed when their own subsidies were removed under pressure from the IMF and World Bank, two imperialist financial institutions dominated by Washington. The country was subsequently flooded by cheap subsidized imports of U.S. rice, wiping out local growers.

The impact of such policies on a broader scale can be seen in reports issued by Oxfam International, which indicate sub-Saharan Africa's share of world trade has fallen to 1.3 percent, just one-third of its level two decades ago.

African government officials expressed frustration with the free-trade/protective tariffs shell game played by Washington. The U.S. rulers, as in every imperialist country, have used "free trade" agreements to pry open markets in other countries to sell goods from U.S. manufacturers. They in turn have used tariffs to try to protect the profits of U.S. big business from being undercut by cheaper foreign goods. Subsidies benefit steel barons, agribusiness, and others in both domestic and foreign markets.

The governments of Brazil and China, as well as Washington's imperialist rivals in Europe and Canada, have also spoken against the farm bill.

Washington stands firm on steel tariffs

In spite of mounting pressure from its imperialist rivals and attempts to use the WTO to punish Washington, the U.S. rulers have moved forward with tariffs of up to 30 percent against steel imports.

In what the *Financial Times* of London called an "unprecedented" disapproval of U.S. taxes on steel imports and the farm bill, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, director general of the World Trade Organization, and president of the World Bank issued a joint statement calling "any increase in protectionism... damaging."

On May 16, the governments of Japan, Norway, and South Korea joined European Union countries in calling for a WTO panel to rule on the "legality" of the U.S. levies. Brazil, China, New Zealand, Norway, and Switzerland have filed formal WTO claims.

Days later Washington blocked the establishment of a panel until June 3. According to the WTO's regulations, U.S. officials can stretch out the proceedings for another year and a half.

European Union governments responded to Washington's stalling tactics with duties on U.S. exports that will take effect in June. Some \$345 million in steel, textiles, and fruit are targeted. European Union-member countries and Japan plan to impose tariffs worth \$364 million and \$5 million respectively on a smaller list of U.S. goods. If the WTO panel rules against the United States next year, the EU will target a larger list of goods.

On May 22, the Chinese government imposed import tariffs of 7 percent to 26 percent on nine categories of steel after certain quotas are exceeded. Chinese trade officials said the move was unavoidable given Washington's "provocation," claiming domestic steel companies have already lost some \$1.2 billion in revenue since the U.S. levies were set. Big business in Japan and South Korea, which are major exporters of steel to China, have taken issue with Beijing's steel tariffs.

Malaysia imposed its own 50 percent steel tariff in response to Washington in order to protect its domestic market from American steel trusts. Last November, the semicolonial governments in Egypt, India, and Pakistan complained that protective tariffs by the wealthy powers severely restricted exports of their products.

Lumber fight with Canada continues

Living up to its promise in April, the U.S.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Farm workers in cornfield in Transvaal, South Africa, March 1990. Washington's farm subsidies enable U.S. monopolies to dump cheaper produce on the market undercutting competitors. As a result of this predatory trade assault, sub-Saharan Africa's share of world trade has fallen to 1.3 percent, one-third of its level two decades ago.

International Trade Commission has imposed a 27 percent tax on imported Canadian wood. The U.S. Coalition for Fair Lumber Imports, a pressure group of the super-rich lumber producers, claim the Canadian government charges lumber companies artificially low prices to cut wood on public land. The lumber coalition's main demand is that the Canadian government charge the same as Washington to cut on public land or face indefinite tariffs. The Canadian government is appealing the tariff to the WTO and NAFTA.

Meanwhile, the tuna industry in the Phil-

ippines faced a one-two punch by the rulers in the United States and EU-member states. Canned tuna from the Philippines was slapped with a 24 percent tariff, while former European colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific are levy-free.

Under NAFTA, duties on canned tuna imported into the United States from Mexico will be lifted by 2008. Earlier this year, the House of Representatives voted to immediately lift tariffs on several goods, including tuna, from Ecuador and Colombia. However, tuna from the Philippines is subject to a 35 percent duty.

Coal bosses face liability for flood damage

BY JEREMY ROSE

PITTSBURGH—In another blow to unfettered profit-driven environmental destruction by coal mining bosses and the logging industry, the West Virginia Supreme Court has agreed to send hundreds of lawsuits against coal and timber operators over last summer's flooding to a panel of judges. Chief Justice Robin Davis signed an order in May 2002 referring the cases to the state's Mass Litigation Panel, which can hear cases involving multiple parties with common questions of law or fact.

The ruling comes just weeks after a decision by Chief U.S. District judge Charles Haden in Charleston, West Virginia, that would put an end to the long-standing practice of coal companies putting fill into waterways and valleys. He ordered the Army Corps of Engineers to cease issuing new permits for mountaintop removal valley fills.

So far, at least 489 residents from southern West Virginia have filed suit against coal companies, timber operators, and large landowners over damages from the July 2001 flooding. In seven separate cases filed in circuit courts, 78 companies are named as defendants. According to the suits, mining and logging "caused natural surface waters resulting from the rainfall...to be diverted and delivered in an unnatural way and in incomprehensible amounts down the mountains, hills and valleys...destroying the lives and property" of residents.

Davis based her order on earlier recommendations by Nicholas County Circuit Judge Gary Johnson. In his recommendations, Johnson said that flooding occurred to varying degrees in six watersheds: the Coal, Lower New, Middle New, Tug, Upper Guyandotte, and Upper Kanawha. Following two major floods in July 2001, coalfield residents blamed the damage on clear-cut logging and how coal companies were going about mountaintop removal mining. Industry representatives have denied any liability.

Documented problems

Mountaintop removal mining involves using very large explosive charges and giant earthmoving machines to take off the top of a mountain in order to dig up a seam of coal below. In many cases the coal seams mined by this method are too thin to mine profitably using more traditional methods.

The Bush administration had approved regulations May 3 that would have allowed coal companies to dump material stripped from the mountains into streams and valleys. Those looser regulations were hailed by the big coal companies.

In a major 1979 Environmental Impact Statement, the new federal Office of Surface Mining (OSM) cited numerous studies that "documented significant increases in stream flood peaks, as a result of coal mining in Appalachia." OSM says in its regulations that mining operators must design sediment ponds, drainage ditches, and other water diversions, "to provide protection against flooding and resultant damage to life and property."

In a new draft study on mountaintop removal's effects, federal regulators have also found that the land disturbance associated with mining increases peak stream flows during storms.

However, they said that the amount of increase varies from mine site to mine site. Topography, size of the mine, and degree of reclamation are some of the factors determining the extent of flooding that results from the practice. An Army Corps of Engineers preliminary report revealed that the way mining companies currently carry out mountaintop removal and other strip mining operations tends to make flooding more likely. At one of Arch Coal Inc.'s mines, for example, it was found that runoff was increased by 3 percent at one valley fill, 13 percent at another, and by a whopping 42 percent at a third location.

Attempt to evade liability

In the draft study, federal officials said that state regulators are not doing enough to require adequate study of a company's mining proposal to determine the potential for flooding before issuing mining permits. The coal and lumber barons, like Kentucky coal boss William Caylor, claim, "Mother Nature is to blame" for the flooding.

