

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**

**July 6 meeting to celebrate life of Arthur Lobman, SWP cadre for 45 years**  
—PAGE 10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 67/NO. 24 JULY 14, 2003

## High court throws out anti-sodomy law in Texas

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

In a ruling that strengthened privacy rights gained since the battles of the civil rights movement, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Texas's anti-sodomy law. The June 26 verdict in *Lawrence v. Texas*, decided by a 6-3 majority, counseled against attempts by the state, or a court, to define the meaning of personal relationships or to set their boundaries. "It suffices for us to acknowledge that adults may choose to enter upon this relationship in the confines of their own homes and their own private lives and still retain their dignity as free persons," the ruling stated. "When sexual-

Continued on Page 10

## Supreme Court upholds affirmative action plans

Ruling affirms there is 'state interest in diversity' in higher education

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

In a significant victory for the struggle for Black and women's rights, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling June 23 that upholds affirmative action in higher education as the law of the land.

The case involved student admissions programs at the University of Michigan, but is expected to have a broader impact on private colleges, government institutions, and businesses.

UM president Mary Sue Coleman called the ruling "a tremendous victory" for the university and other schools. "The court sent a clear message today that affirmative action may be used in our admissions policies," she



Militant/Sam Manuel

**More than 50,000 marched in Washington, D.C., April 1, 2003, to defend affirmative action. The U.S. Supreme Court ratified use of affirmative action programs in university admissions, ruling on two University of Michigan cases.**

## Affirmative action, sodomy law rulings are big victory for working people

— See editorial, page 10

## Congress Hotel workers strike in Chicago

BY PATTIE THOMPSON

CHICAGO—"Don't check in! Check out!" chanted dozens of pickets in front of the Congress Plaza Hotel in downtown Chicago Sunday June 22. The 150 members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 1 who work at the hotel walked out June 15 after six months of working without a contract. Last month, the hotel unilaterally implemented its final offer, which gives the company the ability to subcontract out all work and includes a 7 percent pay cut and a freeze in benefits.

The Congress Hotel is not part of the hotel association that reached agreement with the union last September covering 27 hotels in the downtown and O'Hare airport areas. At that time, hotel workers organized several large mobilizations, winning significant wage and benefit increases without a strike.

Many of the pickets on June 22 work at those other hotels and came out to show

Continued on Page 5

## Socialists prepare international conference in Ohio

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists are sponsoring an international consultative conference July 10-12, to be held at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. It will attract hundreds of socialist workers, young socialists, and supporters of the communist movement from around the United States as well as other countries.

The opening session will be held Thursday evening, July 10, with a report by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes on the world political situation. The next day Joel Britton, a leader of the national fraction of socialists active in the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), will report on "Communist Branches,"

Continued on Page 4

said at a press conference. Student organizations celebrated with rallies on campus.

"I think today's opinions, taken together, constitute a strong endorsement of the constitutionality of affirmative action," said Theodore Shaw, associate director-counsel of the NAACP.

Voting 5-4, the Supreme Court upheld the University of Michigan law school's affirmative action policy, which "allows consideration of race as a factor in admissions."

In a 6-3 vote, the Court ruled against the University of Michigan's undergraduate

admissions policy for using a point system that awarded extra points for applicants who are Black, Latino, or Native American. The rulings were sweeping enough, however, for school admissions programs to be tailored in such a way as to maintain affirmative action.

The mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s led to demands for affirmative action—special measures to combat

pervasive discrimination and expand the number of Blacks, Latinos, other oppressed nationalities, and women in employment, education, and other aspects of society. Over the past four decades, affirmative action programs have been won in struggle in all these areas. The strongest gains have been those where affirmative action quotas have been established as a tool to force compliance by

Continued on Page 4

## European Union joins Washington in tightening vise on Iran, N. Korea

Tehran students organize sit-down strike to press for democratic rights

### International Socialist Workers Conference Oberlin, Ohio, July 10-12

#### Reports and discussion on

- ❖ The reality of world capitalist crisis today — **Jack Barnes**
- ❖ Joining forces with militant workers in labor and farm struggles and building the communist movement — **Joel Britton**
- ❖ Cuba's vanguard place in the world struggle for socialism — **Mary-Alice Waters**

#### Meetings of

Socialist workers in industrial unions, Young Socialists, and supporters of the communist movement organizing production of Pathfinder books

#### Classes on

- Marx & Engels on the United States (in Spanish and English) — **Martín Koppel & Maggie Troue**
- ❖ The 1931-39 Spanish Revolution and Civil War — **Steve Clark**
- ❖ Germany and the radical rise of the Nazi movement — **Joe Silver and Xavier Cuellar**
- ❖ Communism and the struggle against women's oppression — **Betsy Stone & Laura Garza**
- ❖ Lenin on imperialism — **John Hawkins & Susan LaMont**
- ❖ The final political contributions of Frederik Engels — **Norton Sandler**
- ❖ Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder' — **Wendy Lyons & Dave Prince**

**Sendoff of revolutionary youth heading toward Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange and celebration of 50th anniversary of assault on Moncada in Santiago de Cuba**

Also movies and social activities. Conference sessions, classes translated into Spanish, French.

**Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialists**  
**For more information, contact socialists in your area (see directory on page 8).**

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Imperialist powers in the European Union joined U.S. president George Bush in tightening the military and economic squeeze on Iran, using the annual U.S.-EU summit held in Greece in late June as the platform for a new round of charges that Tehran is developing nuclear weapons. The meeting, which involved, among others, Washington, London, and Paris—each of which is armed to the teeth with nuclear

Continued on Page 7

### Also Inside:

- Mass frame-up by cops unravels in Tulia, Texas 2
- Liberal forces energized to elect Democrats in 2004 3
- U.S. gov't moves to deport Iowa high school student 4
- British rulers remain divided over adoption of the euro 6
- Israeli troops withdraw from parts of Gaza, West Bank 7

# Mass frame-up by cops in Texas unravels

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

HOUSTON—On June 16, four years after they were arrested along with more than a tenth of the Black population of the town, 12 residents of Tulia, Texas, were released from jail on personal recognizance bond.

Their release was greeted with jubilation by the more than 300 people inside the Swisher County Courthouse and on the street outside. Relatives, friends, and other supporters of the four-year-long campaign to win the release of 38 people arrested in this western Texas town of 5,000 people hugged and cheered the 11 men and one woman as they were released.

Forty-six people were arrested on July 23, 1999, in pre-dawn raids on their homes. They were accused by undercover cop Ron Coleman of selling him cocaine over an 18-month period. Coleman had been employed by the state, conducting a sting for the federally funded Panhandle Regional Narcotics Task Force. No evidence was produced during any of the trials to corroborate Coleman’s testimony.

A few of the accused were able to prove they were elsewhere at the time of the alleged drug sales. Tonya White, for example, who faced a 99-year prison sentence for supposedly selling Coleman cocaine, proved she was hundreds of miles away in Oklahoma City at the same time of the supposed offense.

What Coleman lacked in evidence he made up for in support from his fellow cops, the judge and jury, area businessmen, and the big-business media. One week after the raids, the *Tulia Sentinel* celebrated the arrests. “We do not like these scumbags doing business in our town,” the paper said. They are “a cancer in our community, it’s time to give them a major dose of chemotherapy behind bars.” The following week the local paper’s headline featuring the arrests read, “Tulia’s Streets Cleared of Garbage.”

On Dec. 15, 1999, Joe Welton Moore, a 60-year-old hog farmer, was the first to be convicted. He was sentenced to 90 years in prison. Other steep sentences followed. The last trial ended Sept. 28, 2000, as Kareem Abdul Jabbar White was sentenced to 60 years in prison. Facing the prospect of stiff prison sentences, 27 defendants accepted plea agreements.

One young man, Freddie Brookins Jr., the son of a Tulia meat packer, said no to a plea bargain offer that would have cut



Victim of police frame-up in Tulia, Texas, jailed for four years on phony drug charges celebrates with family after June 16 release from prison.

his sentence to five years. He went to trial, was convicted, and sentenced to 20 years. On the basis of Coleman’s testimony, 38 people, mostly Black, all from working-class and farm families, were convicted or copped pleas. A total of 800 years in prison and 100 years on probation were handed down. Coleman was awarded Texas Lawman of the Year for 1999.

### Tulia cases not unusual

While Coleman is now being called a “rogue cop,” and state officials are clamoring to distance themselves from the arrests, the Tulia cases are far from unusual. It is not rare in Texas or other states for Blacks and other workers to be convicted of drug charges and given stiff sentences on the basis of cop testimony with no other facts presented, or with planted evidence.

A study by the Texas Justice Policy Council in 1993 reported that the conviction rate for Blacks is 3,064 per 100,000 adults as compared to 493 per 100,000 for whites. In Houston’s Harris County, with

a Black population of slightly less than 20 percent, 60 percent of imprisoned felons were Black. Sixty-four percent of Blacks convicted of cocaine possession were holding less than half a gram, the study revealed.

In 1997, nearly 10 percent of Black men in the United States between the ages of 25 and 29 were in prison. Though Blacks comprise only 12 percent of the country’s population, as of 1999 they made up 49 percent of the prison population.

The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that for the year 2000 Texas has more people in jail than any other state. The report states that nearly one out of three young Black men in the state is either in prison, on probation, or under some type of control by the “criminal justice” system. There are twice as many Blacks in Texas prisons as enrolled in college.

But the large number of convictions in the small town of Tulia, the fact that so many of the town’s African-American working people were swept up in the sting, and the well-known shady record

of the star witness, fueled the campaign that relatives, friends, and fellow workers launched against the convictions.

In September 2000 the first civil suit was filed in federal court. On October 13 of that year a complaint was filed with the U.S. Department of Justice seeking a civil rights investigation. In September 2001 the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund joined the Tulia Legal Defense Project and the Friends for Justice in taking up the case, enlisting lawyers pro bono to aid the defendants in their appeals and joining the campaign to overturn the convictions and pleas.

An international campaign gained steam. Media in Australia, the United Kingdom, France and other countries covered the Tulia case. Questions about the racist and anti-working-class nature of the whole prison system in the United States began to surround it.

In a hearing this March, Coleman acknowledged that there was no evidence beyond his testimony to support the convictions. He further stated that he had used a “racial epithet”—as the court politely called Coleman’s slur—to refer to Blacks in conversations with his fellow white cops.

Retired judge Ron Chapman was brought in to conduct hearings since the judge of many of the cases was forced to remove himself for publicly supporting the prosecutors after the trials. In an April hearing, Chapman cut short the massive body of

evidence being presented about the undercover cop of the year, stating that Coleman “is simply not a credible witness under oath.” Coleman has since been indicted for perjury.

Chapman recommended that the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals overturn all the convictions.

### Two still languish in prison

The court, however, has made no move to release those remaining in prison or overturn their convictions. In the face of the broadening public campaign, the state legislature passed a bill in May permitting the judge to release the last 14 defendants remaining in jail on bond while the Court of Criminal Appeals deliberates. Only 12 of the 14 were released, however, on June 16. The state continues to hold two of the framed-up Tulia residents, Daliel Olivaez and Cash Love, on legal technicalities.

The 12 who were released from jail still have their convictions hanging over them, as do all the 38. They are not eligible for welfare or other state benefits. They have lost jobs and farms, and have taken out loans to cover court costs.

Moore answered questions from the press after his release. “Well, I had kind of a hard time for a while there in prison,” he said, “because I have sugar diabetes.” He began to lose his sight. “But then I got my medication, so I’m all right now.” Except, he added, “I lost all my hogs because of this trouble. I lost everything, really.”

NAACP Legal Defense Fund assistant counsel Vanita Gupta said, “We can only hope that today’s actions will lead to a reversal of the Tulia convictions and justice for those who have wrongfully suffered for too long.”

## APPEAL TO *MILITANT* and *PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL* READERS Bound volumes of reference material needed for editorial work

In response to our appeal for bound volumes of the publications below, partisans of the papers have filled many of the gaps in our archives. Below are the volumes that we still need.

### **MILITANT** bound volumes

November 1928 – December 1934  
Dec. 1934 – Nov. 1936 (*New Militant*)  
Jan. 1933 – Dec. 1934 (*Labor Action*)  
Aug. 1937 – Jan. 1941 (*Socialist Appeal*)  
*Militant* volumes 1941 – 1962, 1964

### **INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS** and **WORLD OUTLOOK**

All bound volumes from 1963 to 1968, plus 1977

### **PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL** bound volumes

1992, 1994, 1995

Please send all bound volumes to the *Militant* at 152 W. 36<sup>th</sup> St., #401, New York, NY 10018. You can contact us at (212) 594-1014, or themilitant@verizon.net

## THE MILITANT

### Support struggle for women’s liberation!

*From Iran to India and the United States, interest in the fight for women’s liberation and the origins of women’s oppression is growing. The ‘Militant’ brings you coverage about battles for women’s rights and background on how the subjugation of women began and how it will be ended. Don’t miss a single issue!*



## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

#### RENEWAL

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT,  
152 WEST 36TH ST., #401 NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, A\$20 • United Kingdom, £8 • Canada, Can\$15 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Continental Europe, £12 • France, 20 Euros • Iceland, Kr1,800 • New Zealand, NZ\$20 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

## The Militant

Vol. 67/No. 24

Closing news date: July 1, 2003

**Editor:** ARGIRIS MALAPANIS  
**Business Manager:** MICHAEL ITALIE  
**Washington Bureau Chief:** SAM MANUEL  
**Editorial Staff:** Róger Calero, Michael Italie, Martin Koppel, Sam Manuel, and Paul Pederson. Published weekly except for one week in January, July, August and December.  
The *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 152 West 36th St., #401, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 594-1014 or (212) 594-8832; Fax (212) 594-1018.

