

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**  
New, expanded edition of  
**'Malcolm X Talks to Young People'**  
— PAGES 8–9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## UK firefighters strike as gov't torpedoed pay deal

Labour prime minister mobilizes troops as strikebreakers

BY CAROL BALL

GLASGOW—More than 1,000 firefighters rallied in Glasgow's St. Enoch Square November 23, demonstrating their determination to resist government attacks and press home their case for a wage raise that would defend their living standards.

The unionists have pushed ahead with their campaign of rolling strikes, pickets, and rallies in face of the government's mobilization of almost 19,000 troops. The soldiers operate as strikebreakers alongside police now using modern red fire engines as well as the aging "Green Goddess" fire trucks.

The Glasgow rally came on day two of an eight-day strike by more than 50,000 firefighters across the United Kingdom, the second stoppage in the current campaign of industrial action by the Fire Brigades Union (FBU). The union plans two further eight-day strikes in the weeks leading up to the Christmas holiday.

Firefighters from all over Scotland—from Highlands and Islands and Grampian in the north, to Dumfries and Galloway in the south—joined the rally. A number of workers brought banners. Throughout the day, every fire station was simultaneously picketed by other members of the 6,839-strong FBU in Scotland.

"We're digging in," said a participant



Militant/Pete Williamson  
**Firefighters rally in Glasgow, Scotland, during second strike. The unionists oppose moves that would lead to cuts in jobs and firefighting services, and are demanding a raise.**

from Pollock in Glasgow. "The more we're mucked about, the stronger we get," said David Bennett. The 18-year firefighter from the Crewe Toll station in Edinburgh was referring to the action by the Labour govern-

ment in stepping in at the last minute to scuttle a deal reached between union officials and the Local Government Association (LGA) employers just a few hours before

**Continued on Page 11**

## In New England, revolutionary leader speaks on truth about Cuba and Africa

BY MAGGIE TROWE

BOSTON—More than 250 people came to hear Víctor Dreke, a longtime leader of the Cuban Revolution and internationalist combatant, during a two-day visit to this area. Speaking on "Cuba and Africa: From 1959 to Today," he addressed audiences at the University of Massachusetts in Boston and at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, as well as several other gatherings. Ana Morales, a doctor who has led several Cuban medical missions in Africa, joined him on the platforms.

The University of Massachusetts (UMB) meeting was sponsored by a broad range of faculty and students—the Africana Studies Department, the College of Public and Community Service, Students Arts and Events Council, Trotter Institute, Black Student Center, Casa Latina, and the Feminist Majority, as well as the July 26 Coalition, a Cuba solidarity organization in Boston.

Prior to the meeting, the Black Student Center hosted a lunch and reception in

Dreke's honor, attended by two dozen professors and students.

Prof. Robert Johnson, chair of the Africana Studies Department, welcomed the audience and introduced fellow Africana Studies professor Marc Prou, who moderated the event. Riché Zamor Jr., head of the Black Student Center, and María Moreno

from Casa Latina greeted the Cuban guests.

In welcoming Dreke, Prou explained that at the nearby John F. Kennedy Library, which holds the former president's papers, "we hear voices from the U.S. point of view. This time we have voices from Cuba."

Prou spoke about Dreke's record of revo-

**Continued on Page 6**

## Police in Argentina storm occupied garment plant, workers take it back

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Early on Sunday, November 24, more than 200 heavily armed cops stormed the Brukman sewing factory in Buenos Aires, which has been occupied by some 50 workers for the past 11 months. Arriving with a court order to evict the occupants, they arrested six workers on guard duty and a nine-year-old girl, the daughter of a worker.

Within an hour, hundreds of people from around the city—other workers and members of the unemployed organizations, popular assemblies, and radical political parties in the workers movement—had responded to an appeal for help and poured into the street in front of the plant, denouncing the cop action. Later that morning, the same judge who had issued the eviction notice ordered the cops to withdraw. Chanting "Brukman belongs to the workers," the garment workers re-occupied the building and by the next day had resumed production.

Brukman remains a focal point of labor resistance in Argentina. In July this reporter interviewed workers at the plant who described how in December 2001 the sewers, mostly women, occupied the plant to oppose the bosses' plans to close the facility and lay them off, and to demand payment of back wages.

In face of the employers' bankruptcy claims, the workers are demanding the Argentine government take over the factory to guarantee their jobs and wages. They have been running the plant themselves, producing high-quality men's suits. Large banners draped over the front of the six-story building declare, "Jobs for all: not one more un-

**Continued on Page 5**

## At Havana meeting, youth discuss Che Guevara's revolutionary ideas

BY RÓGER CALERO

HAVANA—A seminar to discuss the relevance of the ideas of communist leader Ernesto Che Guevara for youth today took place here November 23. More than 70 young Cuban leaders met along with international guests from student and youth organizations in Australia, Costa Rica, Canada, El Salvador, and the United States.

The Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba sponsored the event, held at the UJC's Julio Antonio Mella leadership school. It was one of several activities tak-

ing place here as part of an international meeting to discuss opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (see accompanying article). The participants were welcomed by Juan Carlos Marsán, secretary for international relations for the UJC.

The meeting was addressed by Aleida Guevara, from the Center for the Study of Che and daughter of the revolutionary leader; Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas, a combatant of the Cuban Revolution who fought alongside Guevara in Cuba's revolutionary

**Continued on Page 15**

## U.S., British planes start daily raids against Iraq

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In the last half of November Washington and London have increased the pace of their bombings of Iraq from weekly to almost daily. The stepped-up attacks on defense and communications facilities occur as foreign "weapons inspectors" have begun operations on Iraqi territory. The "inspections" are designed to provide a justification, under United Nations cover, for launching the invasion that Washington has been marching toward.

On November 22 U.S. and British aircraft fired at a communications facility near Al Amarah, 165 miles southeast of Baghdad, in the sixth day of bombardments in a week. The attacks take place in the southern region of the country, where since the 1990–91 Gulf war, Washington—together with its junior British partner—has declared its prerogative to control Iraqi airspace, barring flights by Iraqi military aircraft and bombing any defense facility it sees fit. Imperialist forces have imposed a similar "no-fly" zone in the northern region of Iraq.

The Iraqi News Agency reported that the aircraft flew 59 sorties, dropping their ordnance on civilian and service facilities. As usual, the U.S. Central Command claimed the assault was in self-defense, asserting it

**Continued on Page 2**

## Bosses stiff retirees as pension fund losses mount

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

In recent months a number of state pension funds and some of the largest U.S. corporations have reported underfunded pension programs and massive losses due to falling stock prices. Like a slow-moving hurricane, the losses have demolished the retirement savings of hundreds of thousands of workers and large sections of the middle class over the past couple of years.

State governments and companies have speculated in the stock market with employees' pension funds, at a time when the markets have suffered their deepest

**Continued on Page 5**

### Also Inside

Students in Iran protest cop attacks; government weakens 3

U.S., French imperialists battle to pillage Ivory Coast cocoa 4

'Homeland security' law accelerates gov't spying on private records of millions 4

Papua New Guinea students, workers protest cop brutality and attacks on land rights 10

1975 N.Y. 'budget crisis,' like today's, was excuse to attack pensions, services 13

# U.S., UK planes now bomb Iraq almost daily

Continued from front page

was in response to Iraq's movement of mobile radar equipment into the "no-fly" zone.

Over the preceding days, U.S. planes bombed eight different targets. Twelve planes dropped 20 bombs on three separate communications facilities used by the Iraqi Integrated Air Defense network. These included targets near Ash Shuaybah, south-east of the capital city of Baghdad.

## 'Inspectors' begin provocations

The UN "inspection" operation has been organized to provide a ready-made justification for launching a U.S.-led military attack on Iraq in the name of carrying out a U.S.-crafted UN resolution. The "inspectors" have declared their intention of entering any site at any time. On the list of targets are a wide variety of industrial plants, agricultural sites, medical laboratories, research centers, and government offices. One way of targeting industrial plants as a source of "weapons of mass destruction" is by calling them "dual-use" facilities. For example, any fertilizer plant could be deemed a source of "biological weapons."

In a November 15 interview with the French daily *Le Monde*, chief inspector Hans Blix, a Swedish official, said that even a delay of 30 minutes in granting the inspection agents access to any site would be considered a "violation."

The Iraqi government is supposed to submit by December 8 a list of all its weapons sites and "dual-use installations" as defined by Washington and its imperialist allies. U.S. and British officials have made it clear that the contents of the report could be used as a basis for a military attack on Iraq. "Should it be found that that declaration was dishonest, then that most certainly would be a material breach," stated British prime minister Anthony Blair.

Speaking November 20 in Prague, the Czech capital, before a NATO meeting, U.S. president George Bush stated, "Should he [Iraqi president Saddam Hussein] choose not to disarm, the United States will lead a coalition of the willing to disarm him." U.S. officials have shifted their language from demanding Iraq eliminate "weapons of mass destruction" to demanding it "disarm."

Representatives of the 19 member governments of NATO, the imperialist military alliance, endorsed Bush's call for the "verifiable" disarmament of Iraq and vowed to take "effective action" to secure "full and

immediate compliance" with this demand.

They also approved a U.S. proposal to establish, over the next four years, a NATO rapid reaction force with the ability to swiftly intervene around the world.

The NATO representatives stopped short of endorsing military action against Iraq because of opposition expressed by Berlin. While maintaining a general position that its forces will not take part in military action against Iraq, the German government—a coalition of the Social Democrats and Greens—has made clear it will intervene under certain conditions, for example, if Iraqi forces undertake action against U.S. military bases in Kuwait, where German troops are also stationed. Under current treaties, Berlin will also allow Washington to use bases there for an assault on Iraq.

## Military buildup

In addition to 10,000 U.S. soldiers in Kuwait, there are another 2,000 to 3,000 in Qatar—where the U.S. military command is based—and 2,000 in Oman, which is providing use of a major air base. The Pentagon also maintains 4,000 troops in Saudi Arabia involved in the air raids in southern Iraq, as well as 2,500 to 3,000 in Bahrain, where the U.S. Navy's regional headquarters is located.

"What you are talking about is basically a rolling start," said a Pentagon official in describing Washington's plans to rapidly boost U.S. troop strength to about 250,000 within 30 days after the president gives the order. A large amount of U.S. military equipment is already in place in the Arab-Persian Gulf, with more on the way.

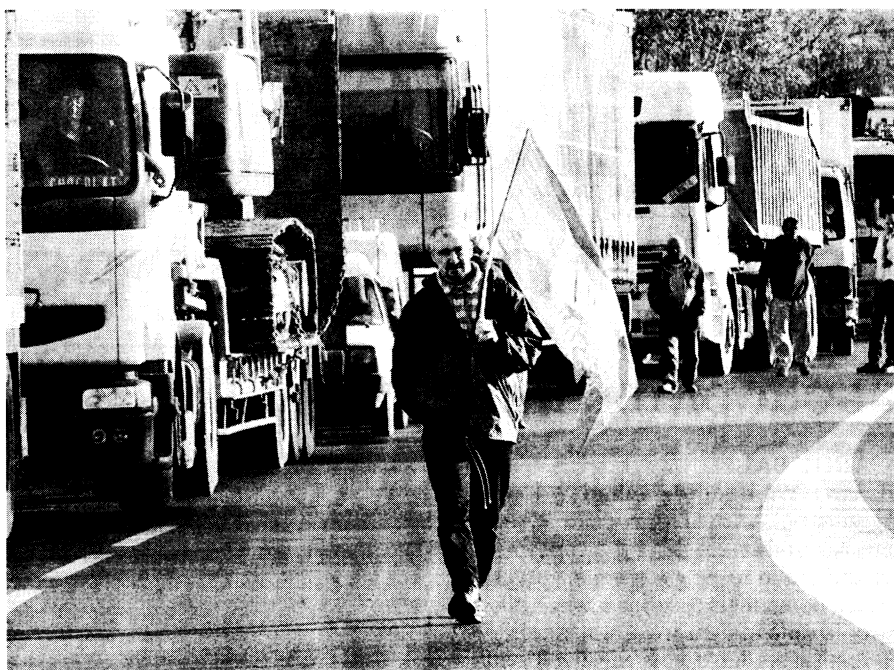
Since September, Washington has been conducting military exercises, code-named Desert Spring, in Kuwait with 3,800 members of the Second Brigade of the Third Infantry Division. Kuwait has virtually been divided into two regions: a civilian area near the coast, and an area covering 750 miles—one quarter of the country—turned over to U.S. forces for military operations.

Another brigade from the same division is practicing desert maneuvers at the National Training Center in California.

## U.S. military exercises in Djibouti

Since mid-November some 1,500 marines, together with another 1,500 Navy sailors and pilots, have been conducting exercises in the Horn of Africa off the coast of Djibouti. The exercises involve maneuvers from the Suez Canal to an amphibious as-

## Truckers in France block roads in fight for pay and pensions



Truck drivers blockade highway in southwestern France November 25 as part of a wave of actions that tied up roads across the country. Truckers are demanding a shorter workweek, wage increases, bonus pay, and early retirement. Threatening strikebreaking action, French prime minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin stated that the drivers have "no right to mount a blockade." The truckers' struggle is one of a number of strikes and other protests by rail workers, air traffic controllers, and other workers against the sell-off of state-run companies.

sault on the beaches of northern Djibouti.

"We are getting heavy weapons ashore and firing," stated Col. John Mills, commander of the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit. *New York Times* reporter Michael Gordon described the scene. "Marine howitzers lobbed shells six miles, Harrier jets dropped 500 pound bombs, and Super Cobra helicopter gunships raked the ground with fire. M-1 tanks and other armored vehicles blasted their targets," he wrote.

In preparation for the U.S. war in the region, the government of Turkey is taking steps to prevent Iraqi Kurds from crossing the border into their country. "Turkish officials are preparing to send troops up to 60 miles into northern Iraq on what they say is a mission to prevent an influx of refugees," stated a Reuters report. The Turkish military already maintains a large troop presence at a military base inside northern Iraq as part of their ongoing attacks against Kurdish rebels fighting for self-determination.

Turkish officials said their plan would establish 18 camps—12 of them in Iraq—designed to hold about 275,000 refugees. Those trying to enter Turkey before the first 12 camps were filled would be turned back, they said.

Seeking to take advantage of their open-ended inspections operations in Iraq, the U.S. rulers are also setting their sights on Iran, another one of Washington's "axis of evil" targets.

In a November 20 *Newsday* article titled "Worries About Iran; Officials: Nuclear weapons program more advanced than Iraq's," Knut Royce and Earl Lane wrote,

"Iran's nuclear weapons program has in recent months begun to appear more worrisome than Iraq's, according to U.S. intelligence....

"With no fanfare, Mohamed ElBaradei, director general of the U.N's International Atomic Energy Agency—now in Baghdad to begin the search for Saddam Hussein's alleged nuclear weapons facilities—plans a trip soon to look at nuclear sites in Iran."

U.S. officials claim their concern is with Iran's "fuel cycle program" as part of the country's nuclear power plant facility. ElBaradei said Iranian officials "assured me that whatever they are building there will be declared" to his agency and placed under an "inspection regime," *Newsday* reported.

"Our program is for energy and peaceful aims only," said Morteza Ranandi, press attache at Iran's UN mission in New York in response to this development.

## THE MILITANT

### New York transit workers say 'no' to cuts

*Transit workers, teachers, and health-care workers have rallied in New York to defend their unions and protest cuts in jobs, benefits, and services. The 'Militant' backs the unionists' resistance and tells the truth about the rulers' fake 'budget crisis.' Don't miss a single issue.*



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# Students in Iran protest cop attacks, defend free speech

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PITTSBURGH—Widespread student demonstrations broke out in Iran following the announcement November 7 that university professor Hashem Aghajari had been sentenced to death for a speech he gave.

These were the largest demonstrations since 1999, when campus protests demanding greater freedom of speech were attacked by police and extralegal gangs, resulting in the death in Tehran of one youth, a soldier from a peasant family.

As protests swelled in support of Aghajari, the professor refused to appeal his sentence, putting the courts even more on the spot. Subsequently, Iran's clerical head of state, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, issued a statement asking the judiciary to review the verdict, implying that the death sentence should be rescinded. Students and other opponents of the death sentence saw this as an initial gain brought about by the mass demonstrations.

Aghajari is a supporter of Iran's 1979 revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed shah, Washington's firmest ally in the Mideast. He fought in the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war, when workers, peasants, and youth in Iran mobilized to defend the gains of their revolution from military attack by the government of Iraq with the tacit support of U.S. and other imperialist powers. Aghajari lost a leg in combat.

At a closed trial, Aghajari was convicted of blasphemy and sentenced to death by hanging for statements made in a speech that questioned whether Iranians should automatically follow the lead of politicians who are also clerics. He was also sentenced to 74 lashes, 8 years' exile to three desert cities in Iran, and a 10-year ban on teaching.

## Protests around the country

In addition to protests in Tehran, student actions spread to Hamedan, where Aghajari gave his speech; Kerman; Isfahan; Tabriz; and Orumieh, on the border of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan.

Unlike the 1999 protests, Iranian police have carried out few arrests this time. There have been reports of plainclothes thugs assaulting some student demonstrators. By November 19 almost all universities and colleges in the country had joined in the protests. "The execution of Aghajari is the execution of the university!" 5,000 demonstrators chanted at Tehran University. "Political prisoners should be freed!"

At Amir Kabir University of Technology, Tehran's main technical school, thousands of students rallied, as they did at Sharif University, the major scientific institution.

"We're not looking for another revolution," said Yashar Ghajar, a speaker from the Islamic Students Association, at the Amir Kabir rally. "We're looking for freedom of expression—and freedom after expression."

At Modaress Training University, which trains teachers in Tehran, more than 1,000 students demonstrated, carrying portraits of Aghajari and demanding the resignation of Mahmoud Hashemi Shahroudi, the head of the Iranian court system.

In a statement, protesters said, "The death sentence for Mr. Aghajari is punishing him for his opinion, which is against the Constitution and human rights." Several Modaress professors resigned to protest the sentence. Two members of parliament from Hamedan also resigned.

A counterdemonstration held at Tehran University on November 19 attracted some 2,500 students from schools in the city. The demonstration was held under the banner of "Protesting the Power and Wealth Mafia." Its thrust was to support the Ayatollah Khamenei leadership against the liberal reformers of President Mohammed Khatami's regime and against those getting rich through their connections to the state. It signaled continuing fissures in the ruling-class factions.

The declaration issued by the demonstrators pointed to former president Hashemi Rafsanjani, who is associated with Ayatollah Khamenei, and requested he come forward to clarify the wealth his children have allegedly accumulated, in view of "the ru-

mors that have been going around in recent years."