As far back as 1959, even the capitalist courts have ruled against such an assertion as a way of evading liability. At that time a federal court in northern West Virginia found that the exact percentage of an industrial activity's contribution to mining was not relevant to whether the company in question was legally liable.

"Even if a flood was an act of God, where defendant's negligence in maintaining a floodgate and a mesh fence over a stream concurred with the flood in causing damage to store, defendant was liable for the entire amount of loss to store when damage caused by negligence was inseparable from any damage that might have been caused by flood alone," said the ruling, written by then-Chief U.S. District judge Harry Watkins in Clarksburg, West Virginia.

In a related development, a second coal miner in less than two weeks died as a result of electrocution. In the latest incident Michael Kunkel, 50, died while performing electrical troubleshooting at Lone Mountain Processing Inc.'s Huff Creek No. 1 mine near Harlan, Kentucky. This is the fourth mine death in Kentucky and the 13th nationally this year.

Unionists in Korea strike

Continued from Page 3

ums in the 10 cities and threatened strikers with retaliation.

"The government will take stern action over the strike," finance minister Jeon Yunchurl said. "We will not tolerate any illegal strikes that are waged at the cost of the World Cup finals."

On May 26, thousands of strikers rallied in Seoul, chanting, "Fight! Fight!" carrying banners and signs emblazoned with demands for a 40-hour workweek and a halt to moves to privatize state-owned companies.

In face of stiff resistance, the rulers have increased pressure on the employers to settle. Associated Press reports that many workers have begun returning to their jobs after winning wage increases and other demands. For those who do not settle before the games, the confederation issued a statement saying, "We will try our best to resolve all issues before the World Cup begins. However, if some employers think that our movement will be discouraged in the runup to the World Cup and do not negotiate seriously, we will carry out the protest despite the soccer tournament."

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Irish supporters in Scotland defeat flag ban

Continued from Page 16
city center.

Historically, the ruling class in Scotland used systematic discrimination against Irish people to divide and weaken the working class, particularly in the wake of substantial Irish immigration to industrial areas after the 1846-50 "potato famine" in Ireland.

'Irish need not apply'

The bosses and landlords posted signs such as "Irish need not apply" and "No Irish" through 1939, as Irish workers, including those born in Scotland, were excluded from skilled trades and better housing. In 1923 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland approved a report on "The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality." The anti-Irish tract blamed the Irish Catholic population for the capitalist economic crisis at the time. It called for control of immigration from the Irish Free State and the deportation of "undesirable elements." In the summer of 1935 an anti-Catholic street movement mounted orchestrated attacks on Catholics, including the disruption by 10,000 thugs of a reception of the Catholic Young Men's Society and the stoning of coaches carrying children to the Catholic Eucharist Congress in Edinburgh.

Catholics organized all night vigils to protect their chapels. Overt institutional discrimination is uncommon today, but its legacy remains. In a study two years ago, researchers at Glasgow University found that men with Irish surnames were 26 percent more likely to die prematurely than other males in West Central Scotland. The study concluded, "Discrimination in the workplace plays a significant role in the current disadvantage of those of Irish origin."

—MILITANT/PM FUND EVENTS—

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte

Government and Employers' Attack on Health Care: Workers Fight Back for Their Health and Lives. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 9, 5:00 p.m. Reception at 4:00 p.m. 2001A North Cannon Blvd. Kannapolis. Tel: (704) 932-8021.

In the Irish Republic, which consists of the 26 counties of Ireland free of British occupation, Sinn Fein made significant steps forward by winning five seats in the Irish parliament in the May 17 elections. Sinn Fein is leading the struggle to get the British out of the six occupied northern counties and champions the struggle for a united Ireland. Elections last year in the six counties saw the party score substantial gains. The party currently has four members in the British parliament, 18 members of the Legislative Assembly in Belfast, 118 local councillors, and two ministers in the Executive and the all-Ireland Ministerial Council.

In the Irish Republic, the party made its biggest gains in Dublin, where it won two seats. The party retained the seat it won in 1997 in Cavan/Monaghan.

Martin Ferris topped the poll for Sinn Fein in Kerry North, despite a fierce political attack and hostile media coverage culminating in his being assaulted and arrested by cops.

In Louth, Sinn Fein won a seat last held in 1981 by Paddy Agnew, who was "on the blanket" in the Long Kesh prison during the hunger strike. As part of their struggle for political status, imprisoned Irish freedom fighters refused to wear prison-issued clothing and had only their blankets for covering.

Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness noted the party is "now the third largest political party on the island. We are the only 32-County political party."

In a speech to 300 participants in a demonstration in London commemorating the lives and contributions of James Connolly and hunger strike leader Bobby Sands, Sinn

Fein leader Pat McNamee said that while "the nature of the struggle has changed, the form of the struggle changed, we are the same republicans as we've always been." McNamee is an elected member of the Northern Ireland legislative assembly for South Armagh. The spirited demonstrators had been chanting "Ireland, Palestine: one struggle, one fight."

In a May 22 statement, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said the party's "only interest in increasing our political strength is to utilize that strength to bring about equality, to end poverty, and factor equity and justice into the rights of citizens in their entitlements to decent jobs, a public health service, education, and housing."

Joyce Fairchild in London contributed to this article.

Prime Minister of Nepal dissolves parliament

BY GREG McCARTAN

Upon recommendation of the prime minister of Nepal, King Gyanendra dissolved the country's parliament May 22. Five days later the monarch extended for three months a state of emergency that has been in effect since November 26. Nepal is a mountainous country located between China and India.

Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba made the request of the king after the ruling Nepalese Congress Party of which he is a member voted against extension of emergency rule. The party majority, led by a former prime minister, argued that a new anti-terrorist law gave the government all the power it needed to fight an insurgent group that calls itself Maoist and which seeks an end to the constitutional monar-

chy. With Deuba intent on extending the state of emergency, the party expelled him from membership May 26.

Facing wider attacks by the rebel forces last November, the king sent the army to join police for the first time in battling the insurgents. Since then press reports indicate some 2,000 have died in the fighting. In one a battle in early May government forces say they killed 500 people.

The anti-terrorist law gives the government power to detain people for up to 90 days without trial and to restrict freedom of movement. With the state of emergency powers the regime can also restrict freedom of expression and assembly. Police are allowed to arrest anyone they suspect of sympathizing with the Maoist forces. Outside

news reports indicate that with freedom of the press suspended there has been little independent coverage of government actions.

The government rejected a call by rebel leaders for peace talks in early May and instead appealed for military support from Washington and London. Deuba met with U.S. president George Bush in New York. Bush is proposing \$20 million in military aid to Nepal. In April the Pentagon sent a team of 15 U.S. military officers to the country to "assess the situation" and advise the government on a course of action. U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell visited the kingdom in January.