**E-mail:** themilitant@verizon.net  
The *Militant* **website** is: www.themilitant.com  
Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 152 W. 36th St. #401, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.  
**POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to the *Militant*, 152 West 36th St., #401, New York, NY 10018.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

**Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80.

**Asia:** Send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

**Canada:** Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 1237 Jean-Talon est, Montréal, QC. Postal Code: H2R 1W1.

**United Kingdom:** £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LF, England.

**Southern Ireland and Continental Europe:** £70 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution at above address. **France:** Send 115 euros for one-year subscription to *Militant*, Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris; chèque postale: 40 134 34 U.

**Iceland:** Send 6,500 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to *Militant*, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik.

**Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 550 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to *Militant* Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9.

**New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$90 to P.O. Box 164, Campsie, Haymarket, NSW 2194, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*’s views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Liberal forces are energized to elect Democrats in 2004

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

With the 2004 election campaign off and running, liberal politicians and their supporters are feeling invigorated in their efforts to put a Democrat in the White House.

Nine Democrats have already thrown their hats in the ring. Others, such as Sen. Hillary Clinton, are campaigning unofficially for the 2008 race while leaving open the remote possibility for a run next year.

In their wake, most middle-class radical or socialist groups are focusing their energies on a “dump Bush” campaign in support of Democrats. They portray the Bush administration as ultrarightist to bolster their argument that voting for the Democratic Party would back the “peoples’ candidates.” Some, like the Green Party, have already announced they are likely to not run a presidential slate next year and instead back liberal Democrats nationwide.

## Liberal forces ‘very, very energized’

Democratic Party machines and liberal political groups are feverishly organizing and debating in every arena to advance their electoral prospects. Over the next year, “I think they will be energized,” a top Bush strategist told the *Washington Post*. “Very energized. Very, very energized.”

Among the nine declared Democratic hopefuls, those considered the most liberal include former Vermont governor Howard Dean, Rep. Dennis Kucinich, former senator Carol Moseley Braun, and New York politician Alfred Sharpton. The other candidates are Senators Robert Graham, John Kerry, John Edwards, Joseph Lieberman, and Rep. Richard Gephardt, who are tied to the “New Democrats” with whom former president William Clinton is associated.

During the 1992 election campaign, prior to his first term as president, Clinton pledged to “end welfare as we know it.” He carried through on that promise four years later by signing into law a “welfare reform” bill that eliminated federally guaranteed Aid for Families with Dependant Children—the first substantial assault on the Social Security Act in decades. This was the extension of the “welfare reform” Clinton had carried out as governor of Arkansas in the 1980s and early 1990s, when he had also gained a reputation as a voice for the insurance giants. And it was the course he had charted as head of the Democratic Leadership Council—associated with the New Democrats—and National Governors Conference during his rise as a bourgeois politician.

This course went hand in hand with the former president’s ardent support for capital punishment and signing of “anticrime,” “antiterrorist,” and anti-immigrant bills, which paved the way for the attacks on workers’ rights registered under the Bush White House. The U.S. military attacks on Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and Yugoslavia and the intensification of the U.S. economic war on Cuba on Clinton’s watch showed how consistent his foreign policy was with Washington’s unbroken record of imperialist aggression around the world.

Dean officially launched his campaign June 23. He has drawn attention as a candidate who “opposed the war in Iraq,” as his supporters describe him.

In his opening speech Dean criticized “the doctrine of preemptive war espoused by this administration” and its “disdain for allies, treaties, and international organizations.” He vowed to “defend America against terrorism,” chastised the Republican administration for failing to find “weapons of mass destruction” in Iraq, and said U.S. allies should be asked to send troops to maintain the occupation of that country.

Much of the political debate in Washington is now part of the election campaign. For example, liberal papers such as the *New York Times* have given massive coverage to charges by Democrats that the Bush administration did not offer “adequate” arguments to justify the invasion of Iraq, that no “weapons of mass destruction” have yet been found there, and that Washington faces a “quagmire” in Iraq.

Among the main points liberal critics of the Bush administration are campaigning

on in relation to the U.S. rulers’ “war on terrorism” is that they can do a better job on “homeland defense” and dealing with “terrorists” at home.

Liberals and middle-class radical groups are getting keyed up for the 2004 race.

United for Peace and Justice (UPJ), a coalition that, before the Iraq war, sponsored national peace demonstrations that peaked on February 15, held a “national strategy conference” in Chicago June 6–8. The gathering, attended by 550 delegates, focused on how to defeat the Bush administration’s “right-wing agenda” in the 2004 elections. It discussed the U.S. rulers’ attacks on political rights and the rights of immigrants, attributed to Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft, as a campaign issue to go after the Republican administration. UPJ is a coalition of liberals and groups on the left such as the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and Committees of Correspondence.

As the capitalist election campaigns heat up, it appears that a number of the political parties that in the past have run candidates against the Democrats and Republicans will not do so in 2004.

## Greens may not run own candidate

One of these is the Green Party, which ran Ralph Nader in the last two presidential elections. “Some of its activists are urging the party to forgo the race and, instead, throw its support behind one of the Democratic candidates—all in the hopes of unseating

BY JOE SWANSON

DES MOINES, Iowa—On June 21 supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign fanned out across this city to begin collecting the 727 signatures required by law to put Mary Martin on the ballot for mayor of Des Moines in the November 4 elections. Martin’s supporters set up two campaign tables at the entrances of a local farmers market and a shopping center near the campaign headquarters in a workers district here.

Martin also campaigned at the annual Juneteenth celebration in the Black community here, commemorating the end of the Civil War and the defeat of slavery. One Juneteenth participant who signed Martin’s petition said he very much appreciated that the candidate pointed to Benton Harbor as an example of the police brutality workers are up against today, referring to the racist actions by cops that led to the death of a Black motorist in that city June 16. Campaign supporters have set a goal to collect nearly double the signature requirement over the next few weeks.

At a campaign rally and barbecue later in the day to celebrate the first day of campaigning, Martin, 51, who works as a sewing machine operator, explained why the Socialist Workers campaign “offers the only fighting alternative to the twin parties of imperialist war and economic depression—the Democrats and Republicans.” Martin said she is “proud to carry the banner of the Socialist Workers—a campaign that is part of building a movement of working people and farmers along with youth that will stand up and resist the brutal effects of the crisis of the capitalist system.” She added, “Many working people are hoodwinked into believing the Democrats have something for them, when in reality the voice of the working class has only been heard through struggles for our rights waged under a two-party system that opposes ours interests.”

The *Des Moines Register* and KCCI Television Channel 8 covered the campaign rally. The *Register* published an interview with Martin on the front page of the daily’s June 23 “Metro” section (at right).

At the campaign rally, Mike Worrall, who recently graduated from Drake University, pointed out, “Every week in



Militant/Joe Swanson

**Mary Martin (center), Socialist Workers candidate for Des Moines mayor, campaigns at farmers market there June 21. “My campaign offers the only alternative to the twin parties of war and depression—the Democrats and Republicans,” said Martin.**

President Bush,” the *Washington Post* reported May 27, citing John Strawn, co-chair of the party’s presidential exploratory committee. “While Nader often said, during the [2000] campaign, that there was little difference between Al Gore and Bush, the party has since become an especially vociferous critic of the Bush administration.”

Some Green Party leaders favor supporting a liberal Democratic nominee for president and running local Green candidates—except in hotly disputed races, in which case they would back the Democrats.

The Greens are active in an effort to recall Gov. Gray Davis of California, a Democrat. Some party activists see the California recall campaign as a way to promote Green Party leader Peter Camejo—a “socially responsible” businessman who received 5 percent of the vote as the party’s gubernatorial can-

didate in the 2002 elections in that state—as a potential vice-presidential or presidential candidate in a future election.

The CPUSA, a longtime supporter of the Democrats as a “lesser evil,” is once again subordinating all its work to push for a “united front to defeat the extreme right wing,” that is, joining forces with anyone who will campaign for the Democratic nominee to unseat Bush, whom they describe as an ultrarightist who “stole” the presidency.

In an April 17 report to the CP’s National Board titled “The 2004 elections are pivotal to save our country and the world,” party leader Joelle Fishman said that while the CP might run its own candidates for local office, “I do not think it makes political sense to field a Communist Party candidate for president in 2004.” The last time the CP ran a presidential candidate was in 1984.

# Iowa socialist Martin runs for mayor

the news, another business is closing and workers are out of a job, but the rich keep getting richer and more working people are being forced to work two or more jobs to survive.”

Martin said her campaign calls for a steeply graduated income tax with no taxes for workers or exploited farmers, raising the minimum wage, instituting a sliding scale of wages and hours to spread around the available work, defending the rights of immigrant workers against government attacks, and the cancellation of the foreign debt of semicolonial countries.

These proposals, she said, along with actions in defense of the unions, address some of the most critical issues facing the working class. “What the Socialist Workers campaign calls for is a movement to replace capitalism with a workers and farmers government,” Martin said.

The socialist candidate invited participants to travel with her and other workers to Jefferson, Wisconsin, the following day to attend a solidarity rally for the United Food and Commercial Workers members there, who have been on strike against Tyson Foods for more than four months.

## Des Moines daily reports on socialist mayoral campaign

**The following article was published in the June 23 *Des Moines Register*—the main daily in Des Moines, Iowa—under the headline “Socialist Martin announces her candidacy for mayor.”**

BY DAKARAI I. AARONS

Des Moines resident Mary Martin says voters need an alternative to the usual field of wannabe politicians who run for mayor.

She knows it’s a long shot, but Martin thinks the time is right to put a socialist in City Hall.

“We don’t have deep illusions of being elected,” said Martin, 51, who announced her candidacy at a weekend barbecue and rally at Pathfinder Books, 3720 Sixth Ave.

Martin, who will represent the Socialist Party on the November ballot, does not expect a lot of votes, but says she wants to provide a true candidate for working-class people.

“Many working people are hoodwinked into believing the Democrats have something for them,” said Martin, a political newcomer and sewing machine operator for Winnebago Industries.

The rights and voices of the working class have been marginalized for decades under a two-party system that ignores their interests, she said.

Martin has lived in Des Moines for two years. She spent seven years in Washington, D.C., where she ran for the City Council in 1996.

Her husband, Edwin Fruit, ran an unsuccessful bid against U.S. Rep. Leonard Boswell, D-Ia., last fall.

Martin’s campaign focuses primarily on international issues: an end to the U.S. embargo on Cuba and military action in Iraq, abolition of the death penalty and the removal of U.S. troops in South Korea.

“We don’t see our campaign as stopping at the borders of Des Moines,” she said. “We think the level of political discussion needs to be raised above potholes and the Gateway. The level of politics keeps the working class out.”

A higher minimum wage, protection for factory workers against corporate interests, racism and police brutality all resonate with the working class, Martin said. All need to be addressed in a large forum, she said.

“What we call for is a movement to replace capitalism with a workers’ and farmers’ government,” she said.

The slate of opponents includes City Councilwoman Christine Hensley, real estate agent Gayle Collins, City Councilman Frank Cownie, and temporary worker Pete Rose.

Martin might not win, said Fruit, who is also her campaign treasurer, but at least Des Moines’ working class will have a voice in the election process.

“Stop getting behind the lesser of the two evils,” Fruit told supporters. “Change comes when people make themselves heard in a mass way.”

# Affirmative action

**Continued from front page**  
bosses and government officials.

In its 1978 *University of California Regents v. Bakke* ruling, the Supreme Court declared racial quotas unconstitutional for admission to colleges and universities. At the same time it held that “the goal of achieving a diverse student body is sufficiently compelling to justify consideration of race...under some circumstances.”

After the *Bakke* decision, many schools like the University of Michigan adjusted their affirmative action programs to use race and “diversity” as considerations.

The June 23 ruling noted that the *Bakke* case had produced six separate opinions by the justices, none of them commanding a majority of the court. Justice Lewis Powell, who announced the 1978 decision, submitted an opinion, not joined by the other judges, stating that there was “a compelling state interest” in racial diversity in university admissions.

In the latest decision, the Court went considerably further than *Bakke*, placing Powell’s statement at the center of its ruling. “The Court endorses Justice Powell’s view that student body diversity is a compelling state interest in the context of university admissions,” O’Connor wrote for the majority.

## Fortune 500, military brass file briefs

The University of Michigan case, as the first Supreme Court decision on affirmative action since *Bakke*, drew nationwide attention that highlighted the sea change in social attitudes that has taken place in the United States over the decades, with overwhelming support for affirmative action among working people, the middle classes, and among the majority of the U.S. ruling class.

The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* reported June 24 that “a raft of universities...filed briefs in support of the University of Michigan, arguing that the only way to make sure campuses do not become bastions of white privilege is to include race and ethnicity as a factor in admissions. They were joined by a number of U.S. corporate and military leaders, who warned the court that overthrowing affirmative action entirely would undo years of progress in providing minorities economic and leadership opportunities formerly closed off to them.” Briefs supporting the UM affirmative actions programs were filed by 20 Fortune 500 companies, including General Motors, Dupont, Texaco, Dow Chemical, Bank One, Eastman Kodak, Eli Lilly, and Procter and Gamble.

A brief was also submitted by 30 U.S. generals and admirals of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, including Adm. William Crowe and Generals Wesley Clark, Norman Schwarzkopf, John Shalikashvili, Hugh Shelton, and Anthony Zinni. In the 30-page document they argued that the government’s “compelling national security need for a cohesive military led by a diverse officer corps of the highest quality” requires race-conscious admissions policies for officer training programs.