## Imperialist war drive

The upsurge of protest activity comes as Washington rapidly escalates war moves against neighboring Iraq. No wing of the Iranian regime has resolutely condemned this imperialist aggression. In fact, coastal units of Iran's Revolutionary Guards, according to the *New York Times*, have facilitated U.S. and Australian troops boarding foreign ships in the Arab-Persian Gulf in the tightening of the imperialist blockade of Iraq.

Last January, U.S. government officials declared Iran part of an "axis of evil" to be targeted together with Iraq and north Korea. The following month, millions of Iranians demonstrated in cities across the country to condemn the U.S. threats and show their determination to defend the social and political gains of their revolution.

The two main factions of the Iranian government, however, have muted their criticism of the U.S.-led war drive against Iraq, while intensifying their infighting.

Khatami was first elected president in 1997 on a platform that included promises of greater democratic rights. Many youth, as well as the big majority of workers and peasants, supported his ticket.

Those in the ruling class opposed to loosening restrictions on the press and speech have sought to use the courts that they control to ban liberal publications and imprison Khatami supporters.

Khatami declared that the verdict against Aghajari was "improper" and "never should have been issued at all." He urged students to subdue their protests. "Nothing should be done that creates tension or problems," he said.

Parliament Speaker Mehdi Karrubi, in a speech broadcast live on state-run Tehran radio, said the sentence against Aghajari was "disgusting" and advocated his release. He called on the courts to overturn the sentence "before we pay a heavier price for it."

One hundred eighty-one members of the 290-seat parliament signed a letter urging the lifting of the death sentence.

Prior to asking the judiciary to review the Aghajari verdict, Ayatollah Khamenei had declared, "The day when the three branches of government are unable to settle major

## 10,000 attend funeral in Pakistan for man executed by U.S. gov't



Some 10,000 people packed a stadium November 19 in Quetta, Pakistan, for the funeral of Mir Aimal Kasi, a Pakistani man executed in the state of Virginia for allegedly killing two CIA agents in 1993. He had been seized by FBI agents in Pakistan in 1997. Kasi's November 14 execution sparked angry protests across the country. Demonstrators called Washington "the biggest terrorist state."

problems, the supreme guide will, if he deems it necessary, make popular force intervene," according to the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA).

Among those referred to as "popular forces" are the Basiji, which originated among working people and youth who volunteered in the 1980s for the war effort to resist the U.S.-backed invasion by Iraq's government. The Basiji have most recently been involved in confrontations against young people demanding more freedom of expression and assembly.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, however, some in the Basiji have joined the outcry against the death sentence for Aghajari. A letter from Basiji to the judiciary, posted up on the Amir Kabir campus, said, "This sentence is so unconventional that it has raised a lot of questions," reported the *Times*. The letter urged that the sentence be overturned.

Other Basiji have joined counter-demonstrations.

Some at demonstrations supporting Aghajari have identified their opponents as "Taliban," raising slogans such as, "One day,

Taliban will also be ousted from Iran!" The capitalist press in the United States has reported this hopefully, suggesting that it signifies a growing social base for imperialism in Iran. Other demonstrators have couched their slogans in anti-U.S. language, such as "Taliban Islam is American Islam." The media has not reported slogans opposing imperialism or the U.S.-led drive toward war at either the pro-Aghajari rallies or the counter-demonstrations.

IRNA reported that Aghajari's wife, Zahra Behnoudi, visited him in prison and afterward said he asked the students to "make their demands in the framework of the law."

"A group of people are seeking to inflame student movements. Thus, the students must follow up their demands in calm and with awareness and not let their movements be exploited," she quoted her husband as saying.

Aghajari's sister Zohreh has called for her brother's speech, his defense at the trial, as well as the indictment to be published in newspapers so people can make up their own minds.

## Cause of oil spill near Spain: shippers' profit drive

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

An overloaded, aging oil tanker carrying 20 million gallons of toxic fuel oil split in two and sank off the coast of northwestern Spain November 19, destroying wildlife and devastating small fishermen in the region. At least 2.5 million gallons have poured into the waters, affecting more than 180 miles of coastline, including 25 miles of beaches and marshland.

The *Prestige*, a 26-year-old single-hulled ship managed by a Greek company and sailing under a Bahamian flag, leaked a trail of oil for six days after a 50-foot-wide crack opened in the ship's hull during a storm. The ship was carrying nearly double the load of crude oil as the *Exxon Valdez*, which devastated hundreds of miles of Alaska's coastline in 1989. The *Prestige* had not been inspected by port authorities for three years.

In their drive for profits, the shipping magnates have continued to utilize the vulnerable single-hull tankers filled beyond what they can safely carry rather than the more secure—and more costly—double hulled ones. The *Prestige* is one of about 500 "Aframax" oil tankers, which measure 70,000 to 110,000 deadweight tonnes. This class of ship makes up about one-third of the world tanker fleet.

The Spanish government made matters worse by deciding to tow the 791-foot-long leaking tanker 100 miles further out to sea, instead of bringing it into port where it would have been protected by calmer seas and booms to contain a spill, and the oil could have been removed. Instead, the impact of this spill has been spread over a much

wider region. Miles-long slicks of the oil are being carried by currents eastward into the rich fishing areas off the coast of Galicia, a region of Spain, and could reach further south in Portugal.

The first wave of fuel from the sunken tanker—a slick 70 miles long and five miles wide—reached shore November 21 on Spain's northwest coast.

"You can dump something 80 miles offshore, but the currents always bring everything back to this coast," commented Francisco Gómez, an octopus hunter from Corne. "We are sure all the slicks will hit us."

Galicia is the world's largest producer of mussels, selling 3 million tons a year, and one of the richest fishing regions in Europe. So far more than 4,000 fishermen have had their livelihoods destroyed by the ban on harvesting fish that now extends for more than 180 miles of coastline in Galicia. Most affected are small, family-operated boats in an area that has more fishing vessels than the rest of the European Union.

"There are 3,500 people in O Pindo," said Joaquín Pineiro, 55, speaking about his village on the Galician coast, "and 100 percent live off the sea."

"Nearly 20 species of birds have already been affected," said Simon Cripps, a spokesman for the World Wildlife Fund.

About 80 percent of the 77,000 tons of diesel fuel originally on board the *Prestige* are now sitting 12,000 feet below the surface on the ocean floor. The oil containers not damaged by the fall may eventually corrode and burst apart at the rusty seams. It's like "a time bomb at the bottom of the sea,"

said María José Caballero from the group Greenpeace. The fuel oil involved in this spill is more toxic than crude oil and more difficult to clean up, as it does not readily evaporate or break up.

To avoid taking responsibility for disasters such as this, the oil companies and ship owners consciously mask their ownership of these vessels. The *Prestige*, for example, was registered in the Bahamas; owned by Mare Shipping, a Liberian company; managed by Universe Maritime, a Greek company; and chartered by Crown Resources, a Swiss-based Russian commodities trader.

World seaborne trade has increased 37 percent over the past 11 years—from 3.9 billion metric tons in 1990 to 5.4 billion last year, and with it a drive by the ship owners to cut corners on safety in order to maximize their profits.

After the *Exxon Valdez* oil tanker disaster in 1989, U.S. authorities announced that single-hulled ships would be banned from U.S. ports—but not until 26 years later, in 2015. After a 1999 spill of some 3 million gallons of oil off the coast of France by a similar single-hull tanker, the *Erica*, the European Commission promised to put similar rules into effect.

Starting next July, "25 percent of all ships would be inspected before entering European Union ports, and ships flying flags of convenience would be singled out for inspection," reports the *Washington Post*, and "all single-hull tankers deemed less safe than double-hull ships would be phased out by 2015.... Other single-hull vessels would still be allowed."

# Imperialists vie for Ivory Coast cocoa wealth

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Capitalists in Britain and the United States, speculating on world cocoa production, have taken advantage of a civil war and poor harvests in Ivory Coast to drive up the price of cocoa beans to 17-year highs, raking in huge profits in October. Ivory Coast is the world's largest cocoa producer, with exports of more than 1 million tons a year, providing some 40 percent of the global supply of cocoa.

With cocoa comprising about 10 percent of the cost of chocolate production, high cocoa prices and stagnant candy sales are squeezing the profits of the giants of the \$13 billion chocolate industry, such as Hershey Foods Corp., Mars Inc., Nestle SA, and Kraft Foods. "We are working on tighter margins than we used to," said David Zimmer, secretary general of Caobisco, the European candy makers' association.

Washington is vying with its imperialist rivals in Paris for control of the natural resources of Ivory Coast, a former French colony. One week after antigovernment soldiers launched a failed coup on September 19, the two powers sent hundreds of troops to the West African country under the guise of evacuating their own citizens. Paris has provided what it describes as "logistical support" to the Ivory Coast government, with more than 1,000 French soldiers sent there ostensibly to "police" a truce in effect since October 17.

Washington deployed some 200 U.S. troops, mostly Special Forces, to the capital of Ivory Coast. They are now "on standby" in neighboring Ghana.

Ivory Coast won its independence in 1960 from direct colonial rule. Since then, however, Paris has continued to exert its political and economic domination of the resource-rich country. According to the French embassy in Abidjan, 60 percent of the country's tax revenue comes from French-owned companies. French capitalists still control key sectors of the Ivory Coast's infrastructure such as electricity,



**French army vehicle at airport in Yamoussoukro, capital of Ivory Coast. Under guise of rescuing U.S. and French citizens, Washington and Paris sent troops there after antigovernment soldiers launched failed coup in September. Washington is contending with its imperialist rival in Paris for control of Ivory Coast's natural resources.**

water, telecommunications, port services, and construction. In recent years, U.S. capitalists have been trying to increase their foothold in West Africa at the expense of Paris.

World cocoa prices have almost doubled since early 2001 following two bad harvests in Ivory Coast and a resulting shortage. The latest price surge began when the rebels attempted a coup and thousands of farm workers fled the fields from the ensuing conflict. Anticipating the harvest shortage, within one week speculative traders drove up the futures price for December deliveries of cocoa registered on the New York Board of Trade by \$37 to \$2,157 per ton—the highest level since 1986. According to BBC News, cocoa prices increased 12 percent since the fighting began.

Traders in New York and London, who speculate buying and selling in the futures market—where commodities are bought or

sold for future delivery—also act as brokers between cocoa farmers and large cocoa processing companies such as Hershey Foods. One London trading company, Armajaro, took delivery of 204,380 tons of cocoa at the end of July—before the price began soaring—to cash in a \$90 million profit bonanza.

## Farmers exploited by unequal exchange

In 1999, under political pressure by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the Ivory Coast government gave up its fixed price system for cocoa, allowing prices to be set on the world market. The results were devastating for Ivorian cocoa farmers. Their income dropped by at least 50 percent while cocoa prices crashed at that time.

"It is somewhat ironic that while European and American agriculture is protected,

we should argue to developing countries that they should be fully exposed to the vagaries of the market," said a European cocoa executive in a rare moment of truthfulness.

One example of the agricultural protectionism the businessman was referring to is the \$190 billion in government subsidies that Washington gives to U.S. capitalist farmers and agricultural monopolies, enabling them to undercut their competitors around the world. These imperialist agricultural policies have a ruinous impact on semicolonial countries, where millions of workers and peasants depend on the export of raw materials and survive on less than \$2 a day.

While billionaire traders and investors have raked in profits from the hike in cocoa prices, cocoa farmers have gained little or nothing from the higher prices. The farmers and farm workers toiling in the cocoa fields will receive a paltry fraction of the \$3 billion Ivorian cocoa fetches on the world market.

In an article headlined, "War inflates cocoa prices but leaves Africans poor," *New York Times* reporter Alan Cowell noted that speculative traders cashed in on high cocoa prices by shortchanging the farmers, "buying their beans cheaply and selling at big profits."

Salifou Kabore, an Ivory Coast farmer who moved there from Burkina Faso when he was five years old, said, "I've heard that prices of commodities are going up." But instead of being able to gain from the high prices, "we are forced to live like rats, hidden away in our home," he said.

Even before the war working people in the Ivory Coast, many of whom labor on the cocoa and coffee plantations, were being devastated by the world economic crisis. Falling cocoa prices and political turmoil exacerbated an economic downturn in 1999 and 2000. A slump in world cocoa prices began in September 1998 and collapsed to a 27-year low of \$714 per ton in November 2000.

Life expectancy in the semicolonial country is less than 45 years and the illiteracy rate is more than 50 percent. Government debt to imperialist banks is \$13.9 billion.

With the second largest economy in the region and relatively higher living standards than many of its neighbors, Ivory Coast has been a magnet for people from nearby countries who come to work in its vast cocoa fields. About 30 percent of Ivory Coast's 16 million people are immigrants. Three million of the 5 million immigrant workers are from Burkina Faso.

Since it colonized West Africa, Paris has fostered religious and social divisions in Ivory Coast between Christians and Muslims as well as between the native-born and immigrants. The government and paramilitary forces have been waging assaults on immigrants and on the primarily Muslim population in the northern half of the country where the rebel soldiers have taken control and many of them originate.

## 'Homeland security' legislation provides for gov't spying on private records of millions

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

One provision of the recently adopted Homeland Security Act that has drawn some attention is a program designed to allow federal cop agencies to spy more freely on many aspects of the private lives of U.S. residents. Named the Total Information Awareness (TIA) program, it aims to establish what the Pentagon describes as one "centralized grand database," with information gathered by government snooping on e-mail messages, travel and telephone records, bank transactions, and credit card purchases of millions of people.

The Senate and the House voted in mid-November to create the cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, which will merge 22 federal agencies, including the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Customs Service, Coast Guard, Secret Service, and the new Transportation Security Administration. The move will centralize and streamline many of the operations already carried out by these federal agencies, including domestic spying. The measure was first proposed last year by Democratic senator Joseph Lieberman. The Bush administration initially opposed the bill—drafted largely by Democrats—but ended up backing a bipartisan version of it.

One attack on workers' rights codified by the Homeland Security Act is a curb on union rights for the 170,000 federal employees of the newly created department. The law gives bosses more leeway to hire, fire, and discipline these workers, and maintains executive powers to lift workers' union protection in the name of "national security."

The Total Information Awareness provision in the new law would allow federal authorities to "mine" information gathered from both commercial and government sources—from credit card purchases to medical prescriptions to Internet use. U.S. officials say the information would be used to define an "information signature" of individuals—that is, their patterns of everyday life, ties to organizations, and other legal activities.

Pentagon spokesperson Jan Walker justified this domestic spying operation, which

has a \$200 million budget, by saying it would enable Washington to "successfully pre-empt and defeat terrorist acts."

Office of Information Awareness head John Poindexter, a retired Navy admiral and former national security adviser, said the program is designed to give federal cops instant access to personal information without a search warrant. To implement the measure, the government would first have to amend the Privacy Act of 1974, which sets legal limits on what government agencies can do with private information.

One of the sharpest critics of the Total Information Awareness program has been conservative columnist William Safire. In a November 14 opinion piece titled "You Are Suspect," he condemned the "Orwellian" TIA for giving the government the "power to snoop on every public and private act of every American."

In a November 18 editorial, the *New York Times* criticized the TIA as "a snooper's dream." The liberal editors complained that the program would be "unchecked by Congress," and declared that "T.I.A. needs immediate oversight" to make sure it doesn't go beyond the stated goal of "enhancing national security."

Meanwhile, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review ruled November 18 that the U.S. government has broad new powers under the USA Patriot Act, enacted last year, to use wiretaps for prosecuting individuals labeled "terrorists." Removing a formal wall between officials from the intelligence and criminal arms of the Justice Department, the ruling allows criminal prosecutors to take an active role in deciding how to use wiretaps authorized by the court.

This top-secret court was established 24 years ago to allow the FBI and other cop agencies to obtain a warrant without going to a regular court. In that time it has approved more than 10,000 wiretaps for federal snoops, never having turned down a single request.

Attorney General John Ashcroft called the ruling a "giant step forward" and announced that he would rapidly increase the number

of requests for new wiretaps and surveillance orders.

In a related development, bosses at private companies have been using a "watch list" of individuals provided by the FBI a year ago, the *Wall Street Journal* reported November 19. The FBI circulated the list to banks, travel reservation systems, firms that collect consumer data, truckers, and others, asking the companies to collaborate in tracking down these individuals. The big-business daily reported that "some companies fed a version of the list into their own databases and now use it to screen job applicants and customers."

## From Pathfinder

### Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation

by Larry Seigle  
in *New International* No. 6

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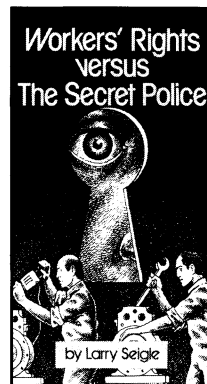
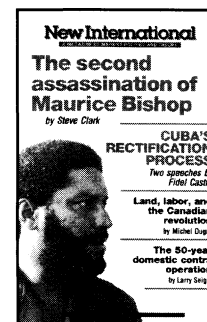
### Workers' Rights versus the Secret Police

by Larry Seigle

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Spanish-language pamphlet includes "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation." **\$7**



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# Garment workers in Argentina beat back cop assault

Continued from front page

employed person" and "Workers at Brukman fight for nationalization under workers control."

Argentina remains in a state of economic collapse, with the burden falling hardest on workers and farmers. On November 14, the country's government, running low on reserves, defaulted on an \$805 million loan repayment to the World Bank, saying it would resume payments when the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed to restore a credit line. The decision makes Argentina ineligible for any new lending from the bank.

The IMF cut off loans to Argentina at the end of last year after the government was unable to keep up its debt payments. The economic crisis precipitated an explosion of antigovernment demonstrations, forcing the resignation of President Fernando de la Rúa. The government defaulted on Argentina's record \$141 billion debt to international investors.

In January, a new president appointed by Congress, Peronist Eduardo Duhalde, devalued the national currency, the peso, leading to a jump in prices of food and other necessities and a drastic cut in living standards for millions. The imperialist creditors continue to press the government to carry out brutal austerity measures that will squeeze working people even further.

A wave of bankruptcies and layoffs has swept the country. In the impoverished northern provinces, infant malnutrition is rearing its head. Argentine workers, who for decades had higher living standards than other parts of Latin America, are stunned to see photos of skeleton-like children in Tucumán province and other rural areas.

Protests by workers and other sections of

the population against the effects of the economic crisis continue to seethe on a daily basis. Some 10,000 unemployed and retired workers marched through Buenos Aires November 7 to demand jobs and unemployment pay. The official jobless rate has jumped above 21 percent.