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—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW YORK

Garment District

Why Washington's War Against Revolutionary Cuba Doesn't End: The Meaning of Bush's Bio-Terrorism Smear. Speaker: Romina Green, Young Socialists representative at 40th anniversary celebration of Union of Young Communists in Cuba. Fri., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Social Roots of the Crisis in the Anglican and Catholic Churches. Speaker: Doug Cooper, Communist League and member, Maritime Union. Sun., June 9, 4:00 p.m. 1st floor, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: 2791 Lakewood Ave. Zip: 30315. Mailing address: P.O. Box 162515. Zip 30321. Tel: (404) 763-2900. E-mail: atlpathfinder@cs.com

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1212 N. Ashland Suite 201. Zip: 60622. Tel: (773) 342-1780. E-mail: ChicagoPathfinder@compuserve.com

IOWA: Des Moines: 3720 6th Ave. Zip: 50313. Tel: (515) 288-2970. E-mail: swpdesmoines@cs.com

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 12 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Mailing address: P.O. Box 261. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: 103426.3430@compuserve.com

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 4208 W. Vernor St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 441580 Zip: 48244. Tel: (313) 554-0504. E-mail: DetroitMISWP@netscape.net

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NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte Area: 2001A N. Cannon Blvd. Kannapolis Mailing address: P.O. Box 5624, Concord. Zip: 28087. Tel: (704) 932-0821. E-mail: CharlotteSWP@aol.com

OHIO: Cleveland: 11018 Lorain Ave. Zip: 44111. Tel: (216) 688-1190. E-mail: 103253.1111@compuserve.com

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TEXAS: Houston: 619 West 8th St. Zip: 77007. Tel: (713) 869-6550. E-mail: swphouston@evl.net

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3437 14th St. NW Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 387-1590. E-mail: dc-swp@starpower.net

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5418 Rainier Avenue South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: swpseattle@qwest.net

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St.,

Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 1240. Tel: (02) 9718 9698.

E-mail: cl_australia@bigpond.com

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 020-7928-7993.

E-mail: clondon@onetel.net.uk

CANADA

Montreal: 1237 Jean Talon E. Montréal, QC. Postal code: H2R 1W1. Tel: (514) 284-7369. E-mail: Librpath@sympatico.ca

Toronto: 2761 Dundas St. West, Postal code: M6P 1Y4. Tel: (416) 767-3705. E-mail: milpathtoronto@sympatico.ca

Vancouver: 2645 E. Hastings, Room 203. Postal code: V5V 1Z5. Tel: (604) 872-8343. E-mail: clvancouver@cs.com

FRANCE

Paris: Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 47-26-58-21. E-mail: 73504.442@compuserve.com

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Skolavordustig 6B. Mailing address: P. Box 0233, IS 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. E-mail: milpth@mmedia.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: Suite 3, 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 276-8885. E-mail: milpath.auckland@actrix.gen.nz

Christchurch: Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Postal address: P.O. Box 13-969. Tel: (3) 365-6055. E-mail: pathfinder.militant@paradise.net.nz

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Domargränd 16, S-129 47, Hägersten. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. E-mail: pathfbkh@algonet.se

From Haiti to the U.S. and Canada:
**Prospects for Building an
International Socialist Movement
of Working People and Youth**

FLORIDA

Tampa

Speaker: Jack Willey, Socialist Workers Party leader, participant in May 17-18 meeting of university students and young socialists in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Sun., June 2. Reception at 2:00 p.m., Program at 3:00 p.m.

The meeting will be part of the Grand Opening of the new Pathfinder Bookstore. Open House 12 noon to 6:00 p.m., Sat. and Sun., June 1-2.

All events will be at location of new bookstore: 1441 E. Fletcher, Suite 421. Donation: \$10. Tel: (813) 910-8507.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Speaker: Arrin Hawkins, Young Socialists leader, participant in May 17-18 meeting of university students and young socialists in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Sat., June 1, Dinner at 6:30 p.m., Program at 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor (New Location). Donation: dinner \$5, program \$4. Tel: (973) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Speaker: Arrin Hawkins. Fri., May 31, 7:30 p.m., Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 372A 53rd St. Donation: dinner \$6, program \$5. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

Upper Manhattan

Speaker: Jack Willey. Fri., May 31, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: dinner \$5, program \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speaker: Arrin Hawkins. Sat., June 8, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 3437 14th Street, NW. Tel: (202) 387-1590.

George 'Free Elections' Bush—The Washington banquet that raised \$33 million for the Republican Party was held the week

scuttling mental health programs, school needs, and living wages for state employees.

The caring society—"A third of women have health conditions that require continual treatment. Yet nearly a quarter of women said they delayed or went without health care because they couldn't afford it."—(AP)

Read it and relax—For a decade the Department of Energy has fought resistance in Nevada to using a Yucca Mountain repository for nuclear waste. Now the feds admit that the waste already on hand will choke to capacity the available space for the piles of the deadly debris, not to mention the continu-

ing accumulation.

'Progress' report—After years of protest, the Los Angeles Port Authority announced that a huge storage barn has been built for petroleum coke piles. A coal-like residue of the oil refining process, the coke is used as fuel. Officials conceded that if it's inhaled in sufficient quantities, it can cause cancer. Area residents have demanded a halt to open stockpiling of the residue, which has boosted their cancer rates. The export terminal handles about half the 5 million tons of the coke that is shipped each year to Asia.

Brownout—The English magazine *Which?* took aim at the makers

of the mouthwash Corsodyl, an asserted cure for the gum disease gingivitis. Corsodyl sold 2 million bottles last year. A required side effect warning that it can stain teeth and gums brown, the mag says, is tucked inconspicuously below the label.

Maybe grandpa had it—The Burlington Northern Santa Fe railroad agreed to cough up \$2.2 million for genetically testing workers secretly in the failed hope that their carpal tunnel injuries were inherited, not the result of repetitive motion work.

Bon appetit, children—Billions of dollars go to advertising aimed at children, half of them plugging various foods. Four out of five of these

are focused on sugary cereals, soft drinks, and salty snacks. The industry pauses to claim education and moderation are key.

Reasonable question—"Is Joe Camel really so different than Ronald McDonald?"—Emilia Askari, Knight Ridder News Service.

Get with the program—Seven of the nine items in this week's column are based on clippings sent in by readers. If you agree with us that it makes for a better column—not to mention helping to keep the column going every week—send clippings to Great Society, c/o Pathfinder Books 4229 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90011.



Harry Ring

before Bush's demagogic demand for "free elections" in Cuba. Along with a clipping on the slush fund, an Arizona reader sent a note. She observed that the state of Arizona, alone, has an ongoing half-billion dollar deficit, the justification for

Israeli regime assaults academic freedoms

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece—In an assault on academic freedom and democratic rights, the University of Haifa in northern Israel has launched a suit to remove Ilan Pappé from his teaching post. Pappé is a professor of political science at the university.

The dean of Humanities, Ben Artzi, presented the university's case in a letter that states that Pappé's "attacked again and again the university and represents it in front of the academic world as a place where moral abuses are taking place, as a place of discrimination and ideologically biased in every possible way."

In a phone interview with the *Militant*, Pappé said there are several reasons why he is under attack. One is his support for a student who exposed in a doctoral thesis a massacre of Palestinians by Israeli forces in the village of Tantura in 1948. The student had a high grade on the thesis but was disqualified.

"I was the only one who said it was correct to expose the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians that accompanied the creation of Israel in 1948," said Pappé. Some 200 Palestinian civilians were massacred in Tantura after the village surrendered to the Zionist Haganah forces.