In a section titled “The lesson of history,” they detailed some of the problems faced by

the U.S. military before the percentage of oppressed nationalities in the officer corps was increased, particularly during the Vietnam War when “racial tensions reached a point where there was an inability to fight.” The brief noted that the U.S. military was forced to take affirmative action measures to recruit Blacks and other oppressed nationalities into the officer training program and that such conscious steps have proved necessary for the morale and cohesion of the U.S. armed forces and its officers.

The Bush administration filed a brief asking the Supreme Court to invalidate both University of Michigan programs as based on quota systems. At the same time it accepted the consideration of race as a factor, which angered right-wing groups.

The White House brief promoted what it called “race-neutral” alternatives to affirmative action quotas. It pointed to Texas, where students graduating in the top 10 percent of all high schools in the state, including majority-Black schools, are offered admission to a state university. The top-10 system was established after a court struck down the affirmative action program at the University of Texas. “Percentage plans” are based on the reality that high schools in the state are highly segregated.

The University of Michigan undergraduate admissions program used a point system to rate students seeking to be admitted. Points were awarded to grade-point averages and scores on college entrance exams. It also gave points for several other categories, including relatives of alumni, Michigan residents, and members of oppressed nationalities.

The lawsuits and the Bush administration opposed only the latter category. The Supreme Court ruling said the undergraduate school’s point system was too “mechanical” and not “individualized” enough.

Most supporters of affirmative action celebrated the court’s decision as a victory.

“Affirmative action has been upheld, *Bakke* has been deemed good and we move forward today knowing that we are moving in the right direction,” Michigan student assembly president Angela Galardi said. “The Court upheld the principle while critiquing the process.”

Students Supporting Affirmative Action and the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary (BAMN) rallied on the Ann Arbor campus on June 23 to celebrate the Supreme Court ruling.

In an opinion piece in the *Michigan Daily*, the newspaper of the University of Michigan, BAMN members Agnes Aleobua



1995 march on University of California in Los Angeles in defense of affirmative action

and Kate Stenvig wrote that “we have saved *Brown v. Board of Education* and are now in a stronger position than at any point in the past 30 years to realize the promise of *Brown*—integration and equality in American education.”

At the rally BAMN spokeswoman Shanta Driver said the undergraduate school could achieve “the exact same thing that it achieved with the point system” by using a more “nuanced and individualized” system.

Recent law school graduate Brandy Johnson praised the court’s decision while also reminding fellow students that the struggle for equality is not yet over.

“The court’s ruling today acknowledges what communities of color and their allies have known all along—that race still matters in America, and that color-blindness is irrelevant in a society where race continues to shape the distribution of resources in wealth, education, housing, the criminal justice system, and beyond.”

Bush issued a mild statement, praising the Supreme Court “for recognizing the value of diversity on our nation’s campuses.”

Some members of the Bush administration had publicly defended affirmative action. In a January 17 statement, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice said, “I agree with the President’s position, which emphasized the need for diversity and recognizes the continued legacy of racial prejudice, and the need to fight it.” She added, “I believe that while race neutral means are preferable, it is appropriate to use race as one factor among others in achieving a diverse student body.”

The brief submitted by the military officers quoted a 1996 statement by Gen.

Colin Powell, currently U.S. secretary of state, who said, “In the military, we...used Affirmative Action to reach out to those who were qualified, but who were often overlooked or ignored.”

## Right-wing anger

The Supreme Court ruling dismayed opponents of affirmative action. Terrence Pell, president of the Center for Individual Rights, which represented the plaintiffs, said, “Today’s ruling is a mixed decision.” Trying to put a good face on it, he said it “signals the beginning of the end for race-based admissions.”

Some right-wing groups were furious over the University of Michigan ruling. That outrage was magnified by a subsequent Supreme Court decision that struck down an anti-gay rights Texas sodomy law. Jay Sekulow, legal director of the right-wing American Center for Law and Justice said he “deplored” the two rulings.

“It’s outrageous that the majority in favor of these racial preferences was formed by Republican appointees,” sputtered Clint Bolick of the Institute for Justice, another rightist group.

The ruling is expected to have an impact on university admissions programs at other universities. Officials of the University of Texas have said they will now move to reincorporate the use of race as a factor in university admissions within the framework of the court ruling and the existing “10 percent” admissions law.

*Osborne Hart in Detroit contributed to this article.*

# Gov’t moves to deport Iowa student

BY ROGER CALERO

DES MOINES, Iowa—Karina Ventura, 18, a second-year student at Lincoln High School here, faces deportation to Mexico after being arrested on charges of trespassing on school grounds. A Des Moines cop posted at Hoover High School arrested her and took her to jail April 23 for setting foot

on school grounds while waiting to pick up a friend.

Ventura was turned over to the immigration cops after the police at the Polk County Jail checked on the teenager’s immigration status while booking her for the misdemeanor or trespassing charge. She was released after spending more than a week in jail, and now awaits a deportation hearing.

The case has been covered by local newspapers. It has provoked a reaction among many here concerned about the government’s attempt to deport Ventura over a misdemeanor charge, and the increasing role of local cops in doing the job of the immigration police.

“I am really nervous,” said the teenager in a May 1 interview from jail. “I want to go home. I feel sad because I want to keep going with my school. I don’t understand how they could do this to a student. I have my family and my friends here and everything. If they send me back, it will change my life.”

“The girl just turned 18, and she is going to be dropped off at a border town. She is terrified,” Jesse Villalobos, from the National Conference for Community and Justice, told the *Des Moines Register* May 3.

According to the *Register*, this was not the first time local police have turned a Des Moines student over to the *Migra*. Last year another teenager was deported after being arrested for lying about his age to juvenile court officials. Checking immigration status is standard practice at the Polk County Jail, reported the daily.

As part of the stepped-up attacks against immigrant workers, the U.S government has sought to expand the operations of state and local police agencies to include the enforce-

ment of immigration laws, something they are currently prohibited from doing.

Latino families in the Hoover area have filed a series of complaints accusing local cops posted at schools of harrassing immigrant students, carrying out unwarranted searches of their vehicles and lockers, and using racist slurs towards these students.

The *Register* reported that Latino students at Hoover account for 16 percent of the arrests at that school, even though they only make up 6 percent of the student’s body.

School officials held a conference earlier this year in response to the growing complaints from families and local organizations defending immigrant rights. School superintendent Eric Witherspoon said that at that time, “We worked with the SRO’s [School Resource Officer], and we really wanted to be sure it was clear that whether a student is in the country with proper papers or not, our role is not to be questioning that—our role is to make sure they are in school and getting a good education.”

Despite the complaints from parents, the school district announced that it will keep the cops on the school grounds through the end of the school year, and that it will share the cost with the police department.

Polk County juvenile court spokesperson Ed Nahas defended the police actions, saying that “whether this person is held beyond the point of the arrest and eventually deported” is beyond police department control.

Immigration officials have said that Ventura could request that the immigration judge grant her a “voluntary departure” in order to avoid getting deported. If she does get deported she could face felony charges for returning to the United States.

# Socialist Workers July conference

**Continued from front page**  
Trade Unions, and Joining Forces with Other Vanguard Workers.”

On Saturday, July 12, Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the SWP National Committee, will present a report on “Cuba’s Vanguard Place in the Proletariat’s Line of March Toward Power.” It will take up the “great debate” now opening up on the key questions for humanity, above all the socialist revolution and the working class’s line of march towards state power.

Delegates to the conference elected by SWP branches and fraternal delegates will discuss and vote on each of these reports.

One component of the conference will be the Friday evening and Saturday afternoon classes, focusing on central questions facing the working-class movement (see front-page ad). The classes will be repeated so participants can attend two classes.

Saturday night, at the closing rally, the Socialist Workers Party will name its presidential ticket and launch its national 2004 election campaign. The rally will also be a sendoff for Róger Calero, as he begins the international leg of the “Fight to Win/Sí Se

Puede” tour to spread the lessons about his successful antideportation fight and join struggles of fellow working-class militants.

Before the opening session, there will be meetings of the three national fractions of socialist workers in the UFCW, the Union of Needletrade, Industrial and Textile Employees, and the United Mine Workers.

On Thursday night, immediately after the opening session of the conference, there will be a meeting to welcome all the young socialists present. It will be an opportunity for youth attending the conference to meet members of the Young Socialists from around the world and get a political orientation on the conference activities.

On the day after the conference, a meeting will be held for all young socialists who attended the event to discuss plans for building the YS. Throughout the weekend daily events will be held for young socialists to meet informally with leaders of the communist movement from around the world to discuss the reports, classes, and other activities. Anyone interested in taking part should contact socialist workers at the addresses listed on page 8.

# ‘Fight to win!’ campaign against deportations spreads through Midwest

BY BECKY ELLIS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minnesota—“‘Fight to Win’, that’s what my international tour is about,” said Róger Calero at meetings in St. Paul and Minneapolis, June 20–21, the second stop of his tour after winning his fight against deportation. While in the Twin Cities, Calero was joined by Omar Jamal, Executive Director of the Somali Justice Center, who is currently involved in a fight against his own deportation.

On Dec. 3, 2002, Calero, an associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* and staff writer for the *Militant*, was arrested by immigration agents when he arrived at Houston Intercontinental Airport on his way back home from a reporting trip to Cuba and Mexico. He was thrown in an immigration jail where he was held for 10 days until a campaign of protest won his release. While Calero was locked up in Houston, the government began deportation proceedings against him, using a conviction on his record for selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop while he was in high school in 1988. The immigration service was fully aware of this conviction and waived it when it granted Calero permanent residency in 1990, and again when it renewed his green card 10 years later.

Since last December, Calero remained under the threat of deportation until the government moved to drop its case against him in early May, saying that circumstances had changed since his arrest and it was no longer in Washington’s interest to pursue deportation. What changed in the ensuing five months was the swelling of public support for his fight against the government’s effort to exclude him from the country.

On May 22 an immigration judge in Newark, New Jersey, where Calero lives, ruled that he “is not deportable,” formally closing the case.

Calero met with more than 40 people at a gathering sponsored by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 789. Before becoming a journalist, Calero had worked in the Midwest as a packinghouse worker. In South St. Paul, Minnesota, he had been part of a groundbreaking union organizing drive that won the union at Dakota Beef. UFCW Local 789, which now represents workers at the plant, took up Calero’s fight from the beginning.

Local 789’s former president Bill Pearson signed on as one of the co-chairs of the Róger Calero Defense Committee. The union local organized a fund-raiser at the union hall that brought in over \$2,000. “His coworkers saw him as a person to turn to for help. So did I,” Pearson wrote to immigration authorities on Calero’s behalf. “Making him leave the country would be an injustice.”

José Estrada, a Mexican worker on the kill floor at Dakota Premium, said, “I am happy that Róger won, a brother like us.” Estrada recounted that he had been deported many times when he worked in Brownsville, Texas, in 1949 when he was 17 years old. “I crossed the border when I had to, since I needed to work,” he said. “Each time when I was deported to Matamoros across the border I regarded it as a brief vacation, a chance to do some shopping. Mexican people had lived in these areas many years before they were taken over by the United States and we instinctively feel it is right to be here. The deportations have been going on for a long time. We need to change the laws and change the borders.” He was among 10 Local 789 members at the meeting.

Local 789 president Don Seaquist also addressed the meeting. “Róger helped to educate us in Local 789 about struggles of workers around the world,” he said. “The fight for the rights of immigrant workers has just started. To us in UFCW Local 789 it doesn’t matter the color of your skin, your language, or your country of origin, if you are abused as a worker you get our support.”

Bernie Hesse, a Local 789 organizer, who has helped to raise thousands of dollars for the defense effort, greeted participants and said, “Immigration policy in this country is used to keep working people down. Im-

migrant workers are picked upon. Róger Calero and Omar Jamal are heroes. They don’t duck. They are ready for a fight.”

“The government has ruled me ‘not deportable,’” Calero said in his remarks. “I wear that title as a badge of honor. I wear it proudly for the thousands of immigrants facing deportation. While I want to thank all of you who helped me win this victory, I’d like to share the lessons of the victory so that we can continue to use them to make the government, their agencies, and bosses pay the highest political price every time they try to victimize one of us.

“We won because we reached out broadly—to immigrant workers, to trade unionists, to defenders of democratic rights. We explained that the attack on me was part of a broader assault on working people—that by attacking immigrants like myself the bosses and their government are seeking to deepen divisions among workers, as part of their attempt to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto our backs.”

Calero explained that his defense campaign had been nonpartisan, open to anyone with any political views. It reached out to those fighting against the death penalty, police brutality, organizing unions, to workers on strike. He explained that some advised him to not fight, saying “you can’t win, don’t provoke them, leave it to the lawyers, talk to your congressman.” But, he emphasized, “You have to show no fear. The only way to win justice is to fight back.”