By standing up to the bosses and government, the workers at Brukman have become heroes in the eyes of many working people throughout Argentina. The employers have been looking for a way to get rid of this "bad" example. On March 16, at the request of the owners of Brukman, a judge ordered the police to evict the workers. The cops broke into the premises but were forced to withdraw in face of an outpouring of support from other workers.

**'If they touch one, they touch us all'**

This time they tried again. In a press statement headlined "If they touch one of us they touch us all," the Brukman workers reported that at 6:00 a.m. on November 24, some 200 federal and city cops, including a specialized unit called the Hawks, accompanied by fire trucks and water cannon, surrounded the plant. There were only six workers in the plant, doing guard duty. The cops raided the plant, beating and arresting those inside, while breaking computers and machinery and taking company documents. They accused the workers of "usurping" the factory.

An individual arriving to relieve her co-workers saw the police operation and spread the word to workers' and other organizations. Hundreds of workers rushed to the scene, including those engaged in struggle from Pepsico, rail workers, telephone workers, organizations of unemployed workers, members of neighborhood assemblies, uni-



**Above: workers from Brukman sewing factory and supporters protest outside the Buenos Aires plant November 24 to demand withdrawal of the cops who had stormed the building to bust up the occupation. Right: police mount a show of force outside the factory. In face of the outpouring of protest, the cops were forced to retreat and the workers resumed their occupation.**



versity students, and the human rights group Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, as well as members of left-wing parties.

"I received a phone call in the morning," said Leo Norriella, a worker from the Pepsico snacks plant, in a November 24 phone interview. "When I got there the street was full of people denouncing the police. The cops were already pulling out—the judge had decided to withdraw his eviction order—and the workers took back the plant. We held a rally that afternoon of 600 people, where the workers condemned the brutal treatment by the police."

He said the workers called a protest rally for November 26 and a march the following day.

The workers at Pepsico, on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, have been waging a fight of their own against arbitrary firings. Norriella, a shop steward who had been suspended because of his support to fired

workers, recently won his job back.

The workers at Brukman have received support from others conducting plant occupations, from the Chilavert printing plant to the Panificación Cinco bakery. Above all they have forged ties with workers at the Zanón ceramic tile factory in the southwestern province of Neuquén, who are waging a similar fight.

A group of Zanón workers who were in Buenos Aires at the time were among the first to respond to the appeal for help when the police raided the plant. In Neuquén they have launched a campaign in solidarity with their sisters at Brukman.

"We unconditionally defend our brothers and sisters at Brukman who are defending their inalienable right to a job," said the Zanón workers in a November 25 statement. "We continue to demand the expropriation of the factory and nationalization under workers control, just like Zanón."

## Pathfinder Fund hits 110 percent!

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The strong finish in the international campaign to raise \$105,000 for the Pathfinder Fund has continued past the November 17 deadline. Last week's *Militant* reported the

victory in surpassing the goal with more than \$107,000 raised.

As the chart on this page shows, supporters of Pathfinder have now turned in a total of more than \$115,000—almost 110 percent of the goal!

The funds raised are necessary to ensure the continued production of Pathfinder's arsenal of books on revolutionary, working-class politics.

Contributions raised in the 11-week drive are also critical for new books being published to meet the needs of working people in struggle, including *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Tomás Díez Acosta, and *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* in both English and Spanish. In the coming months Pathfinder will also produce editions of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* in French and Spanish, and a new issue of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

The revolutionary books Pathfinder Press publishes are currently on display at the Guadalajara International Book Fair in Mexico, the largest of its kind in Latin America, and at the congress of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), also taking place in Guadalajara.

### Final collection

With this victory in hand, supporters of Pathfinder now have a final mopping-up operation to carry out. There are still almost \$3,000 in pledges made across the United States and internationally that are yet to be collected. Collecting all these remaining pledges and sending them in will be the finishing touch to a job well done.

Contributions to the fund can be made out to Pathfinder and mailed to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

### \$105,000 Pathfinder Fund Final scoreboard

	Goal	Paid	%
Twin Cities MN	5,000	6,137	123%
Western CO	2,600	2,906	112%
Tampa FL	2,000	2,222	111%
Charlotte NC	3,500	3,884	111%
Washington DC	3,000	3,315	111%
NY Garment District	6,000	6,615	110%
Cleveland OH	1,700	1,870	110%
Des Moines IA	1,200	1,305	109%
Birmingham AL	3,100	3,371	109%
Seattle WA	7,500	8,090	108%
Houston TX	4,500	4,803	107%
Chicago IL	5,500	5,794	105%
Detroit MI	3,000	3,154	105%
NY Upper Manhattan	5,000	5,250	105%
Newark NJ	4,300	4,514	105%
San Francisco CA	8,500	8,910	105%
Omaha NE	900	925	103%
Philadelphia PA	5,000	5,083	102%
Atlanta GA	4,250	4,305	101%
Northeast PA	1,200	1,215	101%
Miami FL	2,100	2,125	101%
Pittsburgh PA	4,200	4,220	100%
Los Angeles CA	9,500	9,509	100%
Tucson AZ	150	150	100%
Boston MA	3,500	3,335	95%
Other		1,071	
U.S. total	97,200	104,077	107%
Sweden	1,400	1,798	128%
New Zealand	1,500	1,727	115%
Australia	1,500	1,658	111%
France	400	420	105%
Canada	4,500	4,645	103%
United Kingdom	1,200	1,200	100%
Iceland	150	0	0%
<b>International total</b>	<b>105,000</b>	<b>115,525</b>	<b>110%</b>

## Pension funds suffer big losses

Continued from front page

plunge in value since the Great Depression. Any significant withdrawal from stock ownership by pension plans would rattle wealthy investors and undermine an already shaky stock market.

The nation's largest pension fund system, California Public Employees Retirement System (CalPERS), has lost \$43 billion since the end of June 2000. The assets of the fund, which provides health and retirement benefits for 1.3 million workers, dropped from \$172 billion to \$128 billion—a 25 percent decline. About 58 percent of the fund's portfolio is invested in corporate stocks.

Another state pension fund hit by huge losses is that of New Jersey, which pays the retirement benefits of 600,000 state employees. Officials managing the state's pension accounts invested aggressively during the Wall Street boom years of the 1990s, inflating the value of the fund's assets to \$94 billion. Since 2000, however, the pension fund has lost more than \$26 billion.

### Corporate giants face pension crisis

Major corporations now saddled with pension deficits include Exxon/Mobil, General Motors, Ford, IBM, Delta Airlines, and Goodyear. Some, like Polaroid and Bethlehem Steel, have gone bankrupt.

Earlier this year GM, which has the country's largest corporate pension fund, announced it would pour \$2.2 billion into its pension plan to fill the \$9 billion hole caused by stock losses. The move could bite into its pretax earnings by as much as \$1.37 a share, depressing its stock even more. Since the auto giant made the announcement its stock value has stumbled, hitting a one-year low in September.

The two-and-a-half year decline in stock market values has created a yawning gap between corporate promises to pay pensioners and the value of assets used to finance this. During that time, 50 of the nation's biggest companies have lost more than 90 per-

cent of their combined pension surpluses. More than half of those businesses are running deficits, with nine of them at least \$1 billion in the hole, reports Milliman USA, a Houston-based pension-consulting firm.

In a recent report by Credit Suisse First Boston, the businesses comprising the Standard and Poor's 500 companies are facing a whopping \$243 billion shortfall in pension funding by the end of the year. "Keep an eye out as we break past the end of the year," said Adrien LaBombarde, who conducted a pension study for Milliman USA. Pension problems "will be 10 times bigger at the end of the year, when the financial statements start showing this," she said.

### Pension funds shift investments to stock

Prior to the 1980s many public pension funds were prohibited from investing in the corporate stocks—a legacy of the 1929 stock market crash that precipitated the Great Depression.

The shift from bonds to stocks became more attractive as large company stocks netted yearly profits of 15 percent beginning in 1981, while treasury bills averaged 6 percent, asserted Thomas Healy, an advisory director at the Wall Street investment firm Goldman Sachs.

Many of the Fortune 500 companies reported earnings growth that came from pension income. According to one estimate, pension investments accounted for as much as 30 percent of those companies' profits.

Guided by previous profits from stock investments, CalPERS recently announced it would continue its heavy reliance on stocks and modestly expand investments in real estate and corporate stocks. Board members said CalPERS would reduce its bond holdings, the least risky of investments. Such an investment strategy, however, could lead to even greater losses if stock prices continue to fall.

If the market decline deepens, lower earn-

Continued on Page 11

# Revolutionary leader speaks in New England on 'Cuba and Africa'

Continued from front page

lutionary struggle, and said he had recently read Dreke's book *From the Escambray to the Congo, In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*.

Dreke joined the popular struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in the 1950s, reaching the rank of captain in the Rebel Army. Following the 1959 revolutionary victory, when workers and farmers took power, he was one of the commanders of the forces that combated and eventually defeated the U.S.-financed and directed counterrevolutionary guerrilla bands that murdered and terrorized peasants in the Escambray mountains of central Cuba.

In 1965 Dreke was second in command, under Ernesto Che Guevara, of a unit of 128 Cuban volunteer combatants who fought alongside Congolese national liberation fighters against a pro-imperialist government. Later, in 1966-68 he served as head of Cuba's military mission to Guinea-Bissau, where Cuban troops trained soldiers led by Amílcar Cabral in the fight for independence against Portuguese colonial rule.

At the University of Massachusetts, Dreke took note of Cuba's recent diplomatic victory at the United Nations General Assembly, which condemned the U.S. trade embargo against the island in a vote of 173 to 3—with only the governments of the United States, Israel, and the Marshall Islands voting against the resolution. Washington has maintained its aggressive policy for more than four decades because of revolutionary Cuba's example in the world, including its history of extending solidarity with national liberation struggles around the globe.

In 1953, after Cuban revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro launched an assault on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba, marking the opening of the Cuban Revolution, Castro laid out the goals of the revolution in a speech at his trial, known today as "History Will Absolve Me." The goals of that program have been largely achieved since the revolution's triumph, Dreke said. He challenge anyone to read the speech and "underline what hasn't been carried out."

When he and other Cuban combatants went to the Congo in 1965 at the request of supporters of Congo president Patrice Lumumba, who had been assassinated by U.S. and Belgian-backed forces, Dreke said, "Africa was standing up. After the murder of Lumumba, most of the Congo rose up, arms in hand, to fight for true independence," he said. Resistance to imperialism was also rising in Ghana, Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea-Conakry, as well as in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

More than a decade later, at the request of

the government, Cuba sent volunteers to aid Angolan forces in repelling an invasion of the South African army, Dreke said. "Cubans went to help Angolans defend their independence," Dreke explained, "when South African troops were barely 25 kilometers outside of Luanda [Angola's capital], with all the weapons these racists had—including tactical nuclear weapons." The defeat of the South African army "was a crushing defeat for that racist force, helping bring down apartheid."

Asked the next day at the Brown University meeting about South Africa's nuclear weapons, Dreke replied, "The United States was very much responsible for this situation. The force the U.S. government had prepared in the region was the racist South African army. When South Africa was defeated, the U.S. government felt the defeat, too." Dreke recommended those interested in the subject read *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* by Piero Gleijeses, which describes the internationalist record of Cuba in southern Africa.

The meeting was covered favorably by the campus weekly *Mass Media*.

After the UMB meeting, Dreke spoke at a dinner and reception in nearby Jamaica Plain attended by some 50 people, including a number of Cuban-Americans from the area and many from the Boston area Cuba solidarity organization, the July 26 Coalition.

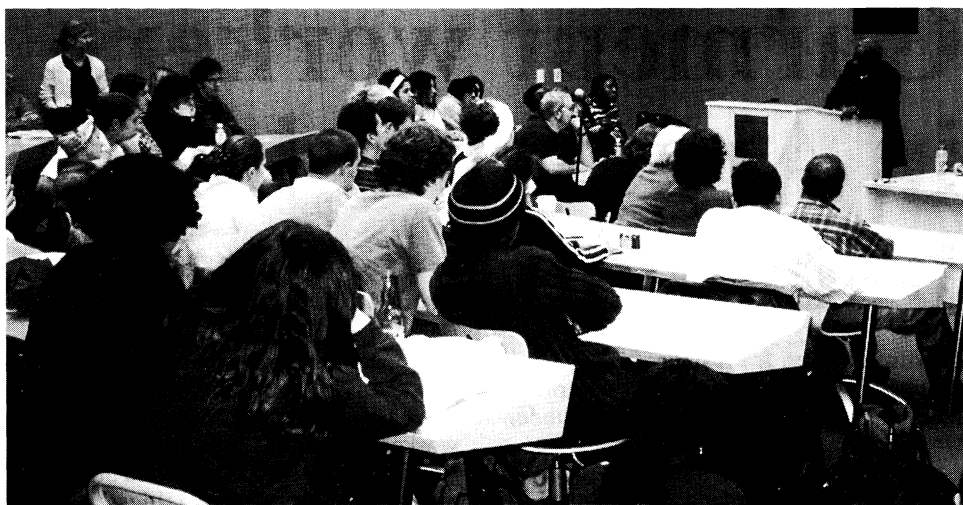
On the following day, Morales and Dreke were given a tour of the Boston University Medical Center by Dr. Alan Meyers, an assistant professor in the Pediatric medicine department, and introduced to other medical personnel.

The next day at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies, Prof. Anani Dzidzienyo hosted a lunch discussion with Dreke for interested students and faculty. Dzidzienyo, born in Ghana, is a professor of Africana Studies as well as Portuguese and Brazilian studies.

The meeting at Brown University was a standing-room-only event attended by more than 120 people. The crowd, made up in its majority of Brown students, included people from the Providence area, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. Dzidzienyo chaired the event, which was sponsored by the Africana Studies Department, the Center for Latin American Studies, and the Francis Wayland Collegium for Liberal Learning.

## Anticolonial struggles

In his talk Dreke described some of the challenges confronted in the anticolonial struggles in Africa. In what is now the Republic of Guinea, a French colony until 1958, the national liberation struggle led by Ahmed Sekou Touré wrested independence from Paris. The colonial rulers tried to undercut the movement by holding a plebiscite, but the majority voted solidly for independence. The French rulers responded viciously, seeking to punish the Guinean people and warn others of the consequences of winning independence. "They took ev-



Militant photos: top, Sarah Ullman; left, Charles Williamson

**Above, Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke speaks to students at Brown University in Rhode Island. Left, Dreke and Cuban doctor Ana Morales talk with youth at University of Massachusetts in Boston. Dreke explained Cuba's role in joining national liberation struggles in Angola, the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, and elsewhere in Africa.**

everything with them; they even ripped out the electrical wires and telephone poles and threw them into the ocean. That was their answer to the cry of freedom of these people," Dreke said. Despite the obstacles, the peoples of Africa won their independence and there was no going back, so Paris, London, and other imperialist powers changed their method from direct colonial rule to other forms of imperialist domination. "They would seek out Africans in each country to act in the interests of the imperialists," Dreke explained. "They tried to train Amílcar Cabral with the hope that he would become the newest exploiter of the peoples of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. People in the United States have seen these kinds of methods—finding people who will sell out and betray their own people," he said.

Instead, Dreke said, Cabral remained loyal to the cause of the sovereignty and independence of his country. Cabral was the founder and central leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), which in 1963 took up arms against Portuguese colonial rule, winning independence for Guinea-Bissau in 1974 and Cape Verde in 1975. Cabral was assassinated in 1973.

## Congo mission

Dreke described how the unit of Cuban combatants commanded by Guevara arrived secretly to escape detection by U.S. intelligence. During the time that Guevara had dropped out of sight, he said, Washington spread slanders about the Cuban revolutionary leadership. "The U.S. government and others claimed that Che had been assassinated, or that he was fighting in the Dominican Republic with revolutionaries there."

Dreke was asked about Cuba's relationship with Francisco Caamaño, a military officer in the Dominican Republic who ended up leading the mass resistance in that country to the 1965 invasion by some 40,000 U.S.

marines. "Caamaño is one of the most respected and beloved leaders in Cuba," Dreke replied. "At one point, Caamaño's forces almost succeeded in taking over Santo Domingo, but victory for the anti-imperialist forces was blocked by the U.S. troops." With the defeat of the 1965 Dominican revolt, Cuba granted Caamaño refuge.

Ana Morales was asked about the treatment of the elderly and the mentally ill in Cuba. She explained that in Cuba mental patients are treated like human beings, not prisoners as they were in pre-revolutionary Cuba. In the hospitals they are free to move around, organize cooking and cleaning, participate in productive work such as furniture workshops, and play in musical groups.

Morales also described day-care houses organized for the elderly in the communities they live in, and morning exercise programs that many senior citizens participate in.

A Community College of Rhode Island student asked, "What steps can Americans take to provide health care and education to everyone?"

"Every country has its own conditions and character," Morales replied, "and you yourselves will have to figure out what to do here. But what was needed in Cuba was a socialist revolution," she said, to applause.

Dreke urged those in the audience to learn about the five Cuban revolutionaries—Gerardo Hernández, René González, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Fernando González—who have been framed up and imprisoned by the U.S. government. The five, convicted of a range of charges including conspiracy to commit espionage and murder conspiracy, were on an internationalist mission to defend their country and revolution by gathering information on U.S.-based counterrevolutionary groups that have launched attacks on Cuba with U.S. government complicity. Committees around the country are taking up their defense and demanding their release.

# Reality check for 'Miami Herald' editors

BY JACK WILLEY

On November 13, Victor Dreke spoke at a broadly sponsored public meeting of 250, largely students, at Florida International University's north campus in Miami. It was the first time a leader of the Cuban Revolution has spoken in that city. The day before he had addressed an equally successful event at the University of South Florida in Tampa (see coverage in last week's *Militant*).

A week later, the *Miami Herald* ran an editorial titled, "A revolutionary visits FIU: University had little advance notice." The editors plaintively called the fact that Dreke spoke in Miami "disappointing and troubling."

The *Herald* editors complained, "Most worrisome is the fact that the State Department issued a visa to Victor Dreke Cruz, a former security official from a country on

the U.S. terrorism list.... The lapse highlights the State Department's continuing inability to screen properly those entering this country."

Fifteen or 20 years ago, such a meeting would likely not have been possible. Rightist forces hostile to the Cuban Revolution, backed by the government, would have intimidated academic forces from inviting Dreke, and any public meeting would have been physically assaulted and disrupted.

This time, demands by rightists on the university to cancel the event failed. Despite days of campaigning on local radio stations, ultrarightists were unable to muster more than a couple dozen counterprotesters, and would-be disrupters inside the auditorium were deflated by the breadth of the speakers platform and the role of numerous students in defending the meeting.

The *Herald* editorial admits, in effect, that Miami's wealthy rulers were unable to prevent Victor Dreke—a commander of the Cuban Revolution—from speaking on what they view as their turf. In a telling sign of weakness, they are reduced to appealing to the State Department to deny visas to such visitors before they can get to Miami.