"Secondly was my intent to begin teaching a course on the Nakbah," the professor said. Nakbah, which means "catastrophe" in Arabic, is the term used by Arabs to denote the expulsion of the Palestinians from their lands in 1948 and the creation of the state of Israel.

"This would be a first in Israeli history," he said. "And they want to prevent that because here we are talking about the original sin of Israel. Thirdly is the fact that I have publicly called for an international boycott of Israeli academia."

Israel "has never been a democracy," Pappé said. "It is just playing at being one. The silencing of Arab academics is nothing new in Israel but this is the first time they are going at Jewish dissident academics."

In a written public appeal, Pappé said he is not appealing for "personal help" but fighting the "opening gambit" by the university in which "many colleagues, especially my Palestinian Israeli colleagues, can be next."

"I can mention many examples of how people questioning the state's policies are being silenced," Pappé said in the interview. "Yofa Yarkoni who is a cultural hero, a pop singer in her 70s now, spoke out against the brutality in Jenin. Now all her performances have been canceled. *Haaretz Daily* is under immense pressure to fire the journalist Amira Haas. Those who do not toe the general line that this is a war for 'our' very survival are immediately branded as traitors. In this atmosphere the university believed that the time was ripe to go after me."

An international committee with supporters in Australia, France, the United States, and other countries has been set up to defend Pappé. It is appealing for letters of support and petitions defending academic freedom. More than 1,000 letters to the university were sent in less than two weeks, according to Pappé. The university administration "did not expect such a response," he said. "They are very insular and do not look beyond these borders. Now they are beginning to reassess their action so public pressure is very important."

"Until about a couple of weeks ago doors were being closed," the professor said. "There were difficulties to challenge the growing consensus around Sharon's policies. There were growing difficulties in presenting alternatives to the use of force, to argue for a two-state solution, let alone to present an alternative to Zionism."

Explaining that Israeli Jews have to come to grips with what he calls Israel's "original sin," Pappé said, "at the end of the road we must have a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. We must do away with the apartheid state in Israel and we must respect the international status of Jerusalem. This can only be done in a unitary, democratic and secular state. What actual form that will take I do not know. Two separate states may be a step on that road."

The Al-Awda Palestinian Right to Return Coalition in the United States has issued an action alert and is calling for letters of protest to be sent to the University of Haifa to Professor Yehuda Hayuth at: hayuth@uvm.haifa.ac.il; and to Professor Yossi Ben-Artzi at: yossib@univ.haifa.ac.il.

In defense of Russian Revolution

Continued from Page 15

the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on the basis of his agreement with the tenets of Bolshevism. But even those prerevolutionary differences were never as great as the differences of the Stalin-Bukharin regime now with the principles of Leninism. Differences between Lenin and Trotsky after 1917 rose out of the efforts of the two leaders of the revolution to solve concrete problems on the basis of the same theoretical program, and were never so great as the differences between the present ruling faction and Lenin. The Opposition will fight against the falsification of the history of the party and the revolution for factional ends, which has assumed such monstrous proportions in the demagogic campaign against L.D. Trotsky, in whom we recognize Lenin's chief collaborator in the leadership of the Russian revolution and today the foremost representative of Leninism in the world.

The Opposition is not conducting a war for "Trotskyism"; such a political tendency does not exist. It is fighting for the principles of Leninism. In the Soviet Union, under the rain of calumny and repression, the Leninist Opposition, led by its inspiring leader Comrade Trotsky, has fought persistently against all forms of revisionism and opportunism and for Bolshevism.

The Opposition has sounded the alarm against the Thermidorian danger and proposed a correct policy to combat it in favor of the further socialist development of the country—in the period of retarded world revolution—through a correct policy of the distribution of the national income, through taxation of the nepman and the kulak to accelerate the process of industrialization and to improve the conditions of the workers, through credits and other cooperative assistance to the poor peasantry, through a correct price policy, and so forth.

N.Y. Verizon workers protest layoffs



Militant/Brian Williams

Chanting "Not one worker, not one job," several thousand unionists, members of the Communication Workers of America, rallied outside Verizon's headquarters in midtown Manhattan during the evening rush hour May 29 to protest plans by the company to lay off 2,100 workers in New York State.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

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

June 10, 1977

STEARNS, Ky.—The 160 miners on strike here against the Blue Diamond Coal Company are all men. But the ten-month-old-strike for a United Mine Workers contract is also of great concern to the women of this small mining community.

And they're not about to sit back and await the results. Wives, mothers, and friends of the striking miners formed the Stearns Women's Club in March of this year.

It's not your traditional "ladies' club." In fact, the local sheriff and Blue Diamond's vice-president have on occasion referred to the women as a "mob."

"They are not going to break this strike," says women's club President Wanda Gibson, young wife of one of the strikers. "The men have been through too much."

The "too much" includes gun-toting company security guards who make the picket line a shooting range each night with steady gunfire. And it includes a judge who enforces his court order—intended to "preserve law and order"—only when it comes to strikers.

The union has been fined thousands of dollars for violating the court order, which includes a limit on the number of pickets. The judge ordered the union to post \$100,000 bond out of which any future "damage" to company property would be paid. And thirty-one men have been indicted by a grand jury in the shooting of two of the company gun thugs.

What happens if the judge tries to send the miners to jail?

"I'll tell you what I would like to do," Gibson told the *Militant*. "I would like to go to the picket lines to take their places."

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

June 9, 1952

The Korea prisoner-of-war issue threatens to blow up in the Pentagon's face as protests and suspicions of Washington's actions and intentions in Korea mount throughout the world. A suppressed International Red Cross report on the Koje island prison camp, unearthed by I.F. Stone of the *N.Y. Daily Compass*, is helping to reveal the true picture of the PW "screening" process. Resistance by the prisoners themselves is a big factor in making Washington's duplicity clear to the world.

In Britain, former Prime Minister Attlee and other members of the Labor opposition have questioned the Churchill government sharply on the Korean situation. The *N.Y. Times* of May 29 reports in a dispatch from London: "Several matters connected with the fighting in Korea are disturbing British public opinion ... For instance, there is a widely held suspicion that the United States itself wants to forestall an armistice for the present, and is using the prisoners of war issue as an excuse... In short, the Korean war, never popular in this country, is growing even more unpopular and the American conduct of it is constantly more suspect."

The Canadian government has protested to Washington against the use of its troops in Korea as guards in PW camps, reflecting the growing suspicion that soldiers on Koje island are being called upon to do a dirty job of butchery and repression. A leading Australian paper demanded in a May 27 editorial that the censorship over Korean events be lifted. "... We could be involved in a global war on account of some policy move there without any clear idea of how it came about," the *Melbourne Argus* said.

Imperialists' spearhead vs. India

With artillery firing across the Line of Control between India and Pakistan in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and further military mobilizations by the government in Islamabad, the possibility of a wider conflict that could include the use of nuclear weapons is a daily subject of news reports and statements by top U.S. government officials.

The events are presented in the big-business media as an intractable conflict between hardened foes, or as a Muslim-Hindu problem inherent to the Indian subcontinent. Officials of the imperialist governments in Washington and London daily paint themselves as peacemakers, strongly urging both sides to de-escalate the war threats.