The defense effort was based on the work of many supporters and on decades of experience of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which helped to organize his fight nationally, according to Calero. “It was also based on the decades of experience of the communist movement and the cadre of the So-

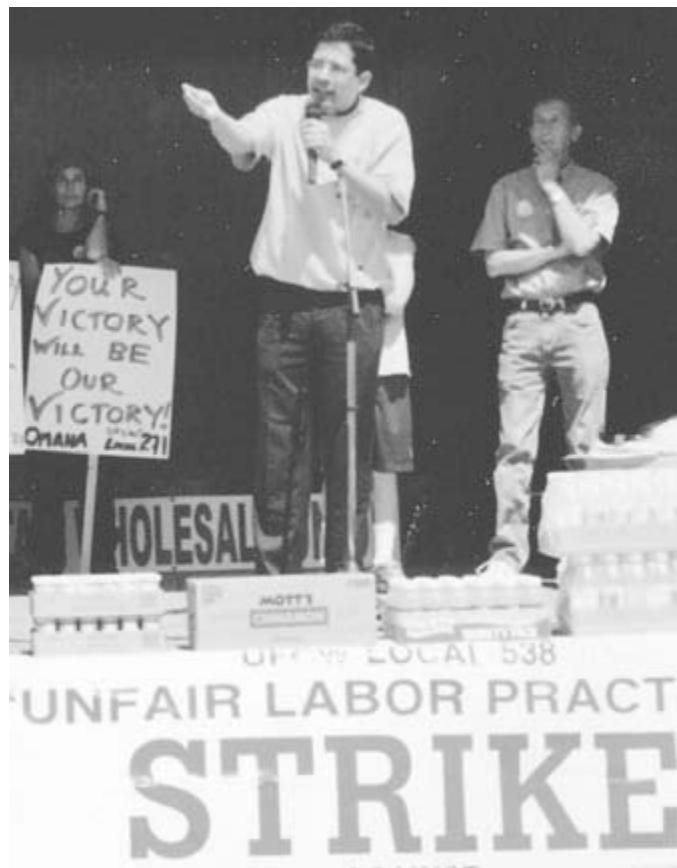
cialist Workers Party that spearheaded this campaign,” he said. “Together with other vanguard workers they participate in fights against the bosses in their factories and in other social protests and this is where we took this fight.”

The rulers are not as omnipotent as they’d like workers to believe, he said. “They can be defeated if we organize a fight to win.” He encouraged his supporters to take the lessons of his struggle to others who are fighting, citing the example of meat packers in Jefferson, Wisconsin, who have been on strike against Tyson Foods for four months.

On June 22, Calero joined a Local 789 delegation to a strike solidarity rally in Jefferson, where he also spoke.

Omar Jamal said when he heard of Calero’s victory he thought to himself, “This is our victory. I won, too.” He told the meeting that last year when he was on the “National Tour against Hate” that took him to Seattle and to Portland, Oregon, as well as Lewiston, Maine, he ran into Calero’s supporters in each of those cities.

Calero and Jamal also spoke the following night at a forum at a community center in the Somali community in Minneapolis. Some 25 people took part. One Somali said that the employers in Owatonna, a city just



Militant/Jacob Perasso

**Róger Calero addresses June 22 solidarity rally in front of Tyson Foods plant in Jefferson, Wisconsin, where UFCW Local 538 members have been on strike for four months.**

south of St. Paul, depend on immigrant workers to help pick crops for part of the year. She explained that the government is fully aware that undocumented workers are depended upon those employers, but they allow them to work and then push to deport them. She wanted to know why the government did that.

Calero answered that the government did not really want to deport all immigrants, but they want to victimize them in order to create a layer of pariahs that can be superexploited. “In addition,” he said, “the bosses push to blame immigrant workers for job losses and low wages to deepen the divisions within the working class in order to crush solidarity that allows working people to unite to defend ourselves.”

## Chicago Congress Hotel workers strike

**Continued from front page**

their commitment to winning a similar contract now for the Congress hotel workers.

“Their first offer was a 25 percent cut in pay. That made everyone mad, but the management insisted ‘there’s nothing you can do, that’s the way it is,’” said Ezequiel, a worker in the restaurant. “So we voted to strike, 113 to 1!” on May 29.

Mario Moreno reported that when his supervisor in the laundry announced the implementation of the 7 percent cut in pay, “everyone was shocked. We didn’t

believe it. We told him the union never agreed to this. The boss just snapped back, ‘you don’t work for the union, you work for us.’

“Then everyone started seeing the pay cut in our checks. Now we were really mad. We had a meeting, decided to go out June 15 and everyone joined the walkout.”

The management claims that the union demands are unreasonable given a downturn in the travel and convention business and increased competition among hotels, which has led them to reduce their room rates.

## Iowa daily covers Calero tour

**The following is an article that was published in the June 26 *Des Moines Register* under the headline “Journalist speaks out on unjust deportation.” The newspaper is the main daily in Des Moines, Iowa.**

BY BRIANNA BLAKE

After winning a six-month battle against U.S. government efforts to deport him, journalist Roger Calero returned to Perry on Wednesday to speak to immigrant workers about confronting unjust deportation.

“We set a precedent that deportation is not automatic, that you can fight against it and win,” said Calero, a reporter and editor for Socialist publications *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*.

His target audience is undocumented immigrants in Iowa who often avoid detection unless arrested. An arrest often guarantees deportation, as Karina Ventura, 18, learned in April.

The Des Moines Lincoln High School student faces deportation because she went to Hoover High School to pick up a friend and was arrested for trespassing by a school police officer. The officer discovered that Ventura had been banned from the campus for a previous incident.

Calero, 34, worked as a meat packer in Perry in 1999 and 2000 and now lives in

New Jersey. He was detained for 10 days last December by immigration agents in Houston when he returned to the country from reporting assignments in Latin America.

He was detained when officials noticed that although he has been a U.S. resident for 12 years, Calero was not a citizen. Officials threatened him with deportation to his native Nicaragua because of a 1988 marijuana sales conviction, when he was a high school student in Los Angeles.

Calero’s magazine launched a public campaign against his deportation. After being released from detention, Calero began a national speaking tour gaining support to put pressure on the government to drop his case. On May 22, Immigration Judge William Strasser issued the order saying Calero was not deportable.

“They wanted me to pay twice for the same conviction,” Calero said. “From the beginning, I have heard from many others who are caught up in the immigration system, fighting to remain here and defend their rights. I want to make the gains of this fight the property of thousands of others who face attack from the government.”

Calero called his case an important victory for workers’ rights. He is traveling and speaking before unions, immigrant rights groups, and rallies of supporters across the country and internationally.

A spokesperson for the union, Lars Negstad, countered that the wages before the 7 percent cut were already at the low levels the hotel association paid before the September contract settlement. That means the Congress had been paying 13 percent less than other Local 1 employees, and now claims it has to cut even more. He called these company actions “outrageous.”

A housekeeper at the Congress now makes \$8.21 an hour, while most unionized housekeepers make \$10.

Moreno also was skeptical about the management claims. He pointed out that when business dropped, half his department was laid off. So with the big conventions filling up the hotels now, they have to do the same work as before, but with fewer people. “They just want to defeat us, to get rid of the union here,” he said.

Picket lines are staffed 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. On the line Sunday, Robert Hellom, who has worked for 43 years at the Palmer House Hilton, explained that he sees this fight as the next step forward for his union. He wants to see all the hotel workers under the same contract with one expiration date. He is part of the union committee that organizes hotel workers in the 27 hotels covered by the new contract to come out and join the picket lines, and carry out other strike support work.

Negstad explained the union has also reached out to workers applying for work at temporary agencies with the facts about their fight. “We’ve had success in one-on-one discussions,” he said. “They don’t know when they go in there that they will have to cross a picket line to take this job. They are the most exploited workers of all.”

[www.CongressHotelStrike.info](http://www.CongressHotelStrike.info) offers online information and updates on the strike.

*Pattie Thompson is a sewing machine operator in Chicago and a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE).*

# British ruling class remains divided on adoption of euro

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON—"Brown decides: positively maybe" was how the right-wing *Daily Telegraph* summed up the June 9 House of Commons statement on the entry of the United Kingdom into the European Monetary Union and adoption of the euro. Gordon Brown, the Labour Party government's finance minister, made the announcement.

In his speech Brown said that only one of his five economic "tests" for embracing the euro as the British currency had been met in regard to its effect on the British rulers' financial market. The government will delay a referendum on the issue.

Many in the big-business media interpreted the statement as indicating that adoption of the euro won't happen. The *Telegraph*, for example, said, "Despite the pro-euro gloss of his statement, a referendum before the next election remains unlikely."

Brown's speech, which was accompanied by a 250-page "assessment" and some 1,700 pages of obfuscating "analysis," was an attempt at a balancing act within the British ruling class, which is deeply divided on this issue. Many capitalists here are adamantly opposed to giving up the pound and establishing closer ties with the European Union—which remains dominated by the Franco-German axis—preferring instead to stick strictly with the British rulers' historic "special relationship" with Washington.

Clashes over the issue have been reported between Brown and Labour prime minister Anthony Blair. The *Telegraph* stated, "The Chancellor, renowned for his skeptical approach to the euro, cloaked his 'No, not yet' verdict in the most pro-European rhetoric he has so far deployed." Meanwhile, a week before the Commons statement Blair told the press he intended to lead a referendum fight for a "Yes" vote on the euro, saying, "I have absolutely no doubt that it is in Britain's interests to be a full-hearted member of Europe." Blair and Brown made a show of unity June 10 at a joint press conference, where they launched what they called a "patriotic case for Europe."

Twelve countries within the European Union (EU) have joined the single currency. In doing so, their governments gave up not only individual currencies but also the power to set interest rates, which is now vested in the European Central Bank based in Frankfurt. Although a member of the EU, London has not joined the euro.

Brown stated that the United Kingdom has not "converged" sufficiently with the "Eurozone" economies—one of his "tests" for adopting the new currency—for it to surrender control over the cost of borrowing money. The British economy is at a different stage in the business cycle from those of its European competitors. Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, in particular, are in recession. Neither France nor Germany have met the stipulation of the EU's Growth and

Stability Pact that limits budget deficits to a maximum of 3 percent of GDP.

Brown added that the immediate introduction of the euro would lead to greater volatility—price swings—in the housing market in the United Kingdom where 70 percent of householders "own" their homes—that is, are debt slaves to the banks that issued the mortgages—unlike in the Eurozone where renting is more common. Interest rates in the Eurozone countries are currently 2 percent, nearly half those in Britain at 3.75 percent. Brown also claimed that the impact of the euro on investment into the United Kingdom would be negative.

## Attacks on the social wage

At the heart of Brown's comments on the two other failed "tests"—the impact of the euro on labor "flexibility" and unemployment benefits—was a call to the capitalist rulers in Britain, and throughout Europe, to step up attacks on wages, working conditions, and social entitlements. The British rulers have advanced further in these assaults than their competitors in the EU, particularly France and Germany.

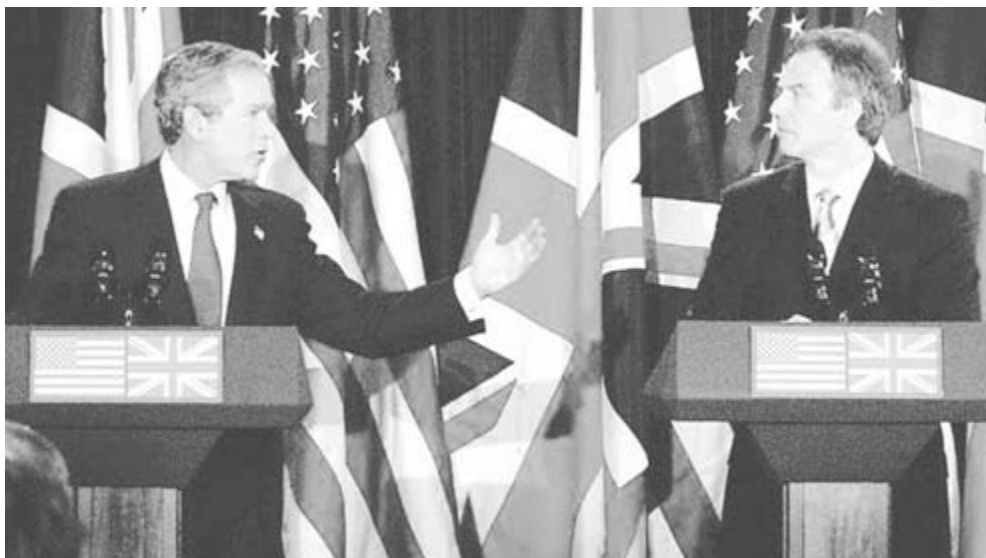
"The view in London," the *Daily Telegraph* stated, "is that economies based on the European social model veer too much on the side of worker protection." The British rulers argue that more "structural reform"—the big-business press code for assaults on workers' conditions and rights—is needed, the paper said. The paper praised the measures recently announced by the Schröder government in Germany—cutting back unemployment and other benefits—as a positive example.

In his June 9 statement Brown called for further "reform" in Europe and attacks on UK workers in the form of cutting back on national pay negotiations, particularly with trade unions in the public sector. This would allow employers to pay lower wages in certain areas. Anticipating the kind of resistance this would engender, *The Times* of London noted, prior to Brown's parliamentary statement, "The acid test of flexibility... is whether Mr. Brown can convince an audience not of leading businessmen but trade unionists to embrace it." Digby Jones, director-general of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), a leading employers association, applauded Brown's stance. "Brown is rightly making EU reform a centerpiece of UK government policy," he said.

Reflecting the divisions in the ruling class, the British press is more or less evenly split over the euro issue, with both sides putting forward nationalist arguments.

In April *The Observer* ran an editorial titled "We belong at the heart of Europe—Why Britain should join the Euro." Its editors stated, "Prevarication must cease." The pro-euro *Independent* said Brown's statement had failed the test of "political courage." A June 10 editorial in the *Financial Times* said Blair had failed to confront "the most important question facing the country at the start of the 21st century." It derided Brown's tests as "bogus" and said "the benefits of euro membership are clear and the barriers are disappearing fast."