University president "Modesto Maidique defended the visit as an exercise in academic freedom and freedom of speech.... He is right," the editorial concedes. In past decades, of course, Miami authorities often did not bother to give lip service to free speech. They backed ultrarightists who would routinely brand as "communist" anyone who disagreed with them and righteously claim they had been "provoked" into a physical assault by their victim.

Times have changed, more than the *Herald* editors even realize.

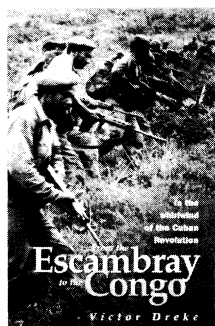
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# Israel's Likud-Labour coalition breaks up

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In face of continuing war-weariness by the Israeli population combined with more than 10 percent unemployment and other signs of a deep recession, the Likud-Labour coalition government in Israel broke apart in late October. Without a guarantee of a parliamentary majority, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon called elections for January 28.

The run-up to the vote has been shadowed both by economic stagnation and by the conflict in the occupied territories, as Palestinians continue to react against the occupation and frequent military assaults mounted by the Israeli army.

In the West Bank town of Tulkarm, for example, as Israeli soldiers have reinforced their blockade of the city, youths calling themselves the "Striking Force" repeatedly hurl rocks at military patrols. On November 20, soldiers shot and killed one of these youths, 14-year-old Amr Qudsi, as he fled across rooftops. Army spokesmen claimed they had caught Qudsi throwing gasoline bombs. "They're lying," said Saed, 15, who carried the wounded boy to an ambulance. "We only had stones." Similar scenes are repeated throughout the occupied territories.

## Leadership challenge

Sharon faces a challenge for the Likud coalition's leadership from former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, whom he roped in as a temporary foreign minister following the coalition's demise. Netanyahu has cast himself as more hard-line than his rival, implying that Sharon's policies are to blame for Palestinian suicide bombings, and calling for the expulsion of Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat.

In the race for the Labour Party candidacy, Haifa mayor and former general Amram Mitzna defeated Ben-Eliezer, who served as defense minister under Sharon until the Labour-Likud coalition split. Mitzna, posing as an "outsider," advocates a combination of harsh military measures and negotiations with Palestinian leaders as he tries to make up ground against Sharon among frustrated Israelis who see no end to the war.

In contrast to Sharon's position of refusing to talk until there are no more Palestinian attacks, Mitzna calls for opening up negotiations while at the same time unleashing repression on the Palestinians. He said, "We will fight terror as if there is no one to talk to and we will talk as if there is no terror."

The *Jerusalem Post* reported that Mitzna is "committed to separation from the Palestinians." That separation would be effected, he said, "through agreement and peace if [the Palestinians] want, and unilaterally, if they don't want it."

The Labour leader also supports the construction of a "security fence" around Palestinian areas of the West Bank. He has called for the withdrawal in one year of Israeli soldiers and settlers from Gaza and the maintenance of a military cordon around the impoverished area.

As commander of forces in the West Bank during the 1987-92 Palestinian rebellion, or *intifada*, Mitzna was notorious for enforcing

the army policy of breaking the arms of stone-throwing-youths.

Yasir Arafat and other leaders of the Palestinian Authority welcomed Mitzna's selection as Labour candidate. "Our hands will be extended for the peace of the brave, which I have signed with my partner Yitzhak Rabin," said Arafat, referring to the Labour prime minister who signed the 1993 Oslo accords and other agreements with Palestinian representatives—deals that granted the Palestinian Authority some administrative control over pockets of territory within the West Bank and Gaza.

"I hope that Mitzna will follow up the same line" as Rabin, added the Palestinian leader.

Pressed by governments in Europe and the Egyptian government, Arafat has been calling on Hamas to suspend suicide bombings in the occupied territories during the election campaign, on the grounds that such attacks allegedly help the electoral chances of the "right wing."

Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi rejected Arafat's call. "I'm shocked at what I hear people keep saying, that the Likud is violent and the Labour [Party] is peaceful," he wrote on November 21. "They are both violent."

## Demolitions of Palestinian houses

Both during and after the coalition government's administration, Tel Aviv has maintained its policy of destroying the family homes of Palestinians accused of being combatants. On November 20-21 two demolitions were reported: one near Khan Yunis in Gaza involving dozens of tanks, which fired in all directions as the bulldozer did its work; another in Tulkarm involving the family home of a Palestinian killed three weeks earlier in a gunfight in an Israeli settlement.

At the same time, tanks and soldiers drove into Bethlehem and surrounded the Church of the Nativity, declaring it a "military zone." A spokesman for Prime Minister Ariel Sharon claimed the attacks were a restrained response to the November 21 suicide bombing of a Jerusalem bus in which 11 people died. Sharon wants to "avoid hindering the American effort to gain international support for a possible assault on Iraq," stated the *New York Times*.

Sharon's Labour- and Likud-dominated coalition government broke up on October 30 after Ben-Eliezer refused to support Sharon's budget proposals, which included substantial cuts to government-provided pensions and benefits for single-parent families—a growing proportion of the population—and university students. The defense minister demanded that money be taken from the subsidies provided to the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

## Economic recession

The cost of the military campaign against the Palestinian resistance has exacerbated the recession that has gripped the economy since the last three months of 2000. The economy contracted by almost 1 percent last year and is expected to record a similar decline in 2002. Inflation is forecast to reach

more than 8 percent by December, an increase of 6.6 percent over the previous year.

Unemployment now stands at 10.4 percent—more than a quarter of a million people—and rising. Labor and Social Affairs Minister Shlomo Benizri announced November 4 that in 2001 one in five Israelis was living below the official poverty line.

"People are buying less because they can't afford large food expenditures," said Yoram Dar, the head of the Blue Square supermarket chain in a company report. "According to Manufacturers Association figures," he added, "average family expenditure on food fell 6.8 percent" in the year ending September.

## Preparations for Iraq war

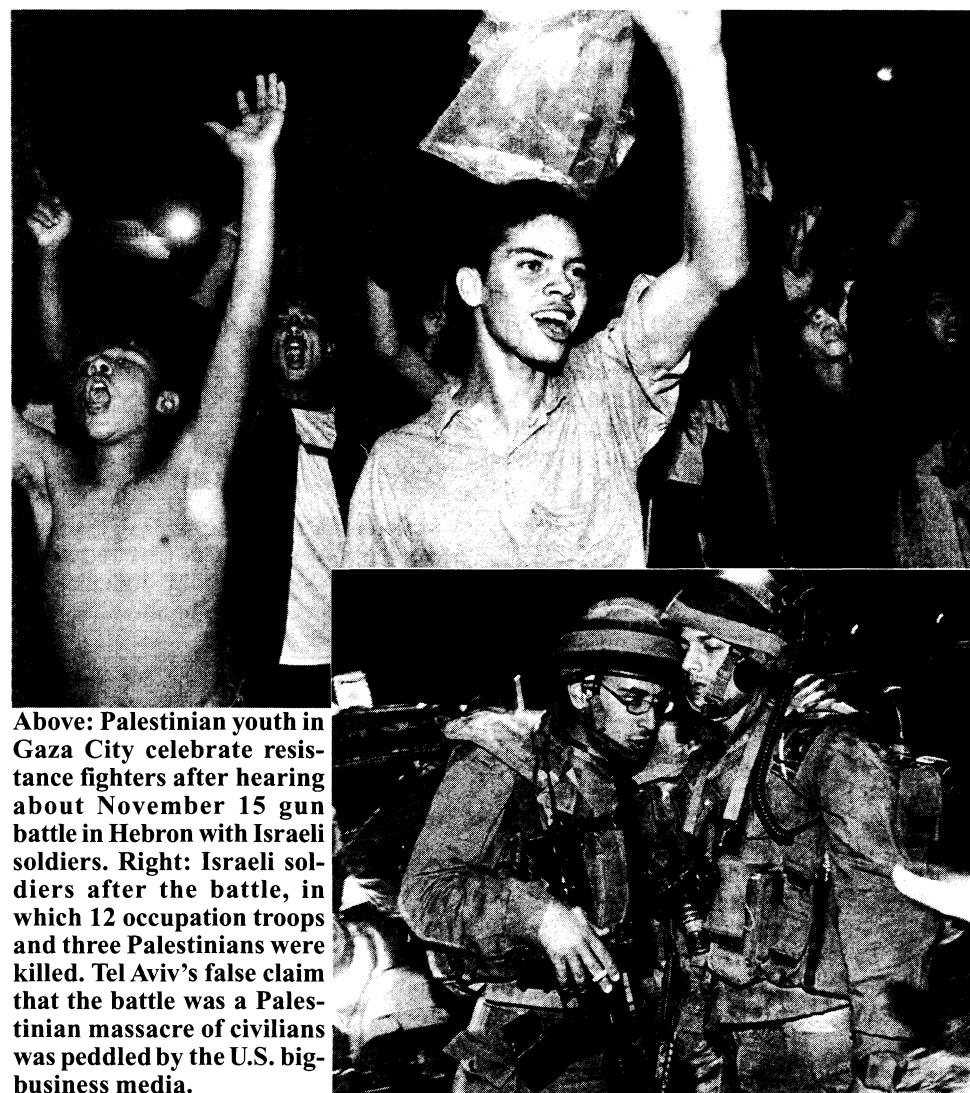
Meanwhile, the Israeli government "is secretly playing a key role in U.S. preparations

for possible war with Iraq," reported *USA Today*. Writing in the November 3 issue, John Diamond reported that the Pentagon has stored up ammunition, fuel, and other supplies in Israel over the past year to be "held in reserve for possible use by U.S. forces in combat contingencies."

Israeli infantry units that have racked up experience in the occupied territories have helped prepare U.S. troops for "urban warfare" in Iraq and elsewhere, wrote Diamond. "The Israelis have built two mock cities" for these war exercises, "complete with mosques, hanging laundry and even the odd donkey."

The reporter added that in recent months Israeli commando teams have slipped into western Iraq to survey possible targets, including the launch pads of Iraq's Scud missiles.

## Capitalist media falsifies Hebron battle as 'massacre by Palestinians'



Above: Palestinian youth in Gaza City celebrate resistance fighters after hearing about November 15 gun battle in Hebron with Israeli soldiers. Right: Israeli soldiers after the battle, in which 12 occupation troops and three Palestinians were killed. Tel Aviv's false claim that the battle was a Palestinian massacre of civilians was peddled by the U.S. big-business media.

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

An example of the lies that the U.S. big-business media casually peddle about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict surfaced in its reporting of a November 15 battle in the West Bank city of Hebron. U.S. newspapers based their first articles on an account by the Israeli government of a "Sabbath massacre" by Palestinians. More accurate accounts of the incident were ignored or buried.

The next day, the liberal "all the news that's fit to print" *New York Times* reported that "Palestinian snipers ambushed Jewish settlers walking home from Sabbath prayers." Other papers, choosing words designed to elicit outrage, also echoed Tel Aviv's official line.

Eric Boehlert tracked the story in a November 19 report for the online magazine Salon.com entitled, "Manufacturing a Massacre."

"The first reports of a so-called civilian massacre originated from the office of [Benjamin] Netanyahu, Israel's newly appointed foreign minister," he wrote. According to this version, Palestinian gunmen "ambushed Jewish worshipers as they walked home from Sabbath prayers, spraying them with gunfire and even tossing grenades.... Israeli soldiers, who escort the worshipers every Friday night, rushed into a dead-end alley to try to help. After a four-hour gun battle, 12 Israelis were dead."

Major U.S. newspapers "rushed to report the gruesome details," reported Boehlert. "Ambush; 12 Israelis Murdered at Prayer" was the front-page headline in the conservative *New York Post*. "Militants ambushed a group of settlers," reported the liberal *Bos-*

*ton Globe*.

In fact, wrote Boehlert, the Palestinian fighters opened fire on the Israeli troops well after the Jewish settlers were in their homes. Three Palestinians died in the firefight. All 12 Israelis killed were soldiers or security guards.

"It wasn't a massacre, it was a battle," Matan Vilnai, a former Israeli general, told the Israeli press. The leader of the Israeli settlement in Hebron described the incident as a "pure military event" and noted that "the worshipers had passed a quarter of an hour before."

"Many news organizations failed to clarify that point," wrote Boehlert. Those newspapers that did report the casualties accurately tended to bury the information, in contrast to their headline coverage of the government's "massacre" story.

Well into the *Times*'s third story on the ambush, for example, the paper noted that "the Israeli Army initially said the attack was on Jewish worshipers, but it appears to have been directed at security forces who guard settlers."

The day after the battle, Israeli soldiers and armored vehicles swept through Hebron. They imposed a curfew and rounded up some 40 Palestinians for questioning. About 1,000 Israeli settlers joined a rally, chanting "revenge" and "death to the Arabs." Made up of only 450 people, the Israeli settlement inside Hebron, a city that is home to 130,000 Palestinians, is maintained by virtue of the heavy Israeli military and police presence. Rightist settlers have stoked anger at their presence by carrying out armed attacks on Palestinians.

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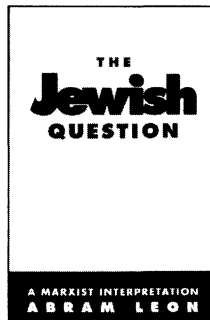
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# Malcolm X: 'You're living at a time

Pathfinder releases new, expanded edition of 'Malcolm X Talks to You

Reprinted below is the preface to the new, expanded second edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, which is just off the presses together with the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud*. Steve Clark is the editor of this collection as well as *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X. He is also the editor of *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83*, and co-author, with Jack Barnes, of "The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity," an article appearing in issue no. 8 of *New Internationalist* magazine. Copyright © 1965, 1970, 1991, 2002 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY STEVE CLARK

Malcolm X seized every occasion to talk with young people. All over the world, it is young people "who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation," he said in January 1965, responding to a question from a young socialist leader in the United States.

They "are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country," he emphasized, "it has been my observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it."

This conviction about the receptivity of youth to a revolutionary message runs throughout the four talks and the interview presented in this expanded second edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. This new edition includes material by Malcolm never before in print, a 1966 tribute to the revolutionary leader, as well as an expanded display of photographs. It is being produced together with a first-ever Spanish-language edition, entitled *Malcolm X habla a la juventud*, which is being released simultaneously by Pathfinder Press and by Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists in Cuba. *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* was first published in 1965 as a Young Socialist pamphlet, and then enlarged into a book in 1991.

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, a Baptist minister, was a follower of Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association. His mother was originally from the Caribbean nation of Grenada. When Malcolm was six, after his family had moved to Lansing, Michigan, his father was murdered by a racist gang.

As a teenager Malcolm lived in Boston



Alice Windom

Malcolm X speaking at University of Ghana on May 13, 1964. "I'm not here to condemn America. I'm here to tell the truth about the situation of Black people in America," Malcolm told students. "And if the truth condemns America, then she stands condemned." The speech is in newly released *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

and New York, where he got involved in petty crime. In 1946 he was arrested and convicted on burglary charges, spending six years in a Massachusetts state prison. It was while behind bars that Malcolm began reading voraciously—world history, philosophy, language, science, literature, whatever he could find in the prison library. And it was there that he developed the attributes—confidence in his own self-worth, the discipline for hard work and concentrated study—that were the foundation stones of his later transformation into a revolutionary political leader.

Malcolm's conversion to the Nation of Islam while in jail was not a political act, nor simply a religious one, in the way those terms are normally understood. It was the particular road along which he pulled his life back together, and became Malcolm X, after living for several years as a street hustler and small-time criminal. In his autobiography, he recounts unflinchingly "how deeply the religion of Islam had reached down into the mud to lift me up,

to save me from being what I inevitably would have been: a dead criminal in a grave, or, if still alive, a flint-hard, bitter, thirty-seven-year-old convict in some penitentiary, or insane asylum."

After being paroled in 1952, Malcolm was soon appointed by Nation leader Elijah Muhammad as one of its ministers, taking the name Malcolm X. He later served as editor of the Nation's newspaper, its national spokesman, and head of its largest unit, New York City's Mosque no. 7 in Harlem. By the opening of the 1960s, Malcolm was politically drawn more and more toward the rising struggles by Blacks and other oppressed peoples in the United States and around the world. He used his platforms in Harlem and Black neighborhoods across the country, as well as on dozens of college campuses, to denounce the policies of the U.S. government both at home and abroad. He campaigned against every manifestation of anti-Black racism and was outspoken in condemning the pillage and oppression of the peoples of Af-

rica, Asia, and Latin America for the profit and power of the U.S. and other imperialist regimes.

"The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America," Malcolm said in a November 1963 talk to a predominantly Black audience in Detroit. "The Cuban Revolution—that's a revolution," he continued. "They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is?"

Seeks 'militant action'

By 1962 it was becoming more and more noticeable that Malcolm was straining against the narrow perspectives of the Nation of Islam, a bourgeois nationalist organization with a leadership bent on finding a separate economic niche for itself within the U.S. capitalist system. He described these growing tensions in a New Year's Day 1965 talk to a group of high-school-age civil rights militants from McComb, Mississippi, which is included in this book. The Nation's hierarchy, Malcolm said, blocked any initiatives by him or others to carry out "militant action, uncompromising action." In April 1962, for example, Elijah Muhammad ordered Malcolm to call off street actions he was organizing in Los Angeles to protest the killing of Nation member Ronald Stokes and the wounding of six other Muslims by city cops.

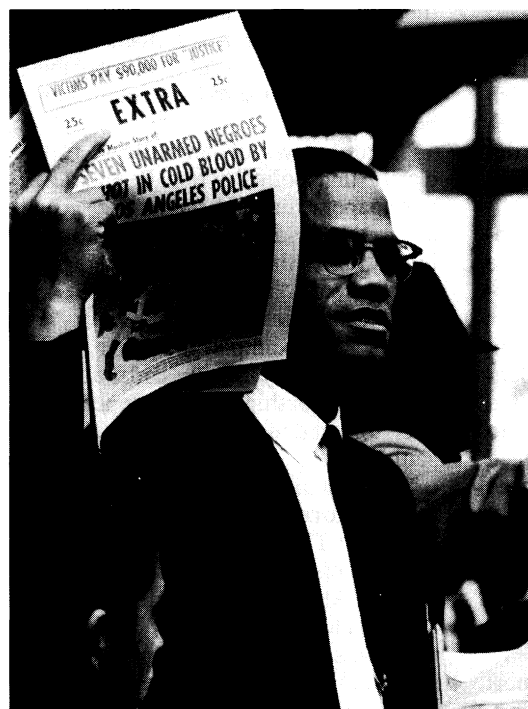
The conflicts that led to Malcolm being forced out of the Nation of Islam came to a head in 1963. In April Malcolm was called by Elijah Muhammad to his winter home in Phoenix, Arizona. There Malcolm learned from the Nation leader himself the truth of rumors then spreading in the organization that Muhammad had engaged in sexual relations with a number of young women belonging to the Nation of Islam then working as staff members. Several of them had become pregnant, and Muhammad had taken advantage of his authority in the Nation to have them subjected to humiliating internal trials and suspended from membership for "fornication."