Over the past several weeks Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has escalated the conflict by announcing that he is moving troops deployed on the border of Afghanistan to the border with India; recalling thousands of soldiers sent to Sierra Leone as part of an imperialist intervention into that country; and continuing to support groups that he claims are fighting to separate Jammu and Kashmir from India. The groups have launched armed attacks into India, such as the deadly assault that took the lives of 30 people in May. The Pakistan military test-fired three long-range surface-to-surface missiles this past week that are said to be capable of carrying a nuclear warhead to any city in India.

New Delhi is demanding that the Pakistani regime put an end to all attacks from its territory into India. Officials have pointed out that the question of Kashmir is simply being used as a pretext by Islamabad to continue its military threats and provocations against India.

Given the high stakes tied up in these events, it is crucial that working people around the world break through the false picture the imperialists paint of the conflict. Washington and London especially hope to cover up their responsibility for the war threat and the potentially devastating outcome it holds for workers and peasants.

The source of the conflict between India and Pakistan is rooted in developments that occurred in 1947, when

the departing British imperialists created Pakistan as a spearhead against the Indian revolution. Their divide-and-rule strategy was aimed at countering the powerful movement against colonial rule, including mobilizations by the country's industrial proletariat that were growing on the Indian subcontinent.

The struggle began to pose the revolutionary resolution of the social relations, backwardness, and divisions maintained and reinforced by the colonial and imperialist powers. Workers and peasants mobilized in the millions against colonial rule, and their struggle pointed the road forward in the battle to address the unfulfilled tasks of national unification.

Washington has for decades involved Pakistan in its military alliances and provided it with arms and training. Today Pakistan remains a bulwark for imperialism against the struggles of working people—struggles that have the potential to renew the historic course begun in the battle for national independence against Britain.

Washington's double-talk about peace comes as it has knitted even closer ties with Musharraf. The general did his duty when directed to open up his country's air bases to U.S. forces and offer other aid to the brutal war against Afghanistan. Washington is also expanding its military and economic ties with New Delhi, hoping to extend its domination of the region and build up a potential counterweight to China, where a historic revolution gave the boot to imperialism following World War II.

In face of the military tensions between India and Pakistan, working people in the United States, on the Indian subcontinent, and elsewhere should demand the withdrawal of U.S. and allied forces from Afghanistan and the surrounding countries. U.S. imperialism and its armed forces are the number one enemy of working people in the region. Uniting the toilers to battle the growing imperialist military presence and domination is the only road to throw off foreign domination and press forward the national unification struggle on the Indian subcontinent.

A harsh lesson in Argentina

Officials of the U.S. government, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank are dealing out a harsh lesson on the reality of the imperialist order to working people in Argentina. They have shown they are willing to let the country's economic situation spiral further downwards, with no end in sight. They simply keep demanding the Argentine government take whatever steps that are necessary to resume interest payments on the country's \$140 billion national debt. Whatever devastation this brings to working people in Argentina is of no concern to the imperialists.

As the excerpt from *Capitalism's World Disorder* printed in this issue explains, the deepening crisis facing working people in Argentina today, far from being an aberration, is a result of the lawful workings of the imperialist world order.

Far from relaxing their pressure on semicolonial governments in the face of this crisis, Washington and the other imperialist powers are tightening their squeeze, insisting on debt payments and using their capital and trade advantage to open up markets for their investment and goods. The U.S. rulers' trade offensive, for example, targets not just their imperialist rivals in Europe, Japan, and Australia, but also semicolonial countries. From Mexico to Ghana, a flood of low-cost agricultural imports from

the United States is wiping out sugar, corn, and rice growers, making each country more and more dependent on the imperialist monster.

Bourgeois commentators have expressed relief that the "contagion" of Argentina's crisis in banking and industrial production has not spread to Brazil and elsewhere. But in their self-satisfaction the capitalist rulers seem blind to the potential for unforeseen political shocks to precipitate a wider crisis—including shocks like the widespread resistance by workers and peasants that undermined government and capitalist confidence in Argentina.

Within the bounds of the imperialist system, there is no solution for working people in the Americas. Washington continues its unremitting war against the Cuban Revolution because it stands as the only example in the Americas of a road forward for workers and farmers. Working people in the United States and the other imperialist countries face the same Washington-based enemy as our brothers and sisters in Argentina and Cuba. We should fight alongside them to defend jobs, living standards, and rights in face of the imperialist assault. To that end, we should demand:

Cancel the Third World debt! End all tariffs and other restrictions on trade and travel erected by the U.S. rulers! End Washington's embargo of Cuba!

U.S. chemical weapons tests

The recent revelations that some 4,300 sailors were sprayed with nerve and biological agents in military tests demonstrates the U.S. government's callous disregard for workers and farmers. The same sons and daughters of working people who are used as cannon fodder for imperialism's wars have been used as guinea pigs to test the effectiveness of chemical and biological weapons on human beings.

The latest documents released by the Pentagon shed light on yet another example of the military and war industry's treatment of working people. Some hundreds of thousands of other soldiers have been used in nuclear weapons testing. Uranium miners were never told of the hazards of their work and the protective measures they could take. Entire cities living downwind from nuclear testing were affected by fallout.

The government has responded to demands for compensation by those suffering from cancers, respiratory diseases, and damaged organs by doling out money through an eyedropper. Many people affected by ionized radiation, for example, must go through years of legal wrangling and bureaucratic paperwork to try to "prove" their illness or disability is a result of radiation exposure. Still, half of all claims are rejected. The Justice Department has established a similar compensation process for those who were sprayed with nerve gas and biological agents.

The labor movement should call on the government to

grant immediate testing and full, unconditional medical coverage for all sailors subjected to chemical and biological weapons experiments. After being poisoned by the government, nobody should have to "prove" their case to receive benefits.

The same weapons Washington tests on working people at home have been used in massive doses abroad. The U.S. government remains the only one in the world to use atomic weapons against a population, bombing the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It has strafed Korea and Vietnam with napalm, carpet bombed Dresden, Germany, and killed tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians on the road from Kuwait City to Basra during the Gulf War.

As the social and economic crisis of capitalism unfolds, Washington is driven to use brute military force more often to protect its assets and maintain stability for further penetration of potential markets. To the ruling rich, working people at home are supposed to work hard to make profits for the boss. And when necessary, we are used as cannon fodder for their wars to protect those same profits.

As long as the imperialist system exists, the working class in the United States will be subjected to inhumane treatment, whether it be tests on soldiers, unsafe conditions of miners, or brutality at the hands of cops. The revelations once again point to the need to fight against the same imperialist system that has brutalized working people at home and abroad enough already.

Tribalism and 'genocide against the Indians'

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In the letters column in last week's *Militant*, Steve Halpern wrote that he disagreed with a statement by George Novack that one of the tasks of the American Revolution was "to rid American society of its precapitalist encumbrances (Indian tribalism, feudalism, slavery)." The statement appeared in an excerpt from Novack's book, *America's Revolutionary Heritage: Marxist Essays*, published in the June 3 issue.

"While I agree that the capitalist system needed to eliminate feudalism and slavery," wrote Halpern, "I don't feel that what Novack called the 'Genocide of the Indians' was in any way progressive."