The *Sunday Telegraph*, meanwhile, in opposing the euro, said the issue was "never really about the economics.... For all the economesse jargon... the issue of the British and the euro is really about who we are as a people." It is, the paper said, "about whether we see ourselves as Europeans. So far, the evidence suggests we do not." In similar vein *Daily Mail* columnist Simon Heffer dismissed the economic arguments for the euro as both "speculative and rhetorical" and "irrelevant." The issue, he said, was that Britain would "not merely lose the readily ridiculed commodity known as sovereignty. We lose a substantial chunk of our democracy.... Nobody will vote for the people in Frankfurt who set the interest rate and the inflation target that governs it."



Above, U.S. president George Bush and British prime minister Anthony Blair at joint news conference after meeting in Northern Ireland in April. Right, British Royal Marines guard Iraqis in the port of Umm-Qasr during early stages of imperialist assault on Iraq. Many capitalists in the United Kingdom are opposed to giving up the pound and adopting the euro, preferring to stick with London's "special relationship" with Washington. Others seek greater stability in trade with European Union powers that they believe a common European currency promises.



British interests would be subordinated to "something called the European interest," the right-wing columnist said.

Representatives of companies based in Britain and their organizations have also expressed conflicting views, in part reflecting the differing pressures on manufacturers engaged in trade and institutions responsible for investment. "The most striking feature of the direction of UK direct investment is that it bears little similarity with the UK pattern of visible trade. The major difference is the greater trade with EU companies, which accounts for 57 percent of all our visible trade," explains the UK government's Treasury. Many British companies engaged in European trade and foreign-based companies that invest in the UK as a springboard into the European Union market—such as Ford Motors and Nissan—support Britain's entry to the euro.

Ford, Alstom UK, BAE Systems, British Telecommunications, Kellogg's, and Unilever, are among the companies listed as donors to the "Britain in Europe" campaign. These larger capitalists favor a single currency as it would eliminate the costs and risks involved in currency transactions for the goods and services they buy or sell in the eurozone.

But 31 percent of UK investment is with the EU countries. By far the biggest single host of UK overseas investment is the United States, while non-OECD countries in the Third World, especially in Asia and Latin America account for a further 17 percent. Such transactions are conducted in the U.S. dollar. Overseas investment accounts for a relatively high proportion of the GDP in the UK as opposed to other imperialist countries. "The UK's outward and inward direct investment flows as a percentage of the GDP are more than double those of its nearest competitor," the Treasury states.

Capitalists that have opposed the euro, include the Federation of Small Businesses and Simon Wolfson, chief executive of Next, a clothing retail chain. The British Chambers of Commerce and the Institute of Directors support a continued delay before euro entry would be considered.

## Weakness of British imperialism

This debate reflects the sharpening competition among capitalists as depression conditions unfold and the dilemma faced by the UK rulers caused by the relative weakness of British imperialism. It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a strategic alliance with Washington and simultaneously put Britain "at the center of Europe," as Anthony Blair favors. This creates fissures in ruling circles that don't neatly correspond to economic interests.

Writing in the *Daily Telegraph* June 15,

the former chancellor in the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher, Nigel Lawson, described adopting the euro as "a Rubicon which it would be the utmost folly to cross." Lawson argued that the driving force behind European monetary union was a political project led by the French rulers, with the backing of Berlin, not to create a United States of Europe but "to construct a Europe sufficiently united to create an effective challenge to what it sees (and fears) as the political, economic, and indeed cultural hegemony of the United States."

Lawson said Blair's support for the euro was due to the fact that "he appears to believe that, once inside EMU, we could exert a decisive influence over Europe's role in world affairs that would be unattainable outside it." Lawson dismissed this view as "implausible to the point of incoherence." Britain could only play a leading role in Europe if it abandoned its special relationship with Washington, he stated. "As, once again, Iraq showed, Britain is (in de Gaulle's words) America's Trojan horse in Europe. Unless Britain were to sign up to the French agenda, to allow the United Kingdom a leadership role of any kind would be to threaten what, as France sees it, Europe is all about."

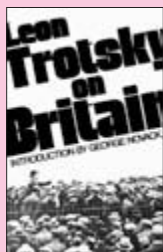
Similar divisions in UK ruling-class opinion have greeted the publication of a draft European Union constitution. This was presented at the EU summit in Thessaloniki, Greece, June 20 by former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who headed the drafting convention. The final text of this document is due to be agreed on by EU governments next year. The current draft text proposes a full-time European president, foreign minister, public prosecutor, and finance chief for the eurozone. Both the French and German governments welcomed the document, while Blair stated that it was a basis for "further negotiations." At stake for the British imperialists in those talks will be the extent to which they maintain a veto over EU decision making as opposed to being forced to accept majority votes. "What we want is a Europe of nations, not a federal super-state," Blair said. "There is no way Britain is going to give up our independent sovereign right to determine our tax policy, our foreign policy, our defense policy, our own borders," he added. The opposition Conservatives have demanded a referendum on the issue, which Blair opposes.

In May, after an earlier draft had been published, the *Daily Mail* began organizing its own "referendum" on the proposed EU constitution. The document would "strip this country of any meaningful control over its own affairs and leave it as little more than a province in the United States of Europe, sweeping away 1,000 years of our history" the right-wing daily shrieked.

From Pathfinder

## Leon Trotsky on Britain

The displacement of British industry, trade, finance, and diplomacy by its U.S. rival following the first World War opened a period of social crisis and class battles across Britain, discussed in these articles by Trotsky. \$26.95



Order online from  
www.pathfinderpress.com  
Also available from bookstores, including those listed on page 8

# Squeeze on Iran

**Continued from front page**

missiles—declared Iran and north Korea to be the major culprits in the “proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.”

Meanwhile, students and other youth in a number of Iranian cities have continued their demonstrations, demanding an end to the regime’s throttling of basic democratic rights justified by reference to Islamic scripture. Protest actions are planned in the first week of July to mark the anniversary of 1999 protests that were attacked by cops and extralegal goons with fatal consequences.

On June 29 the Iranian Students News Agency reported that students at the School of Psychology and Education at Tehran university organized a sit-down strike, refusing to take examinations, and held an open forum discussion. They issued a statement condemning assaults on demonstrators, opposing threats to privatize the universities, and demanding implementation of the constitutional provision for free education. In response to these legitimate demands, they said, they were attacked and imprisoned.

The statement also called on the university to fight for the release of the imprisoned students and to provide them with lawyers. Thousands of students have been thrown into jail in the course of the protests.

Iran and north Korea were the only countries mentioned by name in the summit statement on “Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD),” jointly released June 25 by Bush, European Council president Konstandinos Simitis, and European Commission president Romano Prodi.

The U.S. and EU heads of state agreed to “seek new methods to stop the proliferation trade to and from countries and entities of proliferation concern”—that is, north Korea, Iran, and groups these imperialist powers deem “terrorist” that supposedly do business with Pyongyang and Tehran.

More specifically, Bush, Prodi, and Simitis pledged to “strengthen identification, control and interdiction of illegal shipments, including national criminal sanctions against those who contribute to illicit procurement efforts.” The phrase referred to agreements being put in place by Washington, Berlin, Paris, and other imperialist powers to intercept planes and ships carrying allegedly suspect cargo when they enter the waters and airspace of participating powers—actions which are currently illegal. “It was the first time they [the EU representatives] used the word ‘interdiction,’” said a White House official with satisfaction.

“When Europe and the United States are united, no problem and no enemy can stand against us,” boasted Prodi, who served as prime minister of Italy in the 1990s. The social democratic politician was forced to resign in October 1998 as his coalition government broke up after introducing cuts to social security payments that proved deeply unpopular among working people.

**Tehran may hand over Al Qaeda tops**

For its part, the Iranian government has repeatedly made clear its willingness to give ground in the face of the unrelenting and increasing pressure from the imperialist powers.

In the latest example, Tehran has entered talks with government representatives of Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia to prepare the extradition of what are alleged to be three top leaders of Al Qaeda. A report by Agence France Presse stated that the three men, presently held in Iranian custody, include the number two figure in the organization’s hierarchy.

Allegations of ties with Al Qaeda are among the themes of the Washington-led propaganda campaign against Iran. Others include the claim of its development of “weapons of mass destruction” and criticism of the antidemocratic character of many of the ruling regime’s laws and practices. Working in partnership with the Israeli government, Washington also accuses Tehran of backing “terrorist” foes of the Zionist settler state, including the Hezbollah organization in Lebanon, and the Gaza-based Hamas.

Former Israeli Labor Party prime minister Shimon Peres repeated these accusations in a column in the June 25 *Wall Street Journal*. Iran “represents a double axis of evil,” he

wrote, claiming it “serves as the largest terror nucleus in the Middle East, and also possesses a selection of nuclear resources....

“The Iranians fund, arm and train Hezbollah,” he claimed, and “give Hamas and Islamic Jihad a hand in carrying out acts of terror inside Israel.”

Peres called on “the U.S., Europe, Russia and the UN [to] formulate a united policy” in opposition to Iran’s nuclear program. “A joint warning, backed by a threat of economic sanctions, is the best possible track to save Iran from its own folly, and avert the need to resort to military action again,” he said.

While moving to appease Washington and its allies, the Iranian regime has cracked down on the youth who began organizing protests in defense of public education and democratic rights on June 11.

In the course of their many protests, students and their supporters have directed their principal fire at the country’s “supreme leader” and other government authorities, who enjoy veto power over parliamentary decisions and control large hunks of the repressive apparatus. At the same time, many have also condemned President Mohammed Khatami for his failure to implement election campaign promises of “independence, freedom, and progress.” Khatami was elected by a landslide in 1997 and by an even greater margin four years later on a “reformist” platform, pledging to pursue broader democratic freedoms.

**Mass arrests of protesters**

The government’s prosecutor general, Abdolnabi Namazi, said that security forces had arrested some 4,000 people by June 27. “Currently there are 2,000 people who are still in prison,” he said. Namazi added that “there are not many students” among those still in jail, and that about one-fifth of the total were arrested in Tehran—thereby inadvertently giving a glimpse of the broad support for the protests among working people, and their spread to numerous cities beyond the capital.

The BBC reported that among those locked up are “Abdullah Momeni and Mahdi Aminzadeh, leaders of the largest student organization, the Unity Consolidation Office.” Fellow students said that neither had taken part in the demonstrations.

The protests faced brutal assaults by pro-regime goons who worked hand-in-glove with the official police. Facing mounting protests, the government was forced to disassociate itself from these attacks, and arrested a handful of the ringleaders.

Undeterred by the police and extra-legal violence, protest leaders are preparing to demonstrate July 9 to mark the anniversary of the 1999 events. A conscript soldier, who had taken part in the protests four years ago, was killed on that date by pro-regime thugs while visiting a friend at a university dormitory in Tehran. Ever since, students organize

## Israeli troops withdraw from parts of Gaza

**BY MICHAEL ITALIE**

The Israeli government began to pull troops and tanks out of areas of the Gaza Strip on June 30, transferring police control over to the Palestinian Authority (PA). Hamas and other Palestinian organizations announced a suspension of military actions against Israeli targets the day before. U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell welcomed the Israel/PA accord as “a very positive development.” At the same time, the U.S. and Israeli rulers made it clear that their goal remains “dismantling” Hamas and other groups they deem “terrorist,” not maintaining long-term cease-fires with them.

The Israeli-Palestinian pact was signed June 27 at the residence of the U.S. ambassador to Israel. According to this agreement, Tel Aviv’s forces were to pull out of northern Gaza June 30, and the West Bank town of Bethlehem soon after. In return, Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas agreed to prevent military attacks on Israeli forces from PA-patrolled territory. Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon pledged also to remove almost all internal checkpoints in Gaza and to halt assassination attacks against Palestinian leaders. Since the U.S.-brokered “peace” accord



Students pour into streets near Tehran University during wave of protests in June

actions to mark the events and to demand that the perpetrators be brought to justice. The regime has banned such commemorative actions and says it will do so again. “High-ranking security officials believe July 9 is an event that does not need an anniversary,” said Namazi. “An incident which happened some years ago does not require an event to be held to commemorate it.”

In spite of Washington’s attempts to take advantage of the protests in its campaign against the Iranian government, reporters for the big-business media and other observers have failed to mount any case that there is widespread support among the protesters for imperialist military intervention, let alone an invasion like that inflicted on Iraq.

**Imperialist occupation of Iraq**

The U.S. and British forces occupying Iran’s southwestern neighbor now number 146,000 troops. They include the “bulk of the two Army divisions and one Marine division that formed the backbone of the initial assault,” reported the Newark, New Jersey, *Star Ledger*.

Plans to replace the Third Infantry division, which led the U.S. attack on Baghdad, have been shelved as troops have stepped up patrols and raids to counter ambushes and other attacks. The rotation “did not happen because the security situation didn’t move as quickly in a direction we thought it would toward stability,” said Lt. Gen. John Abizaid, the second-in-command of the U.S. forces.

U.S. and British casualties have ticked steadily upward, one by one, as the occupying troops have come under sporadic armed attack or have faced resistance to their attempts to seize arms. According to the Associated Press, at least 63 U.S. troops have died in such incidents in the two months since Washington declared the war officially over May 1.

On June 24, British forces stirred up a hornets’ nest when they attempted to impose their presence on the southern town of Majar Al-Kabir. According to an account in the *Washington Post*, hundreds of Iraqis protested when the soldiers, who had already aroused anger through their aggressive arms searches, began patrolling the town’s market arms in hand. Firing on the crowd with rub-

ber bullets and live ammunition, the soldiers were forced to retreat. A number were injured in the two-hour gunfight before being extracted by military helicopters. The helicopters themselves took a number of hits.

Meanwhile, residents laid siege to six military policemen who had based themselves in the town’s police station while they trained the local cops. All six were killed in the ensuing battle, along with a number of Iraqis.