Coming on top of Malcolm's growing political clashes with the Nation hierarchy, the discovery of this corrupt and hypocritical behavior marked a turning point. "I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas," Malcolm said in a January 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine, printed here. "It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt."

Break with Nation of Islam

In early March 1964, Malcolm announced his decision to break with the Nation of Islam. He and his collaborators initially organized themselves as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. But as Malcolm explained to the youth from McComb, Mississippi, he soon recognized that "there was a problem confronting our people in this country that had nothing to do with religion and went above and beyond religion"—a problem that, because of its magnitude, "a religious organization couldn't attack." So in June he initiated the formation of "another group that had nothing to do with religion whatsoever"—the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), open to all Blacks committed to Malcolm's revolutionary social and political trajectory.

During the final months of 1964 and early 1965, Malcolm won an increasingly wide hearing, not just across the United States but also on several continents among youth and other militants of various races and beliefs. He made two extensive trips to Africa and the Middle East, several short



Left: Gordon Parks; Right: Militant/Valerie Libby

Left, Malcolm X participating in protest in Los Angeles against cop killing of Nation of Islam member Ronald Stokes, May 1963. Right, protest in Cincinnati in April 2001 against police killing of Timothy Thomas, a 19-year-old Black youth.



# of revolution'

## ing People'

trips to Europe, and had scheduled more. One of the four talks in this collection was given in Africa and two in the United Kingdom.

The U.S. government took notice of the increased standing Malcolm was winning worldwide among radicalizing youth and workers. Previously classified government records released in the late 1970s confirm that the FBI had carried out systematic surveillance of him starting in 1953, shortly after he became a minister of the Nation of Islam. But this spying and harassment intensified, both in the United States and during his trips abroad, after Malcolm's break with the Nation and founding of the OAAU. Moreover, declassified records of the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) document how the FBI used agents provocateurs to exacerbate murderous conflicts between groups involved in the Black liberation movement.

### 'Victims of Americanism'

During the last year of his life, Malcolm X spoke out more and more directly about the capitalist roots of racism, of exploitation, and of imperialist oppression. Malcolm never gave an inch to U.S. patriotism, let alone imperialist nationalism. Blacks in the United States are "the victims of Americanism," he said in his May 1964 talk at the University of Ghana,



Militant/Priscilla March

Some 400,000 students in New York boycotted segregated school system, Feb. 3, 1964.

printed here.

Malcolm was an uncompromising opponent of the Democratic and Republican parties—the twin parties of racism and capitalist exploitation. Malcolm urged the McComb, Mississippi, youth not to "run around ... trying to make friends with somebody who's depriving you of your rights. They're not your friends. No, they're your enemies. Treat them like that and fight them, and you'll get your freedom. And after you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you."

In 1964 Malcolm refused to endorse or campaign for Democratic presidential candidate Lyndon Baines Johnson against Republican Barry Goldwater. "The Democratic Party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party," he said in the *Young Socialist* interview. "The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist—he's a racist but not the leading racist.... If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party." It was also the Johnson administration, Malcolm often pointed out, that was presiding over the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam and the slaughter of liberation fighters and villagers in the Congo. The revolutionary integrity underlying this political intransigence in the 1964 elections set Malcolm apart from, and helped earn him the enmity of, just about every other leader of prominent Black

rights organizations or the trade unions, as well as the vast majority of those who called themselves radicals, Socialists, or Communists.

Malcolm X stretched out his hand to revolutionaries and freedom fighters in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and elsewhere. In December 1964 Malcolm, who had demonstratively welcomed Fidel Castro to Harlem four years earlier, invited Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara to speak before an OAAU meeting in Harlem. At the last minute Guevara was unable to attend but sent "the warm salutations of the Cuban people" to the meeting in a message that Malcolm insisted on reading himself from the platform.

On February 21, 1965—ten days after the final talk in this collection, presented at the London School of Economics—Malcolm X was assassinated. He was shot as he began speaking to an OAAU meeting at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. The following year three men, all members or supporters of the Nation of Islam, were convicted of the murder and each given a twenty-year-to-life sentence. One of them, the gunman arrested at the scene, had said from the outset that the two men convicted along with him were not guilty. In 1977 he signed affidavits stating that four other Nation supporters were the ones involved with him, but the case has never been reopened.

### 'Change this miserable condition'

As the interview and talks in these pages show, Malcolm came to recognize that what ties fighters against oppression and exploitation together is their shared revolutionary convictions, commitment, and deeds, not the color of their skin. When he spoke in December 1964 at Oxford University in the United Kingdom, Malcolm ended his presentation, printed here, by saying: "The young generation of whites, Blacks, browns, whatever else there is, you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it.... And I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth."

In the United States, Malcolm X spoke on three occasions—in April and May 1964, and again in January 1965—to large meetings of the Militant Labor Forum in New York City organized by supporters of the revolutionary socialist newsweekly, *The Militant*. This was a departure for Malcolm. Even while still a spokesperson for the Nation of Islam, he had spoken on campuses to audiences that were not predominantly Afro-American. Malcolm's decision to accept the invitation to speak at the Militant Labor Forum, however, was the first time he had agreed to appear on the platform of a meeting outside Harlem or the Black community in any city.

Malcolm told the Young Socialist Alliance leaders who interviewed him a story about a conversation he had had with the Algerian ambassador to Ghana during a trip to Africa in May. The Algerian, Malcolm said, was "a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country)."

Malcolm said when he told the Algerian ambassador "that my political, social, and economic philosophy was Black nationalism, he asked me very frankly: Well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man.... So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries



Militant/Flax Hermes

San Francisco march against Vietnam War, April 15, 1967. Banner reads: "The NLF 'Viet Cong' Never Called Us Nigger." Malcolm backed Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation. In 1965 *Young Socialist* interview, contained in new book, he said U.S. defeat in Vietnam "is only a matter of time."

dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

"So I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of Black nationalism," Malcolm said. "Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as Black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the Black people in this country."

*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* closes with a tribute to this revolutionary leader by Jack Barnes, one of the young socialists who conducted that interview. The tribute was presented shortly after Malcolm's assassination at a March 1965 memorial meeting hosted by the Militant Labor Forum at its hall in Lower Manhattan. Barnes, who was then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, had met with Malcolm a second time a few days after the January 1965 interview, so Malcolm could approve the final text. An article by Barnes describing the interview and discussions, published in the *Militant* newspaper on the one-year anniversary of Malcolm's death, has been added to this new edition.



Malcolm's December 1964 presentation as part of a debate at Oxford University, which was televised to an audience of millions by the British Broadcasting Corporation, appears in full for the first time ever in this 2002 edition. We would like to thank Jan Carew for supplying a recording of Malcolm's entire presentation; only the

concluding portion had previously been available.

The May 1964 speech by Malcolm X at the University of Ghana first appeared in the book *Where To, Black Man? An American Negro's African Diary* by Ed Smith (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967). Smith provided additional information about the Ghana trip, as did Alice Windom, who helped schedule Malcolm's activities during his week-long visit there. Among the highlights were his meetings with the country's parliament and Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah, as well as a farewell dinner in Malcolm's honor hosted by the Cuban embassy. Alice Windom supplied photographs from the Ghana trip, as well.



"One of the first things I think young people ... should learn how to do is see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself," Malcolm told the McComb students at the opening of 1965. "Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself."

This book shows how hard Malcolm X worked to do just that—to help young people step outside the bourgeois influences that surround them and come to decisions for themselves. What's more, it demonstrates how important an element working with young people was in Malcolm's own decision to commit his life to building an internationalist revolutionary movement in the United States, one that could join in the fight worldwide to wipe racism, exploitation, and oppression off the face of the earth.

September 2002

New, expanded edition is now available

## Malcolm X Talks to Young People

**"All over the world, it is young people who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. They are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the conditions that exist."**

—Malcolm X, January 1965

This new, expanded edition includes four talks given to young people in Ghana, the United Kingdom, and the United States in 1964 and 1965; an interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine; and an enlarged display of photographs. In the last months of his life, Malcolm X spoke out more and more directly about the capitalist roots of racism, exploitation, and imperialist oppression. The collection concludes with two memorial tributes to Malcolm X by a young socialist leader. The new English-language edition has been released together with the Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud*. \$15.00 for each book.

Both books can be ordered on-line at [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com). Also available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling of the first book and 50 cents for each additional book.



# Papua New Guinea students, working people protest cop brutality, attacks on land rights

BY BOB AIKEN  
AND RON POULSEN

PORT MORESBY, Papua New Guinea—"We gained popular support. The grassroots were behind us at the time of the police shootings," said Andrew, a third-year psychology student from the University of Papua New Guinea. He was referring to events in June of last year, in which thousands of students and working people mobilized against government privatization plans and threats to communal land tenure. In response, the government mobilized riot cops who killed four demonstrators.

During our October 26-28 reporting trip to this South Pacific nation of 5 million people, the workers, students, and others we met talked about that experience, and indicated that opposition to attempts to implement such "reforms," aimed at benefiting the interests of foreign capital, remains widespread.

World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) officials are pressuring the government in Port Moresby to sell off state-owned enterprises in exchange for loans to bolster the government budget. This effort is backed by the government in Australia, the former colonial ruler of Papua New Guinea, which continues to dominate the country.

Representing the interests of the major imperialist powers, the IMF and the World Bank, whose office for East Timor, Papua New Guinea, and the South Pacific is based in Sydney, are pressing for the establishment of a register of communally owned "custom" land—a first step toward opening up clan lands to capitalist exploitation. Almost all land in Papua New Guinea is held by clans in traditional common ownership. Eighty per cent of the country's people live in the countryside as subsistence farmers, making the land question one of the most explosive issues in the country.

One example of resistance we heard about involved landholders in the Southern Highlands, who shut down the oil pipeline that runs through their territory to demand promised compensation payments. Earlier this year the Porgera gold mine in the Southern

Highlands was closed down for a period after power lines were sabotaged.

Student-initiated protests over the last several years in opposition to imperialist demands have drawn support across the country, including from the small labor movement.

These actions have concretely posed questions of national sovereignty and development. Capitalist investment in Papua New Guinea is geared to stripping the natural resources of the country, particularly gold, copper, lumber, oil and gas. Wealth produced by coffee and coconut small holders is gouged by largely foreign trading companies.

The protests in June of last year, directed at the government of former prime minister Mekere Morauta, marked a high point of the resistance to these plans.

"The whole country was supporting the students," said John Mahuk, a dockworker and president of the Maritime Industrial Workers Union. "People from the shanty towns and elsewhere brought food and water to the protest camp" during the week-long action.

"It was a totally peaceful protest until ignited by the cops," he said (see interview with Mahuk on this page.)

## Land proposal, sell-off of state property

In an open letter published at the time, the protesters called on the government to "suspend the entire privatization scheme, scrap the customary land registration scheme, [and] completely sever ties with the World Bank and IMF." If Morauta was unable to carry out these demands, they said, he should "resign or face more serious protest."

A particular target of popular anger was the Australian High Commission. Papua New Guinea was an Australian colony until independence in 1975, and Australian companies continue to play a leading role in the country's economy, especially its lucrative mining industry. For its part, the Australian government, as the former administering power, continues to intervene in the country's politics, dispensing pressure and



Militant/Bob Aiken

Above: Left, John Mahuk, the president of the dockworkers union in Papua New Guinea, with Militant reporter Ron Poulsen (right) and other dockworkers in Port Moresby. Below: Memorial to protesters killed by police in government crackdown on June 2001 mass demonstrations. Dockworkers were among the many working people who mobilized alongside students in the protests.



## Leader of dockworker union tells of wage fight, support to student actions

BY RON POULSEN

PORT MORESBY, Papua New Guinea—If nothing comes out of current Department of Labour hearings on dockworkers' demands for a wage increase, "union members will strike again," said John Mahuk in an interview with *Militant* reporters on October 28. Mahuk is the national president of the Papua New Guinea Maritime Industrial Workers Union (MIWU), which organized a nationwide strike in June in support of a 20 percent wage claim against the shipping companies organized in the United Stevedores Steamships. The strike lasted six days until the bosses obtained a court injunction ordering the unionists back.

Employed on the docks at Port Moresby, the country's capital, Mahuk is also the president of the Trades Union Congress (TUC). There are some 500 dockworkers in the capital and twice as many in Lae, the main industrial city on the northeast coast.

The MIWU is at the forefront of efforts to gain an income that ensures working people the minimal conditions of life, said the union leader. The base pay rate for dockworkers is K2.65 per hour with higher rates according to skill (1 Kina=US\$0.24). Casual workers get an additional 10 percent to compensate for the fact that they receive no pensions, and no holiday or sick pay.

Mahuk discussed the conditions facing other workers. While those who labor for foreign companies in the gold and copper mines can earn relatively high wages, workers in rural areas are paid much less—around K12-15 per week. Wage workers in the coastal logging areas "are the most exploited of all," he said.

The TUC calls for an increase in the weekly minimum wage to K64. "Nobody can live" on the current level of K24.67, Mahuk said, adding that the higher rate "would still not be enough, but would establish a new baseline, and help to cover the basic cost of living."

The previous government of Mekere Morauta rejected this demand, he said. Morauta was defeated at the ballot box in August in part because of popular memories of the student-led demonstrations in June 2001, and of the police killings of four protesters.

The union leader spoke of the role played by the MIWU in the 2001 events. "We felt the students were a part of us," he said. "We went on strike to show our sympathy." While the MIWU was "the only union to take practical action," he said, "other unions morally supported the students."

Some dockers and other workers went to the campus in support of the protesters and their fight to defend the country's sovereignty against proposals to open it up to deeper penetration by Australian and other imperialist companies.

After the cop killings, the maritime union struck the wharves for two days, adding its voice to the broad popular anger.

The MIWU played an important role in setting up the new Labour Party, "a new thing for the labour force," he said. In the August elections the party won a single seat in the western province. "Support is there but in PNG, money plays an important role," said Mahuk. "If the election had been conducted transparently, the Labour Party would have had quite a few candidates" in parliament.

The MIWU has opposed government plans to sell off institutions like the PNG Harbours Board, the national airline, and the country's telecommunications and electricity enterprises. In the fight against privatization of the harbors, the union has allied itself with the clans who hold traditional common ownership of seafront land, Mahuk said.

Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia. Bob Aiken contributed to this article.

paternalistic advice. This is backed up by Canberra's substantial military forces used to intervene from Afghanistan and Iraq, to Bougainville, the Solomon Islands, and East Timor, as well as by Australia's economic predominance in the region.

Faced with these growing protests and unsure of the reliability of the army's rank and file soldiers, and even the Port Moresby cops, the Morauta government flew in riot police from other parts of the country.

"For the first time, police came onto the campus," said Julienne Kaman, a lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby. "They were riot police from Mount Hagen [in Papua New Guinea's highlands] in camouflage, shooting with high-powered rifles."

"Two students and two outsiders were shot," said Kaman. "They just went out [of the campus dormitory area where they had fled] with their hands up and got shot."

## Mass protest

After the deaths students "went in all directions to gather support," Kaman said. As word of the killings spread, people marched towards the campus from different parts of town, including the squatter settlements, defying police efforts to block them. She described it as a "spontaneous people's movement." Another participant estimated the mobilization to be 10,000-strong.

In response, "Australian intelligence went to work," Kaman said. "Men who openly identified themselves as employees of ASIO [the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation] questioned staff" living in a housing development next to the campus, she said, asking questions about the torching of several cars in the aftermath of the police shootings.

Another activist told of reports that the Australian military is funding, arming and training a rapid deployment force of Papua New Guinea's special police. He also said that the Australian military is guarding a new gas pipeline under construction from Papua New Guinea to Australia.

Morauta "was a total puppet of the IMF, World Bank and Australia," Kaman said, adding that this was the main reason his government was defeated in elections held this year.

In August a new government headed by Michael Somare, who had served as the country's first prime minister after independence, came to office after striking a more nationalist stance in the campaign. The new government has suspended the unpopular privatization program.

Reflecting the deepening political and social crisis unfolding here, some 30 people

were killed during the election period.

A number of students who were identified with the popular mobilizations stood as independents in the election, we were told. Their campaigns were the most open attempt since the police shootings to resume public political activity around the issues. For the first time a Labor Party with links to the country's trade unions also stood candidates.

## Australian pressure for 'reforms'

Today, as tens of millions of dollars in loans from imperialist banks come due for repayment, Australia's rulers continue to take the lead in pressuring the Somare government to carry out "reforms" aimed at protecting the interests of foreign capital.

Canberra provides A\$350 million in annual grants to the Papua New Guinea government tied to specific infrastructure or state projects. This is dubbed "boomerang aid" by students in Papua New Guinea because it is spent primarily to benefit Australian big business (A\$1=U.S. 56 cents).

Canberra also contributed A\$153 million to a A\$500 million loan negotiated through the World Bank two years ago. The Somare government, facing a sharp financial crisis, is asking that repayments on this loan be deferred. Papua New Guinea's debt to the imperialist powers has grown to some US\$2.5 billion, more than 70 percent of the country's gross domestic product. More than a quarter of the government's annual budget goes to loan repayments.

Australian Prime Minister John Howard has declared that there will increasingly be a "linking between aid and good governance. You can't maintain or attract investment if you don't have proper structures of law and order and good governance."

At annual ministerial talks between the Australian and Papua New Guinea governments held in Port Moresby November 15, Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer stated that increased aid would depend on carrying out "reforms," which for the Australian rulers include cutting government spending, beefing up the police, and opening up the country more to foreign capitalist investment.

But this imperialist-dictated course is by no means assured as the new government faces continued popular pressures and resistance. As Mahuk said, it was "the students and labour movement that helped expose the failures of the previous government, contributing to its downfall."

Bob Aiken is a member of the Australasian Meat Employees Union. Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.



# Firefighters in UK strike despite use of troops against union

Continued from front page  
the strike was due to start.

"How the employers thought they could agree to this is completely beyond us," said a spokesman for Prime Minister Anthony Blair. "If people think the government can be held to ransom through strike action, that it can be bounced with uncashed, half-baked proposals in the middle of the night, with little or no modernization to talk about...then they're not living in the real world," he added.