In his letter, Halpern confuses two points, both discussed in Novack's book. One is the scientific truth explained by Marxism that each successive stage in the development of human society marked a progressive advance for humanity. In each, steps forward in the mode of production as a result of the collective labor of human beings raised the conditions of life, cultural level, and mastery of nature. Each stage in human progress—from savagery to barbarism, to slave societies, to feudalism, and to capitalism—swept away old social orders. Despite possible romantic notions about primitive communism, or life in tribal or feudal societies, those looking back to previous epochs of human development rarely want to return to the realities of life in the old society.

The other point relates to the brutal methods that the new ruling classes often use to consolidate and expand the new social order. Novack explains the historically progressive spread of capitalist social relations from coast to coast in the United States, while at the same time condemning the brutal extermination of the Native American population by which this was accomplished. There is a difference between sweeping away precapitalist encumbrances such as tribalism and a genocidal war, which is what the capitalists ended up carrying out for reasons described by Novack. Similarly, by explaining that slavery needed to be swept away does not mean one is calling for killing all the slaves.

The social and economic relations that predominated in Indian tribal society on the one hand, and those imported from Europe by the settler-capitalists on the other, were antagonistic and mutually exclusive. "Regardless of their wishes," wrote Novack in the same book, "the Indians and Europeans were sharply counterposed to each other by virtue of their contradictory economic needs and aims. The Indians could maintain their economy, with its primitive communist institutions and customs, its crude division of labor between the sexes, and its tribal ties of blood kinship, only by keeping the white man at bay. The newcomers could plant their settlements and expand their economic activities only by pressing upon the Indian tribes and snatching their territories."

Land stood at the center of the conflict. The settlers coveted it for commercial agriculture, forestry, construction of settlements, and commerce and manufacture. For their part, the Indians viewed the land as a common resource. To them, its sale, trade, and rent were completely foreign ideas.

"The roster of massacres of Indian men, women, and children extends from the Great Swamp Massacre of 1696 in Rhode Island...to the final dreadful spectacle of Wounded Knee in the year 1890," recorded one historian quoted by Novack.

Far from endorsing such methods or anointing them as "progressive," socialist workers and young socialists identify with the Indian peoples and leaders who staged heroic and frequently effective resistance to the onslaught. At the same time, we point out the "most revolutionary part"—to use the words of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*—played by the rising capitalist class in transforming social and economic relations.

Such bloody methods were as typical of capitalism in its revolutionary period as they are in today's imperialist epoch, when the capitalist system is a brake on further social progress. The steps forward under capitalist leadership, including the Industrial Revolution, which vastly expanded the productive capacities of society, have been brought about at immense cost to the human beings who stood in the way or who were recruited into the industrial and military armies of the bourgeoisie.

In *America's Revolutionary Heritage*, Novack explained that the most important contribution of the capitalists is the creation of their own gravediggers, the industrial proletariat—the only truly revolutionary class in modern society. The capitalist rulers, he wrote, "are destined to be dislodged from within.... This job will be done by social forces generated under their own system and provoked by their own reactionary rule. Not least among these forces will be the descendants of the red, black, and brown peoples which were subjugated by the bourgeois property owners on their way to supreme power."

In defense of Lenin and the Russian Revolution

Printed below is an excerpt from *The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31* by James P. Cannon. Along with several other leaders of the Communist Party in the United States, Cannon was expelled from the party in 1928 for his defense of the policies of the Bolshevik Party and the Comintern in its early years against the counterrevolutionary course of the Stalin-led regime in Moscow. Within days these working-class leaders published the first issue of the *Militant*, containing their statement to the Political Committee of the CP on the fundamental questions in dispute. The document also expressed their determination to fight their expulsion from the party.

The item quoted is titled "Platform of the Communist Opposition." It was presented to the Sixth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party by Cannon, Arne Swabeck, Martin Abern, and Max Shachtman, and published in the Feb. 15 and Feb. 22, 1929, issues of the *Militant*. Copyright © 1981 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

The present position of the Russian revolution and its Marxist-Leninist foundation is the dominating factor in the world movement that must determine the course of every communist and revolutionary worker. It overshadows all other questions. An examination of its present status and an analysis of the conditions of its development are prerequisites to the solution of all other main problems of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement.

Just as the revolutionary communist movement all over the world was molded and hardened in estimating the significance of the events of 1914-17, marked by the collapse of the Second International and the rise of the Bolshevik revolution, so world Bolshevism, its maintenance and growth, is conditioned upon the estimation of the course of events in the Soviet Union and the Communist International in the period of the last four to five years. All other questions are subordinated to this and flow from it.

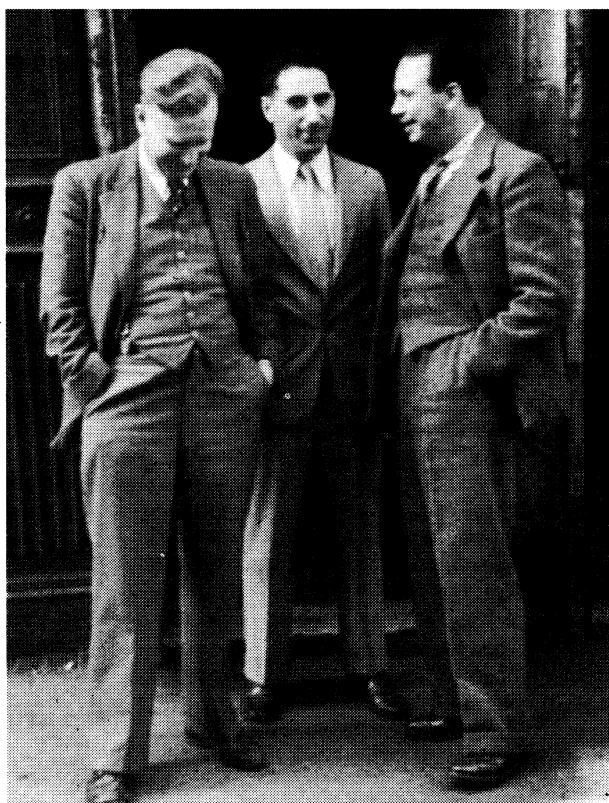
The collapse of the Russian revolution as the dictatorship of the proletariat would sig-

nify the retardation for decades of the revolutionary movement in Europe and America and the uprisings of the colonial peoples, whose main point of support today is the victory of the Russian October. A collapse would be followed by an unequaled reign of reaction throughout the world and would entail a restoration of world imperialist rule without precedent in the last two or three decades.

Our primary concern is therefore with the fate of the Russian revolution, which directly affects the fate of all the Communist parties. The defense of the Russian revolution against external attacks and internal dangers is therefore the first and foremost task of all communists and every conscious worker. We are defenders of the Russian revolution since 1917. There is no break in the continuity of our position, for our present fight is directly connected with and follows from our whole previous line.

The attitude of official optimism and light-minded equanimity which finds that all is as it should be, without inquiry as to the actual facts and the basic trends of development—and seeks to prohibit such inquiry—is the worst kind of "support" that can be given the revolution. This attitude is actually one of criminal neglect, and results in disarming the proletariat before its enemies and deluding it before difficulties. To base oneself only on faith and precedent is to drug oneself into impotence. Communists must give conscious and understanding help.