One U.S. “intelligence” officer told journalists that the casualties were an inevitable result of the “Pentagon’s efforts to use more aggressive patrols to flush out more supporters of Saddam Hussein’s regime,” reported the *Star Ledger*. “It’s painful at the moment, getting all the bad guys out,” said Ralph Peters. “But it’s better to pay the butcher up front.” His hard-nosed approach contrasted with the tone of much of the coverage of the incidents in the liberal media. On June 29 U.S. forces used air power and ground forces in a large-scale action against more than 20 towns, seizing at least 60 Iraqi “suspects.” U.S. military officials said their forces did not suffer any casualties. “We go in with such overwhelming combat power that they won’t even think about shooting us,” boasted Lt. Col. Mark Young.

The initial difficulties in cementing control of Iraq notwithstanding, Washington is proceeding apace in taking over the country piece by piece.

On May 26, U.S.-appointed governor of Iraq Paul Bremer announced that the country is “open for business.” He told a news conference that occupation officials were asking banks in the United States, Britain, and other countries to provide credit on favorable terms to foreign companies that trade with Iraq.

One month later, Bremer wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that economic growth was his priority, especially in the oil sector. Such growth “will depend on the birth of a vibrant private sector in place of the old state-owned enterprises,” he stated. “This will require the wholesale reallocation of resources and people from state control to private enterprise, the promotion of foreign trade, and the mobilization of domestic and foreign capital.”

truce was announced, Israeli forces carried out another assassination operation against Hamas, killing four Palestinians in central Gaza.

The formal announcement of a cease-fire called by Palestinian organizations was preceded by an earlier statement on Al Jazeera television by Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin. He said that his organization “has reached a decision to call a truce or suspension of fighting.” His statement was followed the next day by an announcement from Islamic Jihad leader Mohammed al-Hindi, who said, “We have accepted a conditional cease-fire for three months.”

Washington and Tel Aviv have made it clear, however, that their goal remains to do away with Hamas, not come to an agreement with it or other groups that often carry out suicide bombings or other such attacks on Israeli targets. White House spokesperson Ari Fleisher stated June 12 that “the issue is Hamas. The terrorists are Hamas.” In response to the expected PA-brokered truce, Israeli deputy prime minister Ehud Olmert said June 26 that there is a “Palestinian obligation under the road map to dismantle Hamas and Islamic Jihad, including imprisoning their leaders.”

# Throwing off self-image rulers teach workers

The following is an excerpt from the pamphlet by Jack Barnes *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism*, which is published by Pathfinder Press. The French-language edition of this booklet is one of Pathfinder's books of the month in July. Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. This pamphlet comes from a portion of presentations he gave in 1993 at regional socialist educational conferences in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Des Moines, Iowa. The section below is the concluding part of *The Transformation of Learning*. Copyright © 2000 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY JACK BARNES

In the United States today, under capitalism, the only future we can count on is one in which education will worsen—in which education will fuel rather than retard social differentiation. There will only be “education” to squelch curiosity and creativity. There will only be “education” as regimentation. There will only be “education” as preparation to rationalize—or simply resent—class polarization.

I am not saying that everybody involved in education intends for this to happen. There are human beings in this society who are not communists and who are not workers but who genuinely, in their own way, would like to see children and other

people have a better education and become more self-confident. I have had some teachers like that, as many of you have. But such individuals are not the norm, and they cannot and will not change the character of education in bourgeois society.

Instead, people are reduced under capitalism to hoping things will be different for *your* child. *Your* child *somehow* will get a decent education, *somehow* will get to college, *somehow* will not have the desire to learn beaten out of them. *Your* child *somehow* will be able to compete with everybody else and have a better life.

That is what the president of the United States did, isn't it? Clinton spent nine months campaigning about the importance of public education—and the whole working class knew what the Clintons were going to do when they had to choose a school for their daughter, Chelsea. We all knew what Clinton was going to do. And that is what he did: he sent her to an exclusive private school in Washington.

Class-conscious workers bore no resentment toward William, Hillary, or Chelsea Clinton because of this decision. Envy of the propertied classes and their spokespersons is not a revolutionary or proletarian trait; it is encouraged not by communists but by fascists. But in watching the Clintons go about selecting a school for their daughter, thinking workers recognized further confirmation of two fundamental realities of class relations under capitalism. First, there is no connection between the values and public policies sanctimoniously espoused by the ruling layers and the lives they and their families lead. Second, there is no such thing as classless “education” in capitalist society; schools for the working class and schools for the ruling class are qualitatively different things.

If education is not discussed this way, then revolutionaries can never be convincing. If we start where reformers and liberals throughout the capitalist world begin—with *my* children, *my* neighborhood, *my* schools, *my* problems—then we get nowhere. And when the reformers start jabbering about defending *all* children, reach for your wallet and your watch! They are like the so-called right-to-lifers who defend children in the abstract before they are born, but oppose anything to advance a truly human life for most actual children from the moment they're born till the day they die. There *is* no



Ernesto Che Guevara (front, left), a leader of Cuba's revolutionary government and Communist Party, presents award for voluntary work at August 1964 union gathering. “Work should be the way Che Guevara talked and wrote about it,” Jack Barnes says in *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* pamphlet. “Factories and other workplaces should be organized to promote continual requalification and ongoing education. When that day comes, then there will be something that can truly be called education.”

*universal education* under capitalism; there is no such thing as education “for all.” There is only “education” for the working class, and a completely different kind of “education” for the small propertied minority.

If we do not explain education under capitalism as a class question (that is, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, two totally separate and unrelated questions for two different classes); if we do not present working-class schooling as the social destruction of human solidarity, as the organization of a society based on class differentiation, where human beings late in their teens become units of production in the minds of personnel managers and social planners; if we do not point to the fundamental issue of a truly universal, lifetime education—if we cannot explain education this way, then we cannot explain it at all.

But understood and explained correctly, there is no more important question for communists. Education as a lifetime experience—I cannot think of a better reason to make a socialist revolution. What better reason to get rid of the capitalist state, to begin transforming humanity, to begin building human solidarity?

This approach to education is what we have to explain to students, to young people, and to others. If they went to school to get a leg up in life, then they did so due to a misunderstanding—unless they are from a class background that already gives them a leg up, and attended a school that teaches them they deserve it....

Rightist movements, as I said, always try to play on the disappointments and resentments of youth from the lower middle classes or slightly better-off sections of the working class. That is one of the ways fascist movements are built. “You worked so hard for your education,” they say. “Soon you'll be raising your children. And now *you're* going to have to pay more taxes for *their* children and *their* elderly.” And the list of “them” keeps growing.

I've been convinced for a long time that explaining the communist approach to education is part of preparing the working class for the greatest of all battles in the years ahead—the battle to throw off the self-image the rulers teach us, and to recognize that we are capable of taking power and organizing society, as we collectively educate ourselves and learn the exploiters in the process.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional* and *Ny International*.

### UNITED STATES

**ALABAMA: Birmingham:** 3029A Bessemer Road. Zip: 35208. Tel: (205) 780-0021. E-mail: bhmSWP@bigfoot.com

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** 4229 S. Central Ave. Zip: 90011. Tel: (323) 233-9372. E-mail: 74642.326@compuserve.com  
**San Francisco:** 3926 Mission St. Zip: 94112. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: sfswp@hotmail.com

**COLORADO: Craig:** 6 West Victory Way. Zip: 81625. Mailing address: P.O. Box 1539. Zip: 81626. Tel: (970) 826-0289. E-mail: westerncoloradoswp@yahoo.com

**FLORIDA: Miami:** 8365 NE 2nd Ave. #206 Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 751-7076. E-mail: miamiswp@bellsouth.net;  
**Tampa:** 1441 E. Fletcher, Suite 421. Zip: 33612. Tel: (813) 910-8507. E-mail: TOC1004@aol.com

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

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** 2901 W. 59th Street. Zip: 60629. Tel: (773) 737-1190. E-mail: ChicagoPathfinder@compuserve.com

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

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

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** 4208 W. Vernor St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 44739. Zip: 48244-0739. Tel: (313) 554-0504. E-mail: DetroitMISWP@netscape.net

**MINNESOTA: St. Paul:** 113 Bernard St., West St. Paul. Zip: 55118. Tel: (651) 644-6325. E-mail: tcswp@qwest.net

**NEBRASKA: Omaha:** P.O. Box 7005. Zip: 68107. E-mail: omahaoc@netscape.net

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** 168 Bloomfield Avenue, 2nd Floor. Zip: 07104. Tel: (973) 481-0077. E-mail: swpnewark@yahoo.com

**NEW YORK: Manhattan:** 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor. Mailing address: P.O. Box 30. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 695-7358. E-mail: ny\_swp@verizon.net.

**NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte Area:** 2001A N. Cannon Blvd. Kannapolis. Zip: 28083. Tel: (704) 932-0821. E-mail: charlotteswp@aol.com

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

**PENNSYLVANIA: Hazleton:** 69 North Wyoming St. Zip: 18201. Tel: (570) 454-8320. Email: swpnepa@intergrafix.net  
**Philadelphia:** 5237 N. 5th St. Zip: 19120. Tel: (215) 324-7020. E-mail: PhiladelphiaSWP@yahoo.com  
**Pittsburgh:** 5907 Penn Ave. Suite 225. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 365-1090. E-mail: pghswp@bigzoo.net

**TEXAS: Houston:** 619 West 8th St. Zip: 77007. Tel: (713) 869-6550. E-mail: swphouston@ev1.net

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

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

### AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718

9698. E-mail: cl\_australia@bigpond.com

### BRITAIN

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LF. Tel: 020-7928-7993. E-mail: cllondon@onetel.net.uk

### CANADA

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

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

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

### FRANCE

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

### ICELAND

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

### NEW ZEALAND

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

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

### SWEDEN

**Gothenburg:** Ryttaregatan 9, S-415 03 Gothenburg. Tel: (031) 21 56 90. E-mail: bokhandelnpathfindergbg@telia.com

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

July

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25% DISCOUNT

The Working Class and the transformation of learning: the Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism [French] Jack Barnes

“Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity.” \$3.00 Special price: \$2.25 Also available at full price in English, Spanish, Farsi, Icelandic, and Swedish

Struggle for a Proletarian Party James P. Cannon

A founder of the communist movement in the U.S. and leader of the Communist International in Lenin's time defends the proletarian program and party-building norms of Bolshevism on the eve of World War II. \$21.95. Special price: \$16.50

The Spanish Revolution (1931–39)

Leon Trotsky

Analyzes the revolutionary upsurge on the land and in the factories leading to the Spanish civil war and how the Stalinist's course ensured a fascist victory. \$30.95. Special price: \$23.25

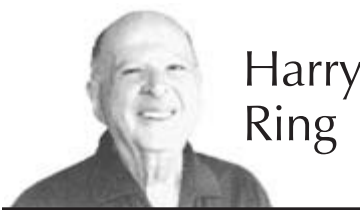
Join the Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long

ORDER ONLINE AT WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

8

The Militant July 14, 2003

**Bush nearly ends racial profiling**—Responding to a presidential directive issued two years ago the



Harry Ring

feds now have guidelines to avoid impulse or routine traffic stops. However, reports the *Los Angeles Times*, “officers are permitted to consider race or ethnicity where they have ‘trustworthy informa-

tion,’ among other standards.”

**Hunger fighters or pho-nies?**—The article was in the Chicago Spanish-language weekly, *La Raza*. Along with a translation, it was sent to us by Pattie Thompson, a Chicago *Militant* supporter. The article points to the hunger among U.S. children and singles out companies said to be helping them. The article has all the earmarks of what publicists call a “handout.” (Keep reading.)

**Case for Truth Squad?**—The *La Raza* article lacks a customary author’s name, and fails to indicate the source of the news. The key

point is a big pat on the back for Tyson Foods which, we’re told, is donating enough chicken, pork, etc. to make 3 million meals. A top exec declares the company “has committed itself to solving the problem of hunger.” No mention of tax benefits, or free advertising, like the *La Raza* article. And certainly no mention of the 470 Tyson workers at Jefferson, Wisconsin, on strike four months, fighting Tyson’s demand for reduced wages, higher med premiums, and more.

**Also ‘hunger fighters’?**—The feds seized a record 22 million pounds of rat- and vermin-infested

meat and food at the Le Grau Cold Storage warehouse in Chicago. That was a year ago. Now three executives have been indicted for covering up the conditions. A federal prosecutor said it was not accidental but rather a matter of “greed.”

**Oh, oh Chapter 11**—General Motors is launching a \$13 billion bond sale to make up part of the \$18.3 billion it owes the pension fund of GM employees. The pension fund gap is the largest of any U.S. company.

**Measure of success**—“Patients are more likely to die in hospitals rated as outstanding by the gov-

ernment than in those labeled as failing, an investigation has revealed.”—The *Times* of London.

**Fat bureaucrats too?**—“Fat People Will Have to Diet If They Want To See The Doctor—Patients’ contracts plan to stop waste of health service resources”—London news headline.

**Fast shuffle artists**—Congress is again weighing a deal to contribute more than \$130 million to eastern Shoshone Indians to erase treaty violations. Opponents declare the deal would wipe out claims for 23 million acres of land covered by an 1863 treaty.

# Pathfinder titles sell well at several book fairs

BY MIKE TABER

The Pathfinder Bookstore had a table at the Los Angeles Times Festival of Books April 26–27, a street fair attended by some 100,000 people. Altogether, 206 Pathfinder books were sold at the fair, for a total of \$2,341.69. This was the highest total since the Pathfinder Bookstore began participating in this book fair in 1996.