One bosses' spokesman told the *Financial Times* of "sighs of relief [among employers] all over the country that we are not saddled" with the agreement.

The FBU-LGA deal had provided for an immediate 4 percent wage raise and subsequent raises that together amounted to 16 percent over 12 months, along with a procedure for negotiating changes in working practices.

The union had earlier rejected a proposal that made the 16 percent award conditional on the implementation of specific changes demanded by employers.

The FBU originally staked a claim for an hourly take-home pay of £8.50, a 40 percent raise over current levels. (£1 = US\$1.55).

Blair's spokesman attacked the union for defending working practices that he claimed had been "set in formaldehyde for 25 years." "Until the FBU gets serious about modernization," he said, "it is difficult to see how this is going to be resolved."

## 'Modernization' means cuts

"It's not 'modernization,' it's cuts" said David Mackie, a firefighter for 10 years at Crewe Toll station at the Glasgow rally. The government and employer proposals for changes in working practices would mean slashing jobs and service, he said.

"The government is trying to break the union," said a woman FBU member from Toll Cross, "because they want cuts and they know the union will fight it."

"We're not going to give in to blackmail," Mackie added, referring to claims by government ministers that the strike is putting lives at risk.

In London, the FBU issued an appeal for other trade unionists to visit the picket lines at the capital's 114 fire stations. Pickets at the Kingsland fire station in Dalston said they were prepared for a long haul as they described the huge support they continued to receive.

Construction workers from a nearby building site had dropped off scaffolding and other materials for the construction of a weatherproof picket shed, they said, while truck drivers frequently stopped to offer

wooden pallets as fuel for the brazier and workers from a local bakery had delivered doughnuts and cakes.

Passing cars hooted in support and pedestrians dropped money into their collection bucket.

The government is frightened that "if our employer pays us the increase, other public sector workers will line up for the same," said Mark Longhurst, a picket at the Southwark fire station in south London. "This government has let them down too. They promised better health and public services and now they've sold them to private companies. You only have to look at the railways. You can't improve services if the profits go into a few individuals' pockets."

## Much at stake for employers

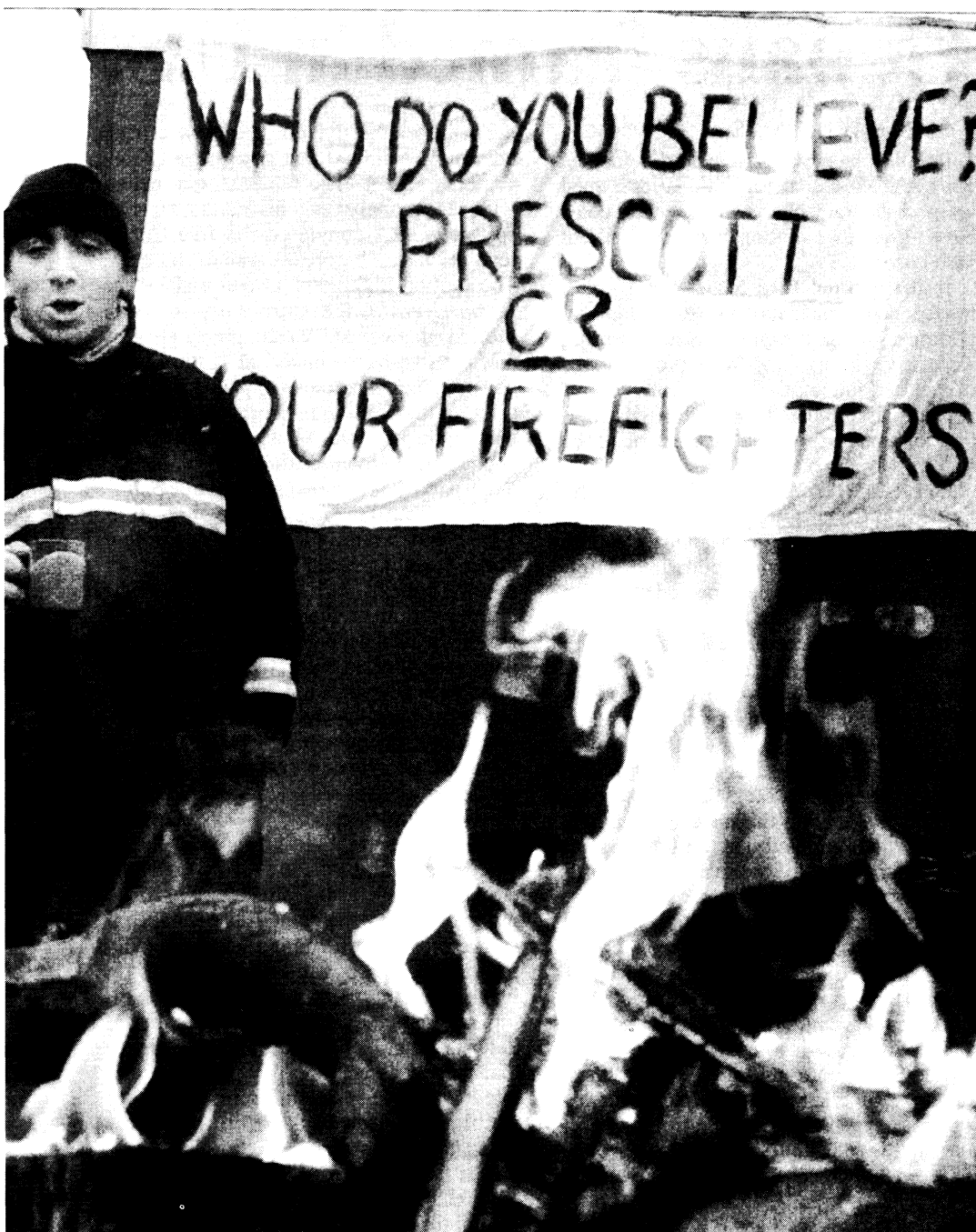
Much "will be lost if the battle lines now drawn are not held," editorialized the *London Times* on November 23. The big-business daily backed the government's intervention against the "unconscionable" November 22 agreement and attacked the FBU's "cavalier decision to go ahead with a strike."

Britain's fire services "operate under a framework laid down in 1936," claimed the editorial. "Efforts to reform FBU restrictive practices have been blocked by union obduracy."

In the eyes of the editors, "The future of industrial relations is now on the line.... At stake now is not only discipline in public sector pay, but the whole thrust of Thatcher-era labour reforms."

"New Labour is at its best, Mr. Blair told his party in September, when it is boldest. He should not have had to walk through fire to prove it; but now that the FBU has put him and the country to the test, he must do so."

Confederation of British Industry director general Digby Jones struck a nationalist note in opposing the FBU campaign. "To have a confrontational element for all of public services does not help in delivering



Picket in Leeds, northern England, displays banner aimed at Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott. "The government is trying to break the union," said one firefighter, "because they want cuts and they know the union will fight it."

what Britain needs," he said.

The Conservative Party leader, Iain Duncan Smith, urged Blair to send troops across picket lines to commandeer fire stations and their equipment. The government rejected such an escalation after it was opposed by Michael Boyce, chief of the defense staff. "I am extremely concerned about the military effectiveness of our armed forces," he said at a November 20 press conference.

The British military is preparing tens of thousands of troops for deployment in the

Middle East as part of the coming invasion of Iraq.

According to the BBC, Boyce "insisted he would not send troops to strike break by crossing FBU picket lines but would expect the police to carry out that sort of operation." The general emphasized "the 'morale and motivation problem' of sending soldiers straight from operations in areas like Bosnia and straight into firefighting duties."

Jonathan Silberman in London contributed to this article.

# Pension fund losses devastate workers

Continued from Page 5

ings may push down stock prices, further depressing pension assets and reducing profits. "The pain will begin to hit corporate bottom lines this year and next as hun-

dreds of companies start recognizing the losses in their earnings report," wrote *Seattle Times* business reporter Alwynn Scott.

Over the past 20 years, employers have been shifting pension burdens onto the backs of working people. In the 1950s and 1960s workers in many workplaces had won pension plans that offered a fixed payout upon retirement, often described as a defined benefit pension plan. This plan is generally based on a formula using the years a worker has accumulated with a company, the worker's salary, and age at retirement. Some 44 million workers are enrolled in defined benefit pension plans, whose financial contributions are the sole responsibility of the employers.

## Alternative pension schemes

As profit margins narrowed over the past two decades, corporations began promoting alternative pension schemes called defined contribution programs, which required workers to match company payments with contributions from their earnings to cover the costs of their living expenses at retirement.

These plans saved the bosses the cost of managing pension funds and premiums for federal pension insurance.

In 1982 bosses across the country began the so-called 401(k) accounts, in which workers set aside a portion of their pay in a tax-deferred investment account chosen by the employers, but there is no guaranteed benefit. The employers also found they could boost profit margins further by trimming the amount they contributed. Now many corporations put up less than 50 cents for every dollar set aside by workers, and

many companies make their contributions in the form of their own shares instead of cash.

When Enron went belly-up, the bosses fired thousands of workers, leaving them with worthless 401(k) accounts and no health insurance. That financial debacle resulted in workers losing an estimated \$5 billion to \$10 billion in pension funds. A similar disaster decimated the retirement savings of employees of WorldCom.

About 55 million employees in the United States are now covered by plans like 401(k).

Delta Airlines, whose pensions are severely underfunded, announced November 18 that all its U.S. employees hired after June 30, except pilots, would be enrolled in a "cash-balance plan" upon retirement instead of the company's defined-benefit pension plan.

Retirees would receive a lump sum instead of monthly payments. This latest round of "cost-cutting" comes on top of \$1 billion in previous cuts, which included plans to eliminate up to 8,000 jobs.

The pension crisis has already had disastrous results for many working people. Gary Gerdman, a machinist for 32 years who retired two years ago from Outboard Marine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, lost \$5,700 per year in pension income when this company of 10,000 employees declared bankruptcy eight months later. All retirees also lost their health insurance with the company, whose pension fund was declared to be underfunded by \$73 million.

"There was no warning," said Gerdman. "Even our union said there was so much money in [the company pension fund], we would never have to worry."

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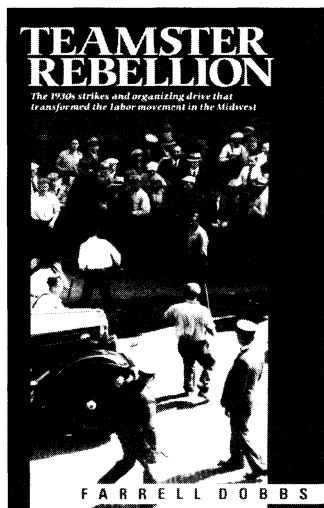
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BY FARRELL DOBBS



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# Cubans framed in U.S. court demand new trial

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Pointing to newly discovered evidence, two of the five Cuban revolutionaries framed up on conspiracy charges in a federal court have joined in a motion for a new trial in their case.

In the motion, filed November 12 with the federal district court in southern Florida, attorney Leonard Weinglass, representing Antonio Guerrero, cited "misrepresentations of fact and law made by the United States Attorney in opposing the defendants' motion for change of venue" at the time of the trial in November 2000.

Gerardo Hernández, another of the framed-up Cubans, joined Guerrero in the request for a new trial, Hernández's lawyer, Paul McKenna, announced days later. Weinglass stated that he expected all five to join the motion.

Guerrero and Hernández, together with René González, Ramón Labañino, and Fernando González, were convicted on charges of conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign power, conspiracy to commit espionage, and conspiracy to commit murder. At the Miami news conference announcing the motion for a new trial, Weinglass noted that the government never charged any of the five with committing any action, nor claimed that they at any time "had in their possession any classified documents." U.S. district judge Joan Lenard, who sentenced them to prison terms of between 15 years and a double life sentence, will rule on the motion.

The five revolutionaries were in the United States on a mission to defend their country's sovereignty and the Cuban Revolution. They were gathering information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups that have a history of launching violent attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil with the knowledge and complicity of the U.S. government.

The motion for a new trial argues that a

fair trial for the five could not have been held in Miami, and that government prosecutors knew it. The big-business media, with sensationalist articles about a "Cuban spy network," convicted the five Cuban revolutionaries before the trial even began. The motion highlights an editorial by the *Miami Herald*, the main daily in south Florida, that echoed Washington's charges that the five were connected to the Cuban government's shutdown of planes flown by pilots of the right-wing Brothers to the Rescue group in 1996, in which four of the counterrevolutionaries died.

As part of its campaign to inflame public opinion against the five, the *Herald* editorialized that for the pilots who were shot down, "nothing could honor their memory more than to call to account their murderers...more than compensation, the families want the moral sting of a U.S. criminal prosecution in federal court." The motion for a new trial also pointed to other media, such as Channel 23 and Radio Martí, which filmed jurors and their license plate numbers, as evidence of the campaign to create an atmosphere prejudicial to the defendants. Jurors, especially Cuban-Americans, had reason to fear reprisals if they voted "not guilty."

In the trial Gerardo Hernández was found guilty of the unprecedented charge of "conspiracy to commit murder" for allegedly providing Cuban authorities with flight plans of the four Brothers to the Rescue pilots whose planes were shot. A number of defense witnesses offered ample evidence that these rightists had provocatively violated Cuban airspace and refused to heed warnings to head back before they were downed near Havana.

The five Cuban revolutionaries had filed for a change of venue for their trial, from Miami to Broward County 25 miles to the north, and the U.S. attorney countered that

## UNITE pickets stand firm at Point Blank plant near Miami



Militant/Connie Allen

Strikers in picket shacks November 23 outside Point Blank Body Armor in Oakland Park, Florida, north of Miami. Some 200 members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees walked off the job in August to demand wage hikes above the \$6 per hour that most receive, and an end to abusive conditions on the job, including lack of water and air conditioning. Point Blank produces bullet-proof vests and riot gear for the U.S. military and police forces.

Miami is a big city with "great diversity" and therefore should be able to produce a fair jury in a case of defendants charged with conspiring to spy for Cuba.

Just one year later, however, the same U.S. attorney, Guy Lewis, moved in *Ramirez vs. Ashcroft*, in an employment-related discrimination suit against Attorney General John Ashcroft, that there should be a change of

venue, claiming a fair trial for the attorney general was "virtually impossible" because of "prejudice" among Cubans in Miami.

Weinglass stated that with "these two contradictory positions...the government misrepresented to the court both factually and legally their position when they knew and had to know, as they knew one year later in the *Ramirez vs. Ashcroft* case, that a fair trial could not be held in the Miami district" under those circumstances. Jacqueline Becerra of the U.S. attorney's office said that prosecutors "are comfortable" with the convictions, and a government response is expected in mid-December.

In a separate legal proceeding, an appeal of the convictions is pending in the Eleventh Circuit Court in Atlanta.

In addition to the arguments cited for the new trial, the prosecution of the five Cubans represented violations of constitutional rights, including the Fourth Amendment protection against arbitrary search and seizure. FBI agents broke into their homes, and the prosecution's "evidence" included information the FBI claimed to have collected in those raids.

Since their sentencing nearly one year ago, the five Cuban revolutionaries have been subjected to conditions meant to break their will. The U.S. government has dispersed the five to federal prisons in California, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Colorado, and Texas—three of them to maximum security prisons. Government officials have prevented visits by the wives of two of the men by denying them visas to enter the United States.

In a November 22 interview with the *Militant*, Leonard Weinglass stated that Ramón González "was suddenly told on November 14 to move from his prison in Pennsylvania," and that federal authorities had still not announced the location of the prison where he is being sent.

## Palestinian in Boston fights INS frame-up

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—Amer Jubran, a Palestinian political activist, was freed here on \$1,500 bail November 21. Twenty supporters and friends filled the immigration hearing room while another 60 waited in the hallway of

the John F. Kennedy Federal Building, where the bond hearing took place.

Jubran was brought into the courtroom handcuffed and shackled by six armed guards.

After the bail was set, a picket line took

place in front of the federal building celebrating his release. Supporters chanted, "Free, Free Palestine; Free Amer Jubran."

Jubran was arrested in the early morning hours of November 4. FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents entered his home without producing a search warrant or even asking permission. The cops attempted to interrogate Jubran about his activities in support of the Palestinian struggle for a homeland. When he insisted on a lawyer, INS agents arrested him.

Jubran was informed only days before the bond hearing of the reason for his detention: immigration authorities said one piece of paperwork in his application for residency had the year 1998 entered where it should have been 1997. Jubran has been a permanent U.S. resident for three years.

Attorney Nelson Brill, who represented Jubran in the INS court, explained in a press conference after the hearing, "They combed over his files for weeks to find some technicality to charge him. They arrested him three years after he received his green card and two days after he participated in leading a demonstration of thousands against U.S. war against Iraq in downtown Boston."

In 2001 Jubran was arrested on fabricated charges after a demonstration in Brookline, Massachusetts, protesting a Zionist celebration of Israeli independence. After a five-month defense campaign all the charges were dropped.

Supporters of Amer Jubran sent many letters to the INS district director in Boston to demand freedom for Jubran. Boston City Council member Chuck Turner, as well as Jubran's landlord and supervisor at work, were present in the court room as character witnesses.

Bina Ahmad, a first-year law student at Northeastern University, was one of the supporters who waited in the hallway outside the court room. She said, "Amer is a political prisoner. They are just trying to make something up on him. It is a violation of the civil liberties of all of us."

The INS has said it will not appeal the bail decision. A hearing on the charges around his application for residency is scheduled for February.

Ted Leonard is a meatpacking worker in the Boston area.

## LETTERS

### Inspiring meat packers' victory

Your recent articles on the first contract victories of meat packers like at Dakota Premium in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Swift in Nebraska in the midwest United States are inspiring. A number of us at the Quality Meat Packers plant in Toronto have been following the organizing efforts to bring the United Food and Commercial Workers union, which is the union I belong to, into their plants. What is most striking about these two struggles is the solidarity and active participation by the workers to build strong unions.

With a union and a first contract, the workers will now be in a stronger position to deal with the line speed, harassment by management, unsafe machinery and low wages and benefits which have been imposed on meat packers in both Canada and the United States over the past 20 years.

Even with a union we still have to keep fighting management's efforts to increase their profits on our backs and weaken the union. Here, where I work, the line speed in the cutting room has gone from 10 to over 12 hogs per minute, with the same number of workers. We are forced to work 9.5 hours a day by law and those few of us who then choose to leave are often harassed by some of the foremen to stay longer. And because four years ago we had a 40 percent wage cut, many co-workers are doing 60 hours a week.

There are also other forms of harassment. A little while ago I was called into the office by a foreman after returning from one day off sick. He demanded a doctor's note, even though it was not required, and refused my request to have a union steward with me at the meeting. On the insistence of some of my co-workers on the line and one of the union stewards I put in a grievance against this foreman.