The origin of the present crisis in the Soviet Union lies in the contradiction between the existence of a Soviet regime in a country with a predominantly peasant economy, and the pressure of the capitalist encirclement. This crisis has been sharpened and aggravated by the false policies of the leadership. These policies are rooted, further, in the overestimation by the present leadership of the duration and depth of the temporary



Left to right: James P. Cannon, Martin Abern, and Max Shachtman, in 1938. The three were supporters of the platform of the Communist opposition in 1928.

stabilization of capitalism, which began after the defeat of the German and Bulgarian proletariat in 1923.¹

Our entire epoch is one of capitalism in dissolution, of imperialist wars, and of the socialist revolution of the proletariat. Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism, of the domination of finance capital, monopolies, and international trusts, of the division and redvision of the world among the imperialist powers, wherein the only method of "remedying" the disproportion between productive development and capital accumulation on the one hand and the division of markets, colonies, and spheres of influence on the other, is the resort to imperialist war.

In sharpening the contradictions between the productive forces of world economy and national state barriers, imperialism evoked the last war and is preparing the next. This does not exclude, within the period of decline of capitalism, the possibility of a partial economic revival or even the develop-

ment of productive forces. Lenin, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, rightly pointed out that there was "no absolutely hopeless situation."

The state of preparedness of the proletariat to wage a revolutionary struggle for power is a determining factor in the destruction of capitalism. Thanks to the treachery of the reformist Social Democracy, to the strategic though temporary postwar concessions of the bourgeoisie, and to the weakness or bad leadership of the Communist parties, the bourgeoisie has been able to achieve the present relative stabilization of capitalism.

But this estimate of the current stabilization differs radically from that implied in the Stalinist, revisionist "theory" of socialism in one country, that is, a stabilization for decades, for a whole epoch....

The smoke screen of 'Trotskyism'

To conceal the essence of its right-wing deviations and bureaucratic misdeeds, the Stalin regime invented the myth of "Trotskyism," which it represents as the real danger to Leninism. Trotsky's differences of political line with Lenin were liquidated in 1917, on L.D. Trotsky's acceptance of the April Theses of Lenin and his entrance into

Continued on Page 13

¹In 1923 a strong protest movement of the German proletariat developed, fueled by a severe economic crisis and sparked by the French occupation of the Ruhr. The Communist Party of Germany grew rapidly and won the leadership of the movement. A prerevolutionary situation developed, and a decision was made to carry out a revolution in October, beginning in Saxony, where the CP was strong and was in a united front with the Social Democrats, who controlled the state government. At the last minute the CP leadership cancelled the rising. As a result of this vacillation, the capitalists were able to recover.

Heinrich Brandler, a German CP leader, became the scapegoat for this defeat, but the Kremlin's responsibility for it was one of the issues that led to the formation of the Russian Left Opposition. In June 1923 the Bulgarian government of the peasant leader Stambulisky was overthrown by reactionary forces. The CP remained neutral in the ensuing civil war, but the white terror against them forced the party underground. Claiming that the workers were not defeated by the civil war, which they saw as a fight between two bourgeois cliques, the CP attempted a putsch in September, which was doomed to defeat.

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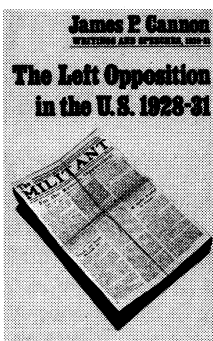
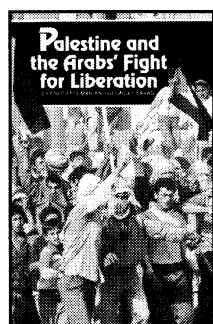
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— LETTERS —

Class-struggle notes

During a recent sightseeing trip to China and Japan I had the opportunity to visit the Longhua Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery in Shanghai where there is a photo exhibit of the struggles leading up to the 1949 revolution. There were photos of those who gave their lives in the struggle, and of textile mill workers and union mobilizations during strikes in the city. Other photos are from later, such as those of protests opposing U.S. intervention into China. The museum is really a history of the workers movement in Shanghai and its martyrs.

In Japan we read about a commemoration for the victims of the U.S. firebombing of Tokyo during World War II and a protest by fishermen opposed to a deal struck by their union.

At the Hiroshima airport we were handed a leaflet by a group of five people opposing the U.S. war in Afghanistan.

David Johnson
Toronto, Ontario

India and nationalities

The editorial in the May 27 *Militant* calling for the United States to get out of the Indian subcontinent is correct in all stated respects. The tensions between Pakistan and India are rooted historically in the imperialist attempts to thwart the revolutionary upsurge in India for independence from the United Kingdom. Uniting the toilers of the region against the imperialists' war machine remains the only way forward.

The editorial also makes reference to the need to "press forward the national unification struggle on the Indian subcontinent" and later on to the fact that "the partition of India and the formation of a pro-imperialist outpost helped block the formation of a modern, centralized nation-state."

However, isn't it necessary given the current situation in that part of the world to include in this same editorial the need for

equality of all nationalities and the redress of all national grievances as the only road to uniting all the toilers in the area? India is a prison house of nationalities with some of them currently engaged in struggle against the Indian state.

Of course all political questions cannot be raised in every single editorial but this element remains central to achieve the necessary unity amongst the peoples of the subcontinent and to counter the imperialists' propaganda.

John Votava
Berwyn, Illinois

Opposes suicide attacks

Edward Said, who is an outstanding representative in the U.S. of the Palestinian struggle, recently wrote that the dehumanization of the Palestinians "is made even worse, one has to say, by the suicide bombings that have so disfigured and debased the Palestinian struggle. All liberation movements in history have affirmed that their struggle is about life, not about death. Why should ours be an exception?"

The major leftist organizations in Palestine, the DFLP and the PFLP, are strongly opposed to attacks against civilians, and attacks in Israel. Leon Trotsky argued persuasively against these sorts of tactics, which reduce the masses to the role of spectator, while giving the rulers and the police an easy pretext for repression, and for slandering a just struggle.

Josh Fritz
Chicago, Illinois

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

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

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Irish freedom fighters raise their flags in Scotland

BY CAROL BALL

DUNDEE, Scotland—Supporters of the struggle for Irish freedom in Edinburgh scored a victory this week when they pushed back police demands that they fly only one Irish flag, known as the tricolor, on this year's James Connolly march and rally.

"We didn't expect to win so easily," said Jim Slaven, a leader of the James Connolly Society which is organizing the June 8 action. "The council saw it was politically difficult to defend their position if we were determined to challenge it. This comes from developments in Ireland. They can no longer be seen to say that the Irish flag is provocative in itself."

James Connolly, born in Scotland, was a revolutionary socialist and central leader of the 1916 Easter Uprising in Ireland. On Easter Monday, 1916, in the middle of World War I, some 1,200 members of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army seized the General Post Office and several

other sites in Dublin. They were led by Patrick Pearse, a leader of the Irish Volunteers and of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and by Connolly, a workers' leader who founded the Citizen Army.

Under conditions of deepening opposition to British colonial rule and to the imperialist war, the rebels had counted on setting off a national revolt. While uprisings did erupt elsewhere in Ireland, the hoped-for general insurrection did not transpire. After five days of bitter fighting, the survivors surrendered to overwhelming British force. In the course of the battle British artillery leveled a large part of Dublin. Pearse, Connolly, and 13 other Irish leaders were sentenced to death and shot.