Best sellers included *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* (15); *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (9); *Capitalism’s World Disorder* by Jack Barnes (8); *Revolution in the Congo* (7); *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* (6);

## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD



and *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It* by Leon Trotsky (6).

A total of 56 books on the Cuban Revolution were sold. With these titles prominently displayed, the table became a center of discussion on Cuba, particularly on the U.S.-led propaganda campaign around the jailing of “dissidents” and the execution of three ferry hijackers who had threatened the lives of dozens of passengers.

Of special note was the fact that five Farsi-language books were sold at the table. Several of the individuals who purchased these books were familiar with Pathfinder from the Tehran International Book Fair in Iran, which Pathfinder regularly attends.

Volunteers at the table made a point of distributing catalogs to a dozen buyers at area bookstores who came to the fair, lay-

ing the groundwork for future visits.

Pathfinder had a table at the British Columbia Library Association conference in Vancouver, Canada, May 29–31. Of the 350–400 participants, some 50 signed Pathfinder’s guest book. Pathfinder representatives are planning to call and visit many of these librarians over the coming weeks. A number of librarians who came by the table had been contacted by Pathfinder supporters in the weeks prior to the conference.

One librarian from North Vancouver, where thousands of Iranians live, was thrilled to discover Farsi titles at the Pathfinder table.

The head of acquisitions for one university library was pleasantly surprised by a list of 10 Pathfinder titles missing from her library, which a supporter had prepared for her. She indicated that her library would order 15 titles.

As a result of visits by Pathfinder representatives over the last year, several orders from high school libraries and social studies teachers have been received. A Pathfinder representative visited one school district and left a catalog, highlighting a number of titles. As a result, the library placed an order for every one of the 40 books and pamphlets indicated, including *Capitalism’s World Disorder*, the Teamsters series by Farrell Dobbs, and books by Che Guevara and Malcolm X.

The Pathfinder Bookstore in Chicago participated in the Printers Row Book Fair June 7–8. Despite rain for a large portion of one of the days, the bookstore sold 96 books and pamphlets, for a total of \$1,144.

A team of over a dozen volunteers and friends of Pathfinder, including two from Des Moines, Iowa, kept the booth staffed.

At times the booth was surrounded by crowds three deep. People waited patiently until their turn came to look at the books.

Almost 1,500 leaflets were distributed advertising the Chicago Pathfinder Bookstore and its hours.

*Bibliothiki*, the weekly literary supplement to *Eleftherotypia*—the largest-circulation daily newspaper in Athens—reviewed the new Greek edition of Pathfinder’s *Problems of Women’s Liberation* by Evelyn Reed, published by Diethnes Vima. The review, which appeared in the May 19 issue, reads:

“This book, by the American Evelyn Reed (1905-1979) still holds intense interest for the reader. It was first published in 1969 in the U.S., and was later translated into 10 languages and distributed around the world. The first Greek edition of 1980...has long been out of print.... In her articles in the book, Evelyn Reed analyzes the economic and social roots of women’s oppression throughout the ages. She outlines the first forms of property and their repercussions for women. She explains why women’s oppression is related to property relations (and not gender relations) and presents a clear perspective for women’s emancipation.”

*Frank Forrestal, Mary Ellen Marus, Claudia Hommel, and Georges Mehriban contributed to this column.*



Militant/Elizabeth Lariscy

Pathfinder Bookstore booth at 2002 Los Angeles Times Festival of Books. The booth this year had highest sales yet since the Pathfinder bookstore first attended festival in 1996.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



July 14, 1978

After the crime, the coverup “Affirmative Action Upheld,” read the headline on the *Washington Post*.

A *New York Times* editorial announced that “the movement to expand opportunity for blacks and other minorities has been ruled legal....”

The Carter administration hailed “a great gain for affirmative action.”

They were all talking about the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the *Bakke* case. The court struck down as illegal the minority admissions program at a University of California medical school and ordered it to admit Allan Bakke, who claimed the affirmative action plan “discriminated” against him as a white.

It was the most devastating blow the Supreme Court has dealt to civil rights in many years. The outlawing of affirmative action quotas will have repercussions not only in education but also in employment where thousands more “reverse discrimination” lawsuits are in the works to roll back job gains of Blacks and women.

Yet news commentators, lawyers, and liberal Democratic and Republican politicians are trying to disguise and downplay the real significance of the *Bakke* decision. They insist that the court upheld the “principle” of affirmative action because it outlawed only racial quotas. The deciding opinion by Justice Powell said race could be given “competitive consideration” as one factor in school admissions.

But discrimination remains as profitable and necessary as ever to American capitalism. Far from searching for “remedies,” employers, universities, and the government have searched for every excuse to *perpetuate* discrimination. Progress toward equality has come only where it is enforced. Without quotas, schools and employers are free to continue segregating minorities and women through rigged tests, biased “qualifications,” personal prejudice by interviewers, and myriad other devices.



July 13, 1953

The inspiring East German uprising stands forth as one of the greatest working-class revolutionary struggles ever waged in Western Europe. In a territory of only 18 million people, more than two million workers participated directly and actively in a titanic general strike that paralyzed virtually all industry, mining, and transport. Several hundred thousands in vast fighting demonstrations in key cities attacked government buildings, disarmed police, opened jails.

While the East German rulers hastily promised concessions and reforms at the height of the struggle, the advance of the political revolution was halted primarily with measures of “blood and iron.” Scores of thousands of workers were arrested. Untold numbers were deported eastward. Hundreds were killed and wounded, possibly thousands. Many fell under the bullets of Soviet military firing squads. Martial law was enforced by a huge army of 300,000 Soviet troops, including several armored divisions, called out when the East German army and police proved unreliable and incapable of “restoring order.”

A woman strike leader, who had escaped from Zossen, where she had been working on barracks construction, reported:

“I told the Russian officers direct to their faces what our demands were. We demanded reduction of our work norms, release of arrested strikers, price reductions, and a free vote in the election of public officials. After two days of fruitless argument, during which the strikers refused to return to their jobs, the Russians suddenly began arresting the strike leaders. About fifty were arrested, but I managed to escape.”

All other available reports of this type reveal that the workers combined political demands with economic and that none of their demands or slogans disclosed the slightest sympathy for the Bonn capitalist regime of West Germany or a desire for denationalization of the industries.

These workers revealed little faith, however, in the Stalinist regime or its promises.

### Corrections

Nicole Sarmiento co-authored the article “Miami rally: ‘Free Haitians!’” which appeared in the June 23, 2003, issue, vol. 67, no. 21, along with Alex Alvarado.

In the same issue, the caption of the photobox “Immigration cops convicted in Houston for death of Serafin Olvera,” stated erroneously that the police broke Olvera’s neck during a raid at his home “in March of last year.” The fatal attack actually took place March 25, 2001.

An error was inadvertently introduced in the editing of the article “New Jersey man wins fight against effort to deport him,” which appeared in the June 30, 2003, issue, vol. 67, no. 22. The last sentence of the article should read: “Arango will share the platform with Calero at a July 7 victory meeting in Newark, scheduled to take place at the 1199J union hall.” The 1199J union in Newark, New Jersey, is not affiliated to the Service Employees International Union as that sentence stated.

The article by Jay Reller under the headline “Socialists part of increased labor resistance,” which appeared in the July 7, 2003, issue, volume 67, no. 23, cites the unemployment rate in Emory County, Utah, as 7 percent. The rate is actually 10 percent.

# Celebrate high court rulings

The Supreme Court decision upholding affirmative action programs in higher education is an enormous victory for working people and the fight against racist and sexist discrimination. Similarly, the ruling that declared the Texas sodomy law unconstitutional marks an expansion of the right to privacy and a blow to antigay prejudice and discrimination. A third court decision, mandating the right to “effective counsel” for death row inmates, is also grounds for rejoicing, especially for working people who bear the brunt of capital punishment.

These rulings are a registration—one of the most important in 30 years—of the resistance by the majority of the American people to going backward on Black rights, women’s rights, and other civil rights gains.

The court decisions highlight something more fundamental than conjunctural political developments: long-term trends in social attitudes that continue to strengthen the unity and potential power of the working class and its allies. It was the struggles of Blacks and working people that led to the end of the miscegenation laws that prohibited “race mixing,” which were finally abolished in 1967. Other victories won in struggle, such as the right to birth control and a woman’s right to choose abortion, have kept expanding the right to privacy and breaking down prejudices against oppressed layers of society.

The Supreme Court ruling establishes clearly, for the first time, that affirmative action is constitutional at the university level. At the center of its ruling is the premise that the state has a “compelling interest” in diversity in education—for as long as needed. In referring to the need for “diversity” today, the court decision shifts the basis for affirmative action from “past injustice,” as it has

sometimes been explained, toward the reality of conditions today.

While the 1978 *Bakke* ruling was a blow because it barred quotas as a tool to break down barriers to oppressed nationalities and women, the U.S. rulers were not able to reverse affirmative action. The *Bakke* decision itself accepted the use of “race” as a consideration in school admissions. As a result, affirmative action programs have become established in many areas—including education, employment, and the military. Even without formal quotas, schools and other institutions have found ways to establish affirmative action goals that have led to important gains. The term “diversity” has taken on affirmative action content.

The fight for affirmative action has taken a leap forward. And the struggle against sodomy laws has been won. The U.S. rulers can chip away at these gains but not easily reverse them. Not only the vast majority of working people, but the majority of the U.S. rulers now support basic rights for women, affirmative action, and civil rights. The angry sense of betrayal by right-wing forces at the Republican-appointed Supreme Court justices who were part of issuing these rulings only underscores this reality. It is also a reminder that the overall direction of the Supreme Court is determined, not by which president appointed them or their own past record, but by shifts in the class struggle and deep-going changes in social attitudes.

The *Militant* joins with the NAACP, the University of Michigan students and faculty, advocates of civil rights for gays, and all those who celebrate these victories. They will give confidence to working people to press for their rights in the face of the ongoing assaults by the employers and the government.

## Court strikes down anti-sodomy law

Continued from front page

ity finds overt expression in intimate conduct with another person, the conduct can be but one element in a personal bond that is more enduring. The liberty protected by the Constitution allows homosexual persons the right to make this choice.”

The high court also struck down its own 1986 ruling upholding Georgia’s anti-sodomy law in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, which, the justices affirmed, “demeans the lives of homosexual persons.”

The Supreme Court judges, the majority of whom were appointed by Republican Party administrations, rooted their decision in “our laws and traditions in the past half century,” that is, the impact of the social gains made in the struggle for Black and women’s rights in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.

The sodomy ruling came three days after the court’s decision upholding affirmative action programs in higher education. In a third decision beneficial to working people the same week, the Supreme Court ruled in two death penalty cases that those on death row not only have the right to a lawyer but to effective counsel. By an 8-1 vote, the high court ordered the federal appeals court to grant a habeas corpus hearing to a Texas death row inmate, Thomas Miller-El, who said the selection of his jury had been infected by racist bias. In the second related case, the Supreme Court overturned the death sentence of Kevin Wiggins on the grounds that a federal appeals court should have granted him a writ of habeas corpus on the basis of ineffective assistance of counsel. The justices ruled that the failure of Wiggins’s defense lawyer to investigate and inform the jury of the childhood abuse Wiggins had suffered fell below the minimum constitutional standards of competence.

*Lawrence v. Texas* began with the September 1998 arrest of John Geddes Lawrence and Tyron Garner. Harris County sheriffs broke into Lawrence’s apartment in Houston after a neighbor reported a man with a gun “going crazy.” They found the two men having sex and arrested them on charges of sodomy. Lawrence and Garner were each fined \$200 and ordered to pay \$141 in court costs. Their appeals were rejected in the Texas courts.

Writing for the Supreme Court majority, Justice Anthony Kennedy outlined some of the history of legal changes that were brought about as a consequence of the battles to abolish segregation and strike blows against sexist discrimination in the United States. He pointed to the importance of the 1965 *Griswold v. Connecticut* and 1972 *Eisenstadt v. Baird* cases, in which the court overturned state laws that banned the use of contraceptives first for married couples, and then unmarried individuals.

“The opinions in *Griswold* and *Eisenstadt* were part of the background for the decision in *Roe v. Wade*,” wrote Kennedy in reference to the 1973 landmark decision legalizing a woman’s right to choose abortion. “Roe recognized the right of a woman to make certain fundamental decisions affecting her destiny and confirmed once more that the protection of liberty under the Due Process Clause [of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution] has a substantive dimension of fundamental significance in defining the rights of a person.”

Kennedy also noted that before 1961 all 50 states outlawed “sodomy.” By 1986 that figure had dropped to 25. Today all but 13 states have dropped these reactionary laws from the books. Because of public opposition to such discrimination, even in those states this law is rarely enforced.

# Arthur Lobman, cadre of the SWP for 44 years, dies



Carrie Lobman

Arthur Lobman in New Jersey in the fall of 2002

BY PATRICK O’NEILL

Arthur Lobman, a cadre of the Socialist Workers Party for nearly 45 years, died at New York Veterans Administration Hospital June 29. He was 78 years old. Members and supporters of the New York SWP and Young Socialists will host a memorial meeting on Sunday, July 6, to honor his contributions to the communist movement.

Lobman was born in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1924. As a young man he was repelled by the brutal character of Jim Crow segregation and anti-Black racism. In the 1930s he was attracted to the international defense campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys, nine Blacks framed up in Alabama on charges of raping two white women.