But what the Nebraska and Minnesota victories show is that the use of union power

by a mobilized membership is the best road to defend our rights against the meatpacking bosses' drive for profits.

Tony Di Felice  
Toronto, Ontario

### United Airlines 'war' clause

A tentative agreement was reached November 20 between the International Association of Machinists officials and United Airlines. These amendments to our contract are to be voted on by the membership November 27. The agreement is called a "recovery plan," which United and the U.S. government have pushed to allow \$1.8 billion in government-backed loans for the airline.

The amendments to the contract include pay cuts and extending the current contract to 2008. Also in the agreement is a clause that states, "In the event of a war in Iraq or a sudden, unforeseen event that substantially disrupts air travel (e.g., act of God, act or threat of terrorism, etc.), the commitment contained in the preceding paragraph will become null and void." The proceeding paragraph is about United not using bankruptcy to tear up our union contract.

The IAM officials have recommended we vote yes on these changes to "save the company." Many of my co-workers and I hope this agreement is voted down. These givebacks as well as the war clause would weaken the union and set a bad example for the labor movement.

Rick Young  
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.

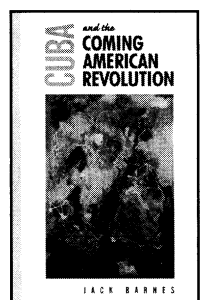
## CUBA and the Coming American Revolution

by Jack Barnes

*Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* is about the struggles of working people in the imperialist heartland, the youth who are attracted to them, and the example set by the people of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. Preface by Mary-Alice Waters. \$13.

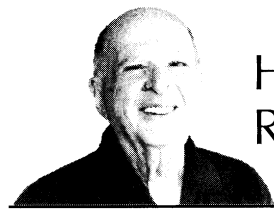
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**Maybe Guantánamo prison base?**—Josephson Institute of Ethics. It's headed by Michael Josephson. He says he has a staff of 40



Harry Ring

and a \$4 million budget. The operation is not for profit. It conducts ethics training programs for corporations and for the U.S. armed forces. When and where does it

practice ethics? The *Los Angeles Times* account didn't say.

**No comment (1)**—"Youngsters see lying, cheating as formula for success"—Headline, *Los Angeles Times*.

**No comment (2)**—"Mistatements may exceed 7 billion"... "Unsupported adjustments that go far beyond..." "Federal examiners report suggests..."—Sampling of news approach to WorldCom's \$7 billion-plus swindle.

**Chip work too heavy for women?**—Intel, the big computer chip company, announced a radical new chip that acts like two. It was

designed by Deborah Marr. Described by the *Los Angeles Times* as "one of a handful of computer chip designers in a field that is 95 percent male."

**Murder, Inc.**—Several months ago, the Department of Agriculture warned the Wampler food processing plant in Pennsylvania. A list of violations included moldy pipes leaking on meat lines, roaches and more. Plant managers knew their way around and the inspectors' warnings were ignored. October 11 Wampler was shut down along with other subsidiaries of Pilgrims Pride, along with the parent company itself. In the biggest recall in U.S. history, 27 million pounds of poultry

were recalled to stem the spread of the disease listeria. Unknown dozens were already taken ill. And at least seven are dead.

**Stiff blow at terrorism**—London cops busted a girl, 12, who was playing in the street with a legally purchased toy gun. She was hustled off to a station house. Later in the day, a judge ordered her released. Meanwhile she was photographed and a DNA swab taken.

**NOTE**—Our English news clipper sent the preceding item three months ago and we tucked it in the wrong folder. Our apologies.

**Duked it out**—In a confrontation with Bank of America tops, the

Teamsters union, which holds shares in B of A, squeaked through a severance pay policy limiting bank executives from getting more than double their wages and bonuses in severance packages, without a special OK of the board. Carin Zelenko, the Teamsters's director of corporate affairs holds a seat on the bank board. She declared it's important that corporations "are responsive to shareholders."

**Thought for the week**—"Millions feel the sting of hunger—A new statewide study finds that 2.2 million low- to middle-income adults struggle to put enough food on the table"—Headline, *Los Angeles Times*.

## In 1975, like today, N.Y. 'budget crisis' was a scam

BY JACK WILLEY

NEWYORK—With the administration of New York mayor Michael Bloomberg warning about a deep "budget crisis" as it launches a broad attack on city services and jobs, wages, and benefits of municipal workers, big-business commentators have made comparisons with the 1975 city "financial crisis."

In a recent speech printed in the November 21 *New York Review of Books*, retired banker Felix Rohatyn, one of the key players in the crisis 27 years ago, argues that Bloomberg and New York governor George Pataki are "going to look at the same set of painful choices as we did in 1975." He declares that "increased taxes and cutbacks in services and jobs are inevitable" and points favorably to the major concessions made by the municipal unions at that time.

If anything, Rohatyn says, the economy is in worse shape than in 1975, so according to him even more "sacrifice" is required from city workers and residents.

What really happened in New York City in 1975?

Like the so-called financial crisis today, the one then was a scam that enriched the billionaires at the expense of working people.

In late 1974 the billionaire families that rule New York proclaimed a "budget crisis." The city government owed \$4.3 billion on short-term debts to wealthy bondholders. Democratic mayor Abraham Beame claimed the debts could not be paid with the income received from taxes and other revenue.

### Big Mac defends bondholders

The banks—led by Citibank, Chase, and Morgan—pretended they would not lend any more money to such a "high risk" situation. So the New York state government stepped in with the Municipal Assistance Corporation. Known as "Big Mac," it was run by a nine-person board that included six top officials of banks, brokerage houses, and other businesses.

The MAC issued \$3 billion in long-term bonds at high interest to pay off \$3 billion in short-term bonds at lower interest. The additional interest owed to bondholders jumped by \$200 million in 1975 alone with the MAC bonds. All of a sudden, the banks that found New York too risky found no problem lending money for a higher return.

As a condition for these loans, Big Mac demanded "sacrifice." The government launched a campaign to slash city services and fire thousands of municipal employees and to deal blows to their unions. The top

union officials went along with the bosses' calls for concessions.

More than 63,000 municipal employees were fired. Some 15,000 teachers and 4,000 hospital workers were shown the door between 1975 and 1976. Transit fares jumped from 35 cents to 50 cents.

At the City University of New York, free tuition, dating back 129 years, was eliminated. Open admissions, won as a by-product of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, allowing anyone with a high school diploma or equivalency to go to college, was gutted. The cutbacks reduced enrollment by tens of thousands, with the ax coming down hardest on Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed nationalities.

In August 1976, Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union, echoing the bosses' claim that there was "no money" for both jobs and salary increases, sold striking hospital workers a deal that gave away cost-of-living increases for the promise of no more layoffs—for four months.

The city administration also tried to secure federal loans. President Gerald Ford initially said no. "Ford to City: Drop Dead," was the blaring headline of the *New York Daily News* on Oct. 30, 1975. Ford later authorized \$2.5 billion in federal loans, saddling the city with more debt.

### A fraud to squeeze workers

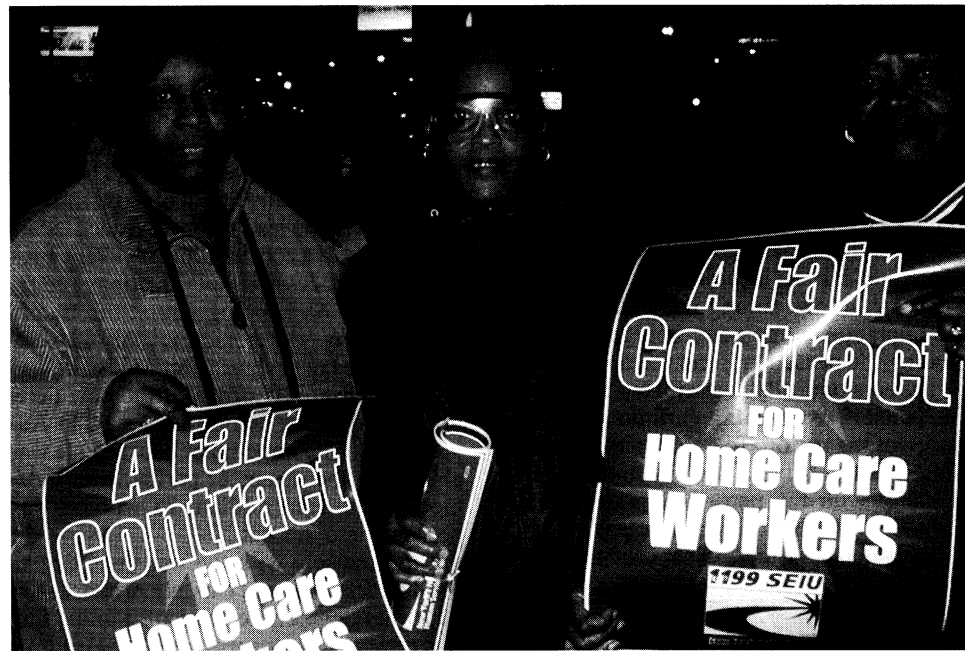
As the *Militant* pointed out in its June 27, 1975, issue, "The financial crisis of New York is an elaborate fraud perpetrated to enable the city to fire workers. What Big Mac's creation actually proves is that the money was there all along—it was just a question of what conditions the banks demanded to make the loans."

From the standpoint of working people, city hall is supposed to administer the services of the city. "From the standpoint of the banks, however, city hall is the source of a vast income that is a vital artery of the American financial system," the socialist paper pointed out in the May 30, 1975, issue.

Like most governments, New York City is always in debt—it does not raise sufficient funds through taxes to pay all its expenses. A significant portion of these expenses are paid by issuing municipal bonds, which are repaid at tax-free interest—one of the most lucrative investments for billionaire businessmen.

The 1975 "budget crisis" took place during the first worldwide recession since World War II and the beginning of a decades-long period of stagnation and decline in profit rates for the capitalist class. With the rise in unemployment and drop in corporate sales, tax revenues to the city and state government fell. The bankers decided to ensure that, no matter how far revenues dropped, they would keep getting paid—by cutting jobs, wages, and social gains of working people.

The city budget is geared, not to meet the needs of the majority, but to ensure regular payments to the coupon-clippers. In a November 1974 letter to the *New York Times* to reassure the bankers, Mayor Beame and City Controller Harrison Goldin pointed out "that the Constitution of the State of New York makes our New York City bonds and notes a first lien [claim] on all revenues—which include the real-estate tax, all other city taxes, fees and permits, all state aid and all Federal aid."



Militant/Ruth Robinett

**November 13 meeting in New York of health-care workers fighting for a contract. These workers are among those who will be affected by cuts in city funding.**

In 1975 the payments of interest and principal to the bondholders were almost \$2 billion out of a budget of \$11 billion.

The year before, the *New York Times* had quoted an unnamed bond dealer at a major New York bank. "We make a hell of a lot of money off this city," he blurted out. When the bankers announced the "budget crisis" and launched the cutback campaign a few months later, the big-business press

was more careful not to make such statements.

Today the capitalist rulers continue to reap billions from municipal bonds. Big Mac remains in existence. In fact, the city of New York is due to keep paying on \$3.5 billion in debt through MAC—which issued bonds from 1975 to 1985—until the year 2008, when those bonds will have matured.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

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

### December 9, 1977

It was the longest teachers' strike in New York State history—forty-one days.

The most disquieting feature of the strike [by the Lakeland Federation of Teachers] was the ruthless and effective use of New York State's strikebreaking Taylor Law. The small (450-member) local was fined \$92,500. Eight teachers were arrested and thrown into the county jail. Six union officers were sentenced to thirty days each.

AFT [American Federation of Teachers] president Albert Shanker was moved to comment on the Lakeland teachers' plight and the Taylor Law in his union-paid column in the October 30 *New York Times*. Teachers might expect their union president to demand the immediate repeal of the Taylor Law. But no—Shanker explains that "aspects of the law were a step forward for public employees." The essence of the Taylor Law—its outlawing of public employee strikes—goes unchallenged by Shanker.

In Shanker's eyes, the Taylor Law guarantees union recognition. But union recognition is not the gift of law or employer. It is the unavoidable acknowledgement of the real collective power of an active and organized membership.

As the economic crisis deepens and the attacks on organized labor escalate, the response not only of Shanker but of the entire top union officialdom is to turn more and more away from mobilizing the union ranks and toward relying on the courts and capitalist party politicians.

**THE MILITANT**  
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
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### December 8, 1952

Anti-Rhee guerrillas by the thousands are still operating behind the battle-lines in South Korea.

*Life* discloses the surprising extent of the guerrilla warfare "about 150 miles to the rear of the Korean battle-line... in territory officially held by U.N.-forces." It conservatively estimates that "perhaps 10,000" guerrilla fighters are pinning down several times that number of South Korean police and armed guards "aided by U.S. arms and advisors."

Margaret Bourke-White's photographs graphically present the ferocity of the Rhee forces. Several photographs of young guerrilla prisoners awaiting trial—including a moving study of captured girl guerrillas—are included in *Life*. They are in striking contrast with fat, cruel-looking provincial police chief Jan Kyon Lok, shown celebrating the "victory" of 900 of his police against a hundred guerrillas at a party where he is "regaling his men and 'Kisseng girls' (Korean geishas)."

A year ago, in Dec. 1961, the Rhee government announced a "final mopping-up, extermination" campaign against a claimed 10,000 surviving guerrillas. Now we are informed that after "the hunters have killed 13,000 in 13 months, captured thousands more, converted many to the Republic's side," the guerrillas are as numerous as ever and "still a formidable foe." Evidently their forces are being constantly replenished and augmented by the people.

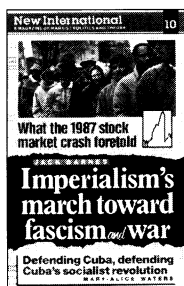
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• **The Curve of Capitalist Development**  
by Leon Trotsky \$14.00  
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# Leon Trotsky on what is fascism and how to fight it

Printed below is an excerpt from *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It* by Leon Trotsky, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for December. Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky sought to lead an international working-class fight to combat the rising fascist movements in Europe and incipient fascist movements in the United States and elsewhere. The Italian fascist movement led by Benito Mussolini took power in the 1920s; the Nazi party took power in 1933 with Adolf Hitler becoming chancellor.

Trotsky examines the origin and nature

of fascism and advances a working-class strategy to defeat it, overturn the capitalist state, and establish the revolutionary power of the working class. Copyright © 1996 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

of fascism and advances a working-class strategy to defeat it, overturn the capitalist state, and establish the revolutionary power of the working class. Copyright © 1996 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

### BY LEON TROTSKY

Any serious analysis of the political situation must take as its point of departure the mutual relations among the three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (including the peasantry), and the proletariat.

The economically powerful big bourgeoisie, in itself, represents an infinitesimal minority of the nation. To enforce its domination, it must ensure a definite mutual relationship with the petty bourgeoisie and, through its mediation, with the proletariat.

To understand the dialectic of the rela-

tionship among the three classes, we must differentiate three historical stages: at the dawn of capitalistic development, when the bourgeoisie required revolutionary methods to solve its tasks; in the period of bloom and maturity of the capitalist regime, when the bourgeoisie endowed its domination with orderly, pacific, conservative, democratic forms; and finally, at the decline of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie is forced to resort to methods of civil war against the proletariat to protect its right of exploitation.

The relationship between the bourgeoisie and its basic social support, the petty bourgeoisie, does not at all rest upon reciprocal confidence and pacific collaboration. In its mass, the petty bourgeoisie is an exploited and disfranchised class. It regards the bourgeoisie with envy and often with hatred. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, while utilizing the support of the petty bourgeoisie, distrusts the latter, for it very correctly fears its tendency to break down the barriers set up for it from above.

### Parliamentary democracy

For a whole series of stages, the bourgeoisie entrenched its power under the form of parliamentary democracy. Even then, not peacefully and not voluntarily. The bourgeoisie was mortally afraid of universal suffrage. But in the last instance, it succeeded, with the aid of a combination of violent measures and concessions, of privations and reforms, in subordinating within the framework of formal democracy not only the petty bourgeoisie but in considerable measure also the proletariat, by means of the new petty bourgeoisie—the labor aristocracy. In August 1914<sup>1</sup> the imperialist bourgeoisie was able, with the means of parliamentary democracy, to lead millions of workers and peasants into the war.

But precisely with the war there begins the distinct decline of capitalism and, above all, of its democratic form of domination. It is now no longer a matter of new reforms and alms, but of cutting down and abolishing the old ones. Therewith the bourgeoisie comes into conflict not only with the institutions of proletarian democracy (trade unions and political parties) but also with parliamentary democracy, within the framework of which arose the labor organizations. Therefore, the campaign against "Marxism" on the one hand and against democratic parliamentarism on the other.



Nazi stormtroopers occupy union headquarters in Berlin, 1933. Leon Trotsky explained that fascism aims "to smash the working class and destroy its organizations."

But just as the summits of the liberal bourgeoisie in its time were unable, by their own force alone, to get rid of feudalism, monarchy and the church, so the magnates of finance capital are unable, by *their* force alone, to cope with the proletariat. They need the support of the petty bourgeoisie. For this purpose, it must be whipped up, put on its feet, mobilized, armed.

### Fascism and the petty bourgeoisie

In the epoch of the rise, the growth, and the bloom of capitalism, the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent, generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness. Nor could it do anything else. But under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie strives, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road. The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skillful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy.

But, woe if the revolutionary party does not measure up to the height of the situation! The daily struggle of the proletariat sharpens the instability of bourgeois soci-

ety. The strikes and the political disturbances aggravate the economic situation of the country. The petty bourgeoisie could reconcile itself temporarily to the growing privations, if it arrived by experience at the conviction that the proletariat is in a position to lead it onto a new road.

But if the revolutionary party, in spite of a class struggle becoming incessantly more accentuated, proves time and again to be incapable of uniting the working class about it, if it vacillates, becomes confused, contradicts itself, then the petty bourgeoisie loses patience and begins to look upon the revolutionary workers as those responsible for its own misery. All the bourgeois parties, including the social democracy, turn its thoughts in this very direction.

When the social crisis takes on an intolerable acuteness, a particular party appears on the scene with the direct aim of agitating the petty bourgeoisie to a white heat and of directing its hatred and its despair against the proletariat. In Germany, this historical function is fulfilled by National Socialism (Nazism), a broad current whose ideology is composed of all the putrid vapors of disintegrating bourgeois society.

<sup>1</sup>On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democratic Party representatives in the Reichstag (parliament) voted for the war budget of the imperialist government; on the same day representatives of the French Socialist Party did likewise in the Chamber of Deputies.