The Connolly Society's challenge to the 12-year-old restriction on the march caused problems for the ruling class in the city. After some hours of debate the Council ended up requesting the opinion of the Chief Constable, who was accompanying Eliza-



Militant/Pete Willson

Supporters of Irish freedom in Glasgow, Scotland, organized a march on May 5, which drew some 2,000 people. In Edinburgh a victory was scored when marchers pushed back demands by the police that they fly only one Irish flag.

beth Windsor on her visit to Edinburgh to celebrate the monarch's Golden Jubilee.

After rightists attacked the Connolly march in 1991, police said the action posed a threat to public order and banned it for two years. In the early 1990s the police would allow Loyalists—those "loyal" to the union of Ireland with Britain—to gather near the start of the march. Slaven explained the cops would stand back while the rightists launched their attacks. "In 1991 it was particularly bad. There was serious violence and we only just

managed to keep the march going," he said.

Despite the ban, supporters of Irish freedom held the demonstration in 1993, leading to the arrest of 50 people by the police. Many were convicted of taking part in an "illegal march." Slaven was jailed for a week for refusing to pay a £400 fine (£1=US\$1.40) for organizing the protest. But the arrests and convictions were "a political disaster" for the city officials, he said, and "after that we were allowed to have the march."

While allowing the action to take place, the city placed restrictions on the organizers, such as limiting to one the number of Irish flags marchers could display on the grounds that the flag would provoke attacks. "It was a spurious claim," commented Slaven. "No trouble was ever caused by the tricolor. It was caused by Loyalists."

On May 5 Irish in Glasgow organized a similar march, which drew some 2,000 people. The action was overwhelmingly working class, with many young people joining in. Maggie Lafferty, from Cumbernauld, said she "saw the advertisement and came to lend my support." Lafferty said she also came to "support the hunger strikers and the sacrifice they made." She was referring to the 1981 battle by Irish freedom fighters imprisoned by the British government who were demanding they be accorded the status of political prisoners. Ten men died from starvation in the course of the strike.

Lafferty's daughter, Rhiannon, 15, had recently made her first trip to South Armagh in Ireland where she had learned about Ray McCreesh, one of the hunger strikers. "It was exciting," she said. "Now I understand why people are always going on about the hunger strike and what Margaret Thatcher did." Thatcher was prime minister of the United Kingdom at the time and refused to accede to the demands by the imprisoned Irish.

Last year the organizers of the march in Glasgow led thousands of people through the center of the city for the first time since 1979, when rightists attacked them. The city subsequently banned the march from the

Continued on Page 12

Protest campaign demands regime in Paraguay release political activists

BY ROMINA GREEN

NEW YORK—A campaign in Paraguay to demand that the government release members of a left-wing party abducted in January has received widespread media coverage and led to the resignation of a number of officials. While two men have been released after being subjected to torture, the campaign continues to demand the freeing of three others.

The five are members of the left-wing party *Movimiento Patria Libre* (Free Homeland Movement-MPL). Juan Arrom and Anuncio Martí were kidnapped by police on January 17 and found 13 days later in a house owned by police subcommissioner Francisco Flores on the outskirts of Asunción, the capital. The whereabouts of Victor Colman and Ana and Jorge Samudio, who disappeared several days after their comrades were kidnapped, is still unknown. Two are known as leaders of peasants' struggles.

Other political parties in the country and human rights groups have joined the MPL's campaign against the kidnappings, organized under the slogan, "Against state terrorism."

Arrom and Martí were found at the police official's house by family members and supporters of the Paraguayan Human Rights Coordinator, accompanied by local media. The two came out of the residence shirtless, their bodies marked by bruises. They explained that they had been seized by police officers, and that their abductors had tried to make them sign a document stating they were responsible for the kidnapping of Maria Edith de Debernardi, the wife of a businessman. Debernardi was released soon after she was abducted, in exchange for a ransom of \$1 million.

"The abductors showed a lot of interest in our political activities and people that we worked with," Martí said in an interview with the newspaper *Diario Ultima Hora*. "It seemed they were looking to establish a reason to justify the criminalization of the organization. They inquired about our relations with the [Colombian rebel army] FARC and the Túpac Amaru movement" in Peru, he said.

Arrom and Martí said that Silvio Ferreira, Minister of Justice and Labor; Julio Cesar Fanego, Minister of the Interior; Oscar Germán Latorre, State Attorney General; Blas Chamorro, Police Chief; and Roberto



Thousands marched May 28 in Asunción, Paraguay, against privatization of telephone company. Kidnapping of five political activists in Paraguay takes place in context of growing resistance by workers, peasants, and youth to attacks on their rights.

González Cuquejo, Chief of Crime Investigation, had all been involved in visiting, calling about, or overseeing their abduction.

Ferreira and Fanego are among those who have resigned their posts. The Paraguayan Congress says it has launched an investigation into the involvement of the government officials named by the MPL leaders.

On February 1, two days after the rescue of Arrom and Martí, 2,000 people gathered in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral to celebrate their release and to demand the resignation of the Minister of Interior Julio César Fanego and President Luis González Macchi. Protesters have carried signs that say, "Torture never again," a reference to the brutal military dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner that terrorized the Paraguayan working class for 34 years until 1989.

Mass sentiment against any return to military rule was reflected in mobilizations in 1996. Under the pressure of those street protests, President Juan Carlos Wasmosy was forced to dismiss General Lino Oviedo for conducting illegal political activity. In response to his firing, Oviedo threatened to bomb Congress and the presidential residence. Wasmosy announced that he would reappoint Oviedo, and then went into hiding.

Working people and students mobilized

against the reappointment and the threat of a coup d'état. Demonstrators shouted, "Wasmosy, Oviedo: send them both to the garbage heap." Oviedo was subsequently arrested and charged with insurrection.

INS arrests, threatens to deport Palestinian activist in New York

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

NEW YORK—The U.S. government is threatening to deport a well-known Palestinian activist here and turn him over to Israeli police. Faruk Abdel-Muhti, who has lived in this country for 25 years, was arrested by immigration and New York cops in late April and is being held in a jail in New Jersey. His incarceration is part of the nationwide wave of arrests and government harassment of immigrants from the Mideast that escalated when Washington launched its war drive against Afghanistan last September.

Abdel-Muhti, who is active in the Palestine Education Committee, has helped organize recent protests in front of the Israeli consulate here. He was also producing a program on WBAI radio that featured Palestinian leaders from the occupied territo-

ries speaking on the resistance to Tel Aviv's war on the Palestinian people.

About three weeks before Abdel-Muhti's arrest, while he was speaking on a radio program, about 10 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents and New York city cops barged into his apartment in Corona, Queens. His roommate, Bernie McFall, says the cops threatened to throw him out the window of his 14th-floor apartment if he tried to block their search of computer files and phone directories.

At 6:30 a.m. on April 26, four cops in civilian clothes—three New York police detectives and an INS agent—along with a group of uniformed city cops, showed up at Abdel-Muhti's Lefrak City apartment. McFall said cops aggressively banged on the door demanding to question him about Sep-

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