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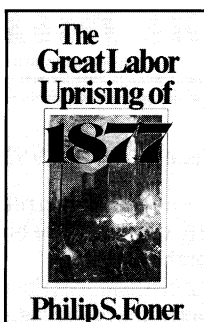
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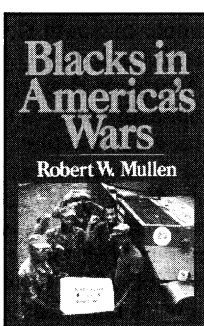
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# Support UK firefighters' strike

Working people should rally behind the more than 50,000 firefighters in the United Kingdom who are today waging one of the most important labor battles in the UK in years. These workers are mobilizing through the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) to defend their living standards; resisting moves to cut jobs and service under the guise of "modernization"; and holding strong against the attack on union control on the job that goes hand in hand with the rulers' offensive.

The Labour Party government of Anthony Blair has taken the lead in the bosses' efforts to defeat the firefighters. Not only have they mobilized troops and cops as strikebreakers, but they have threatened to use anti-union legislation, and spearheaded a propaganda campaign to undermine the support the firefighters have won from other trade unionists and working people.

This effort has been joined by other bosses, capitalist politicians, and the entire big-business media. These enemies of labor are deeply concerned that other workers, starting with those on government payrolls, will follow the firefighters' example and begin to use union power in opposition both to bosses' attacks, and to government proposals to offload the effects of the capitalist crisis onto our backs.

The propagandists for the capitalist rulers claim that lower-paid workers have no interest in the FBU's struggle. Under cover of such arguments they are trying to drive down all workers' wages. We should reject this divide-and-rule tactic. The real division is not between firefighters and other workers, low-paid, better-off, or laid off, but between all working people and the ruling rich whose interests the government represents.

Beneath their lofty phrases, these propagandists defend

the interests of the ruling rich and of no one else. When they say that their "economy" can't take the load of such wage raises, they're talking about their profits. When they speak of the need to "reform the public sector," they're talking about carving off more of the social wage, the conquest of decades of working class struggle.

Opponents of the union make a broad appeal to "national interests" against the "greedy workers." They try to make workers identify with the British ruling rich—their exploiters and enemies—rather than workers and farmers around the globe—their allies. They aim to pressure workers to back off attempts to fight around their interests and the broader concerns of working people as the rulers prepare for war.

The same British government that has sent troops to break the firefighters' strike also sent troops to participate in the imperialist war in Afghanistan, and maintains thousands of troops occupying Northern Ireland. Today that government is preparing to send tens of thousand of troops to fight a war against Iraq for control of its oil wealth.

The "war against terrorism" is also being used in an attempt to blackmail the firefighters from taking action by accusing them of endangering life. In fact, the best guarantee of effective fire cover is a strong union that puts workers' safety first. It is the capitalist government that will have blood on its hands should any loss of life be connected with the strike.

The firefighters' actions objectively run counter to the rulers' course toward war at home and abroad. Their refusal to put off their fight has earned them the right to the active solidarity of the labor movement, other working people, and all those seeking an effective road to fight back.

# Free 5 Cuban patriots in U.S. jails

The five Cubans framed up by the U.S. government on "conspiracy" charges are fighting for justice. Working people and other fighters against exploitation and oppression have an important stake in demanding their release.

What is the "crime" that René González, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Fernando González have committed? Gathering information on ultrarightist groups that, operating on U.S. territory with Washington's knowledge and complicity, have a history of violent attacks against Cuba.

The five are working-class heroes who have risked their lives to defend their country and their revolution—which for more than four decades has been under attack by Washington because of its example for working people and fighters for freedom worldwide.

They themselves are a product of the Cuban Revolution. Three of them, for example, fought in Angola in the late 1980s as volunteer combatants when Cuba helped that African nation defeat invasions by the South African apartheid regime's army.

The frame-ups are an attack not only on the Cuban Revolution but on the rights of working people here. They are aimed at intimidating anyone who opposes the bosses' assaults or U.S. government policies. Over the three years prior to the arrests of the five in 1998, FBI agents repeat-

edly broke into their homes, violating the Fourth Amendment protection against arbitrary search and seizure. These attacks will be used by the U.S. government to justify broader powers by the political police to conduct wiretapping, spying, and harassment against others who oppose the employers or U.S. government.

The prosecution's "evidence" consisted of information the FBI claimed to have collected in these raids. No evidence of any military secrets being stolen from the United States and turned over to Cuba was ever presented. In fact, the main charges against them are "conspiracy to commit espionage" for the Cuban government and other "conspiracy" charges—not for any actions committed.

The judge refused a defense motion to move the trial out of Miami, even after several potential jurors, including Cuban-Americans, disqualified themselves for fear of reprisals if they voted "not guilty." The effort today by their attorneys to seek a new trial deserves support.

Since their conviction and dispersal to five different federal prisons, the rights of the five revolutionaries continue to be trampled on, including the denial of visitation rights by family and friends. In spite of all its efforts, however, Washington has failed to break the spirit of these Cuban patriots.

Free the five Cuban patriots now!

# Conference on FTAA opens in Havana

BY RÓGER CALERO

HAVANA—More than 1,000 representatives of trade union, political, indigenous, environmental, religious, and social organizations from 41 countries are meeting here November 23–28 for an international conference to discuss opposition to the U.S.-backed trade bloc known as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). The largest delegations have come from Mexico and the United States.

Present at the opening session of the event were Cuban president Fidel Castro and other representatives of the revolutionary government, as well as delegates from Cuba's trade union federation and other mass organizations.

Cuba has led an international campaign to educate around and oppose the FTAA since it was first projected in 1994. If the imperialist powers realize their plans, the U.S.-dominated trade bloc will eventually include Washington, Ottawa, and 32 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The background to the debate on the FTAA is "the deepest and most horrendous economic, social, and political crisis in Latin America, and the serious economic crisis in the United States," said Osvaldo Martínez, director of the Havana-based Center for Research on the World Economy, who gave the opening presentation.

Martínez explained that through the FTAA and other trade measures, Washington seeks to be able to plunder more freely Latin America's national resources and reinforce the existing unequal terms of trade between imperialist and semicolonial countries. The FTAA, he noted, is inseparable from the growing U.S. military intervention in Latin America.

Conference delegates also heard presentations about the current stage of the negotiations for the trade agreement, projected to go into effect in 2005, and on campaigns being organized to oppose the FTAA.

Evo Morales, the main leader of the coca farmers in Bolivia and presidential candidate in that country's elections earlier this year, gave a feature presentation at the end of the session. He said Washington's so-called war against drug trafficking is simply an excuse for increased U.S. military intervention in South America and "for the U.S. rulers to solidify their power in our countries."

Morales spoke about the fight by the indigenous movement in Bolivia to take back the territory stolen from them by wealthy landlords.

The indigenous leader also called on the organizations present to wage an international effort to condemn mounting threats by pro-imperialist forces in Venezuela to carry out a coup against the elected government of President Hugo Chávez.

# Youth discuss Che's ideas

Continued from front page

war in the late 1950s as well as in international missions in the Congo in 1965 and Bolivia in 1966–67; Orlando Borrego, also a Rebel Army combatant and a close collaborator of Guevara in the Ministry of Industry during the early 1960s when Che was the head of the ministry; and Elena Díaz, dean of the Ernesto Che Guevara study program at the University of Havana.

In her presentation Aleida Guevara drew from a May 1964 talk presented by Che at a seminar organized by UJC members working at the Ministry of Industry. The speech appears in Pathfinder's *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, a Cuban edition of which was published earlier this year by the UJC publishing house Casa Editora Abril.

In that speech Che challenged the youth to "politicize the ministry" by striving to bring the broadest world and class perspectives into even the most routine tasks.

Aleida Guevara highlighted the points made by the revolutionary leader about the need for a revolutionary youth organization to approach the challenges faced by the Cuban Revolution with creativity, spontaneity, and rejecting a dogmatic, bureaucratic approach.

"It's more effective to lead by example than to try to push somebody to do something they don't know how to do," she said, referring to the example set by Che in leading voluntary labor brigades in the opening years of the revolution.

The November 23 meeting also marked the 43rd anniversary of the first national mobilization of voluntary labor in Cuba, organized in November 1959. On that date, 300 soldiers and officers of Cuba's revolutionary armed forces—in their majority combatants who had fought in the Rebel Army column led by Che during the revolutionary war—joined other workers and peasants in a project to build a school complex for 20,000 children.

Speaking at the closing session of the seminar, Villegas explained Che Guevara's political evolution as a revolutionary leader. He described how Che, as a radicalizing youth in the early 1950s, became conscious of the need for revolutionary change after witnessing firsthand the effects of imperialism's plunder of Latin American countries. He pointed to the conclusions drawn by Guevara about how a revolution was needed for workers and peasants to take power out of the hands of the capitalist and landowning classes in Latin America.

As a youth with medical training who had joined the revolutionary movement in Cuba, Villegas said, Che concluded that "to be a revolutionary doctor he first needed to make a revolution."

In response to a question about his own experiences in Cuba's revolutionary war, Villegas said the deepgoing social transformations carried out by the revolution was what had won him to become a communist.

Referring to the reaction by the U.S. imperialist rulers to the measures taken by the revolutionary government in nationalizing Cuba's banking system and industry, as well as carrying out an agrarian reform, he explained how Cuba's working people and their revolutionary leadership responded to every attack by Washington.

"It was an exchange of punches, until they left the ring," he said. "Whenever they slapped us once, we slapped them twice."

Villegas also spoke extensively about the reasons why Cubans took part in internationalist missions to the Congo and other African countries, as well as the guerrilla campaign in Bolivia. Together with other forces, it was a battle against imperialism on multiple fronts, he said.

Many of the international guests participating in the meeting will be traveling to Guadalajara, Mexico, to attend the congress of the Continental Student Organization of Latin America and the Caribbean. More than 1,000 youth from Latin America, the United States, and Canada are expected to participate in the anti-imperialist congress there.

## From Pathfinder

by V.I. Lenin

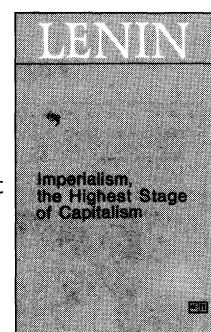
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## CORRECTIONS

The article "Nurses in California strike for pensions, reduced workloads," in last week's issue incorrectly identified Corrine Comer as a striker. She is a staff organizer for the California Nurses Association.

Also in last week's issue, the article "UK firefighters resist gov't threats," inaccurately reported the Fire Brigades' wage demand. It should say "hourly take-home pay" instead of "hourly wage rate."

## Protests in El Salvador block health cuts

BY JANNE ABULLARADE

SEATTLE—Sustained protests by doctors and working people in El Salvador, which have been going on since mid-September, have pushed back government plans to shift public health care to private hands.

In the latest chapter of this fight, the legislative assembly, under pressure from six days of marches and roadblocks by workers, peasants, and youth across the country, ratified a decree November 14 barring moves to privatize the public health system and suspending all existing contracts for the "purchase" of health services as of the end of the year.

In the course of the two-month battle, tens of thousands of doctors and health-care workers, along with other trade unionists, students, peasants, and members of social organizations have participated in numerous protest actions, including three major demonstrations in San Salvador, the capital. The protests began after STISSS, the union that organizes the health-care workers of the Salvadoran Institute of Social Security, went on strike September 18.

The walkout was in response to the firing of 10 union members for actions they allegedly took part in during a one-day strike on September 5 to protest privatization moves already under way. The union of doctors at the institute, SIMETRIS, joined the strike on September 27. Since then, medical personnel have progressively shut down 10 of the largest hospitals of the institution's network across the country.

"The time has come for the people to regain their sovereignty and dictate policy to a government that favors the interests of big business in this country," stated Guillermo Mata, president of the Salvadoran Medical Association. "The people of this country can no longer allow themselves to be trampled on."

The strike received widespread support from trade unions, transport workers, shopkeepers, municipal workers, peasant groups, and organizations such as the Citizen's Alliance Against the Privatization of Public Services, a coalition of some 50 organizations. Employees at private clinics across the country held a one-day general strike October 25 to protest the privatization plans.

Explaining the widespread support for the fight against privatization of health care, Margarita Posada, a leader of the Citizen's Alliance, commented, "This is a people who have awoken as a result of all the privatization processes that have already occurred, which have been based on false promises that have only led to higher costs and the elimination of services. That is why we dread a privatized health-care system."

### Increased resistance of working people

The fight against privatization of health care is part of the increasing resistance of working people against the policies of the right-wing ARENA government. The government of El Salvador, a Central American country of 6.4 million people, has pegged its national currency to the U.S. dollar, and has introduced a 13 percent tax on

staple foods and medicines. Previous governments have sold off the banks, telecommunications, and electricity, resulting in the layoff of thousands of public employees, price increases for essential services, and the weakening of the unions.

Workers are facing increasingly harsh economic conditions as a result of the worldwide capitalist crisis. The official poverty rate has increased from 45 percent of households in 1999 to 51 percent in 2001, and real wages lost 30 percent of their value compared to 1988.

The official unemployment figure is 7 percent, and underemployment is 32 percent. By the end of 2001, the total domestic and foreign debt amounted to \$4.6 billion, or 32.6 percent of the Gross Domestic Product.

In response to the mounting nationwide protests, President Francisco Flores on October 31 backed off from his threat to veto the anti-privatization bill. He also declared that he would withdraw his "Democratization of Preventive Health Care" proposal—a voucher plan that would pave the way for privatizing health-care services.

The day before Flores's announcement, workers at the public hospital system began a solidarity strike. The three-day action was the third in a series of progressively longer work stoppages. That same day, the main roads in the country were successfully blocked by protesters for almost three hours.

The ISSS unions joined with other working people in marches and protests throughout the country, some of which were held in front of hospitals supporting the strike. Doctors and workers at the 10 largest hospitals in the public health system began a solidarity strike November 5, while pledging to attend to emergency cases.

### Doctors continue fight

President Flores finally agreed to meet with representatives of the Salvadoran Medical Association, SIMETRIS, and the public health-care system. After three days of negotiations, Flores, in a last-ditch effort to salvage the health-care privatization scheme, sent an amended bill back to the legislative assembly November 8 to allow public institutions the "freedom to purchase" medical services from private business. In response, the doctors, with wide support from unions and other working people, vowed to continue the fight.

The ratification of the decree outlawing

## Thousands of students in Peru oppose cuts in public education



Thousands of students demonstrated November 5 in Lima, Peru, to oppose government attacks on public education that are part of austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund. They carried signs protesting cuts in teachers' wages and moves to make the public university system privately-financed. President Alejandro Toledo tried to demobilize the protests by promising that public education would always be free under his administration, but student organizers pointed out that state funding has already been cut and that universities are now 45 percent "self-financed," much of which will be paid for in student fees and wage cuts. Earlier, high school students demonstrated in Ayacucho province.

the privatization of health care is being celebrated by strikers and their supporters. In the midst of cheers and applause, Ricardo Monge, secretary general of STISSS, stated, "Through struggle, the Salvadoran people have stopped the privatization of health care." He and other strike leaders have said that the ISSS strike will continue until the decree is signed into law and published in the official register, all the fired workers are reinstated, the doctors and workers that supported the strike receive back pay, and the government guarantees no reprisals against the striking workers.

### Electrical workers strike

In a related development, the Union of Workers of the Electrical Sector (STSEL)

at the Hydroelectric Executive Commission of the Lempa River (CEL) went on strike on November 11. The strikers demand the reinstatement of 29 trade unionists, including their general secretary, fired without explanation in October 2001, and an end to all such illegal firings and other union-busting activities.

Some 230 workers in the maintenance section nationwide went on strike in support of the CEL employees and fired workers whose 23-day hunger strike to press their demands had been ignored by government officials.

Leaders of the strike have declared that it will progressively be extended to other power plants if the government does not respond to their demands.

## Poland: miners, steelworkers, nurses march against gov't plans to slash jobs

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Chanting "thieves," 10,000 coal miners, steelworkers, and nurses marched through the city of Katowice in the Silesia region of Poland November 19 to oppose the government's plans to slash jobs and to demand more funding for health care. The demonstrators carried torches, threw firecrackers, and blocked traffic before gathering outside the office of the provincial governor.

A number of struggles by workers in Poland have erupted over the last several months in response to the government's "restructuring" measures, which have included the sell-off of state industries and steep job cuts.

Warsaw's austerity measures come as the government negotiates the conditions for Poland's entry into the European Union next month.

According to polls, Lech Miller, Poland's prime minister, elected last year as part of a coalition government of the Democratic Left Alliance Party and Polish Peasants' Party, has seen his

approval rating drop from 50 percent at the time of the elections to 34 percent this past month as the details of the final negotiations for Poland's entry into the EU have emerged.

"Our patience is running out," Wojciech Gubik, a miner from Gliwice, told reporters. "We have families, children to support. We will fight for our jobs."

Another miner, Janusz Rados, told Polish radio, "All we want are jobs that would allow us to earn money for our families. Those politicians in Warsaw don't seem to understand that."

Two protest actions were organized by miners, steelworkers, and others in Warsaw last month.

Shipyard workers are locked in a struggle for pay and job protection against a shipbuilding company that was privatized in 1990s. Meanwhile, the first privately owned coal mine was opened in the town of Zabrze early this year.

The Silesia region, one of the main coal mining and industrial centers of the country, has been hit particularly hard by the government's measures. The official unemployment rate in that region is 30 percent, compared to the national rate of nearly 18 percent.

Coal mining jobs have been slashed from 400,000 in 1990 to 140,000 today. The government plans to close seven more mines, eliminating an additional 35,000 jobs. Warsaw's austerity package includes measures that threaten 10,000 workers in the steel industry.

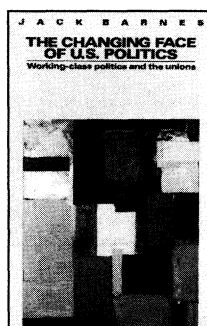
Meanwhile, between 1990 and 1997 productivity rose by 53 percent. The amount of coal extracted from one longwall face (coal seam) more than doubled from 863 tons up to 1,889 tons over the same period.

Declining working conditions have taken a bloody toll on mine workers. In the first 10 months of this year 31 miners have been killed, compared to 24 in 2001. In the worst coal mine disaster in Poland since 1987, an explosion in a Silesia mine took the lives of 10 workers in February.

The conditions that Brussels is demanding for Poland's entry into the EU will have devastating effects on the 2.6 million people who work the land.

The current offer will provide farmers in Poland with only 25 percent of the subsidies that farmers receive in existing EU member states. Brussels is also demanding that Warsaw pay out 2.6 billion euros per year as a condition of membership.

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