Drafted in 1943 during World War II, Lobman’s experiences as part of the U.S. occupation force in postwar Japan brought him face to face with the horrors of that imperialist war, which he had initially backed. In 1945 he was among the U.S. troops who entered the city of Osaka. Earlier that year the city had been destroyed by U.S. firebombing raids in which some 200,000 Japanese civilians were killed across the country. At a Militant Labor Forum a few months ago, Lobman described seeing families sleeping in subway tunnels after their wood homes had been incinerated.

Lobman also recalled the buzz in the armed forces stirred up by the Double V campaign organized in the United States during the war. A victory in Washington’s “war for democracy” against Japan and Germany, many Black organizations said, would ring hollow without a simultaneous victory in the war against racism in U.S. society—including in the Jim Crow-organized armed forces. Tens of thousands of Black GIs identified with the protests back home, as did many white soldiers, Lobman included.

While studying history at Harvard and Columbia Universities in the late 1940s and 50s, Lobman joined actions in support of unions and the emerging mass civil rights movement. In 1948 he actively backed the presidential campaign of former U.S. vice president Henry Wallace on the ticket of the Progressive Party, a short-lived capitalist party supported that year by many liberals and middle-class radicals, as well as the Communist Party.

By the late 1950s, Lobman—then in his mid-thirties—had become convinced of the need for a socialist revolution in the United States, and had come to recognize that achieving that goal was only possible if the working class built a party and social movement independent of the capitalist parties and politicians of all stripes. Acting on that conviction, he joined the SWP in early 1959.

That year he married Ethel Bloch, a cadre of the party in New York who remained his companion until her death in 1999. Like millions of people around the world, Lobman was inspired by the victory of the Cuban revolution in January 1959. He and Ethel traveled to Cuba in the summer of 1960 so they could participate more effectively in efforts to defend Cuba and build a movement to make a revolution in the United States.

Lobman was an active party cadre in New York, carrying out a range of political activity. He sold the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books off weekly literature tables on street corners, at political events, and at plant gates. He was a crack petitioner in efforts to get SWP candidates on the ballot, usually handling several signature boards at a time and ending up among those with the highest daily rates. He took an active part in educational classes and the weekly Militant Labor Forum series.

Until his retirement in 1986, Lobman worked as an “answer man” for Grolier’s Encyclopedia, researching questions from readers, and then as a proofreader. The skills he gained served him and the *Militant* well in recent years; until just a few weeks ago, Lobman volunteered several days a week—often on call—as a proofreader for this newspaper. He also supplied a number of newsstands with copies of the *Militant* each week.

The meeting to celebrate Lobman’s life will be held July 6 (see ad on left). Messages to the meeting can be mailed to the New York SWP, c/o Pathfinder Books, P.O. Box 30, New York, NY 10018. E-mail ny\_swp@verizon.net

Celebrate the life  
and political contributions of

**Arthur Lobman**

44-year veteran of the  
communist movement

**New York City,  
Sunday afternoon, July 6**

**WELCOME by Arrin Hawkins**, Young Socialists  
**CHAired by Jack Barnes**, SWP National Secretary

**Speakers include:**

**Steve Clark**, editorial director, Pathfinder Press  
**Paul Pederson**, Young Socialists, *Militant* reporter  
**Patrick O’Neill**, *Militant* reporter

**Further details, including time and  
venue, to be announced.**

For more information, please call the New York SWP  
(212) 695-7358, or e-mail ny\_swp@verizon.net

**Hosted by New York  
Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists**

# Black Radical Congress meets in New Jersey

## Leaders focus on ‘defeating Bush,’ opposing Mugabe’s regime in Zimbabwe

BY SAM MANUEL

SOUTH ORANGE, New Jersey—Just over 170 people attended the national conference of the Black Radical Congress here June 20–22. Discussions spanned a range of topics, including: demands for reparations from the imperialist powers for their role in the slave trade; the AIDS crisis and fratricidal wars in Africa; opposition to U.S. aggression against Venezuela and Cuba; the foreign debt of semicolonial countries; the U.S. occupation of Iraq; and the government assault on democratic rights and the rights of immigrants. Delegates did not approve any proposals for specific actions.

Campaigning for the Democratic Party slate in the 2004 presidential elections to “defeat Bush” became a feature of the gathering. Midway through the conference a special two-hour session was added to the schedule to discuss next year’s vote. Jarvis Tyner, a longtime leader of the Communist Party USA, said that he and others had requested the addition to the agenda because it was “urgently important” that the group take the lead on this issue.

“The most important task facing progressive organizations and revolutionaries,” Tyner said, “is to build a broad anti-Bush coalition. If people don’t think another four years of Bush will be worse than the last, then they have been asleep through the last four.”

“I will probably end up voting for a god-damn Democrat,” said Frances Beal,” from Oakland, California, “but we must support the most progressive voice in this election.” A participant from the New York chapter of the Black Radical Congress argued that the Bush administration is “rolling back all the gains won under the Roosevelt presidency.”

Several delegates opposed Tyner and Beal, arguing that the group should not focus its activities on the elections. A leader of the Green Party from Washington, D.C., challenged the implication in the remarks by some speakers that the campaign of Ralph Nader caused Democratic Party presidential candidate Albert Gore to lose the 2000 ballot. “We won’t just disappear because of four more years of Bush,” said Jason Rayburn, a young participant. “Just like we didn’t disappear following the Reagan years.”

“We can have Bushism without Bush,” argued Humberto Brown, a native of Panama and a leader of United for Peace and Justice. “In France the left threw its support behind Jacques Chirac in order to stop Jean-Marie Le Pen, but Chirac is carrying out Le Pen’s policies in attacking the trade unions.”

Another participant, who identified himself as a member of Black Workers for Justice, asked, “How can we be talking about an election in 2004 when our people are under attack in Michigan right now and we aren’t talking about that?” He urged the group to “take some action” in support of the Black community, but no specific proposal was adopted.

The “urgency” of defeating Bush in next year’s elections ran through many of the deliberations. That was the case at a workshop on Latin America, for example, where speakers called for support to the government of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. Under that discussion, Lucius Walker, a leader of Pastors for Peace, said, “Under this administration relations with Cuba have reached an all-time low.” Walker said the White House was using the arrest of 75 so-called dissidents by authorities in Cuba and the execution of three armed hijackers to justify Washington’s recent escalation

of attacks against Havana. The 75 were convicted on charges of collaborating with Washington in its campaign to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. Walker said that he supports the Cuban government’s right to take actions it deems necessary to defend its sovereignty but opposes the death penalty and had “even said so at the May Day rally in Havana this year.”

Speakers during a panel discussion on “Peace in Africa and the Middle East” centered their remarks on expressing opposition to the governments in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Congo, and Zimbabwe. Panelist Abdul Lamin from Sierra Leone expressed disappointment at the “refusal” of the government of Ghana to arrest Liberia’s president Charles Taylor while he was in Accra for a recent conference aimed at settling the civil war in Liberia. “The international court handed down an indictment of Taylor while he was attending the conference,” Lamin said.

Lamin also condemned the government of President Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. “If we had no problem with opposing Jonas Savimbi then we should have no difficulty with taking a stance against Mugabe and Taylor,” Lamin said.

Savimbi was the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which supported the invasion of that country by the racist army of South Africa in the 1970s after the end of Portuguese colonial rule. UNITA was also backed by Washington.

Conference participants were deeply divided over a letter signed by leaders of the Black Radical Congress (BRC) two weeks before the conference condemning the “increasingly intolerant, repressive and violent policies” of Mugabe’s government. It called upon the government of Zimbabwe

to open up an “unconditional” dialogue with opposition forces.

In doing so, BRC leaders who signed the letter gave backhanded support to the imperialist-orchestrated campaign against Zimbabwe. In the aftermath of presidential elections in 2002, the British, U.S., and other imperialist governments announced sanctions against that country, accusing Mugabe of organizing rigged elections, including a yearlong suspension of Zimbabwe from Britain’s Commonwealth of Nations. London, the country’s former colonial master, led the charge, concerned that announced takeovers of capitalist farms owned by whites and their distribution to landless African peasants would undercut the ability of British imperialism to continue exploiting the country’s resources. In an op-ed column in the June 24 *New York Times*, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell said, “The United States—and the European Union—has imposed a visa ban on Zimbabwe’s leaders and frozen their overseas assets. We have ended all official assistance to the government of Zimbabwe.... We will continue to assist directly, in many different ways, the brave men and women of Zimbabwe who are resisting tyranny.”

The Black Radical Congress was formed at a 1998 conference in Chicago attended by more than 700 people. Among its founders were prominent Black Studies professors Abdul Alkalimat and Manning Marable, and leaders of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the New Afrikan People’s Organization. Neither Alkalimat nor Marable, nor any representatives of these founding groups, attended this year’s conference, registering a weakening of the BRC. In addition, none of the founding leaders of the group stood for reelection to its board.

## LETTERS

### Longtime communist dies

Peter Hemgren, a longtime supporter and friend of the communist movement in Sweden, died in Malmö in the south of Sweden on May 30 from a brain tumor. He was 46 years old.

In his early 20s Peter joined the section of the Fourth International in Sweden, an organization that later took the name Socialist Party. Through discussions at a summer camp in 1979 he was won to the perspective of getting a job in industry and becoming a member of an industrial trade union, in order to become part of workers’ struggles, participate in changing the trade unions into revolutionary instruments, and work more effectively to build a communist nucleus as part of a working-class vanguard.

As part of a campaign to win a majority of the members in the organization he had joined to becoming industrial workers, Peter became a metal worker at Sandvik, in Sandviken in central Sweden.

While working there Peter helped form an organization of metal workers from all over Sweden against the apartheid regime in South Africa. “Metalworkers against Apartheid” worked to stop all investments by Swedish companies in South Africa. Sandvik was one of those companies who had substantial investments and trade in that country, together with ASEA, Atlas Copco, SKF, and Alfa Laval, companies which at that time were some of the largest in the mechanic industries in Sweden.

Peter also worked to support female coworkers who were victims of harassment and discrimination.

In 1985 Peter went to the United Kingdom and traveled around in the coal fields to learn about the coal miners strike that took place at that time against the union-busting efforts of the government led by Margaret Thatcher.

In 1986 Peter visited Nicaragua



Militant/Pierre Kraus  
**Peter Hemgren (center) selling Pathfinder literature in Malmö, Sweden, in 1995.**

on a work brigade. He wanted to learn firsthand about the revolutionary struggle by workers and peasants in that country. Catharina, who was to become Peter’s life-long companion, was also part of that brigade.

In 1987 Peter and Catharina joined a similar work brigade to Cuba.

When the Communist League in Sweden was formed in 1989 after a split in the Socialist Party, Peter decided he could not move to Stockholm to become a member of the league. Since then he promoted the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books. When his time allowed he participated in the Pathfinder Reprint Project. Above all, however, Peter was engaged in translating into Swedish, proof-reading, and formatting several books published or distributed by Pathfinder Press, including several issues of the Marxist magazine *New International*, which has been published in Swedish as *Ny International*. The last pamphlet Peter helped produce was *Arbetarklassen och lärandets förändring (The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning)* by Jack Barnes.

Peter’s broad political views and the deep knowledge he acquired by

reading the *Militant* and Pathfinder books, together with his feeling for language, made him a very good translator. His disciplined and attentive proofreading left few errors to correct after he had finished his part.

In January and February of this year Peter translated informational material and a petition in defense of Róger Calero into Swedish. Through this material Calero’s fight to remain in the United States got support from young people in Hagfors, who had been involved in the defense of a family from El Salvador who faced deportation from Sweden, and meat packers in a plant in Stockholm, many of them immigrants, among others.

Peter had one daughter, Maja, and two sons, Kalle and Jonas.

*Catharina Tirsén  
Stockholm, Sweden*

### Mine bosses to blame for death

I was reading the *Militant* about mining deaths, vol. 66, no. 49, Dec. 30, 2002. I am sending an article about my son’s death and yes the article is right about saying killing people and getting away with it. The company killed my son and on the report I am sending it states “this could have been prevented.” I hope you will read this and maybe publish something. I would like people to know about the company that killed my son.

*Regina Matthews  
Kuttawa, Kentucky*

*Regina Matthews’s son, Mickey Travis, was killed Aug. 19, 2002. According to a report by the Mine Safety and Health Administration*

*(MSHA), the government agency that conducted an investigation of the accident, the 29-year-old miner was killed by “a rib roll in the developing underground slope of Warrior Coal LLC’s Cardinal mine,” located southwest of Manitou, Kentucky, off U.S. Highway 41. The report, sent to the Militant by Regina Matthews, states that Travis was gathering tools to be taken outside when “he was struck by a rock measuring 8.5 feet by 3 feet by 2 feet.” The report concluded, “It is the consensus of the investigation team that the accident occurred because of inadequately supported rock that fell from the rib of the slope.” It further stated that “the root cause was management’s failure to adequately control the ribs as required by the Approved Slope Sinking Plan.... The accident could have been prevented by management recognizing the hazards associated with the changes in strata through the transitional area and adequately supporting the rib by adding wire mesh securely attached to the roof bolts or steel arches with lagging or additional support.”*

—Editor

### Secret arrest of Saudi student

Mohammed Al-Qudhai’een, a Saudi Arabian linguistic scholar at the University of Arizona, Tucson, who had earlier sued America West for racial profiling, was taken into custody June 13 by the FBI. Officials refuse to say why he was taken or where he is. In 1999 Al-Qudhai’een and another linguistic student were handcuffed and removed from an America West flight at the Columbus, Ohio, airport because of complaints by a flight attendant who alleged he had touched the cockpit door after using the restroom. They filed a federal lawsuit against racial profiling, which a judge dismissed a few weeks before Al-Qudhai’een was picked up.

*Betsy McDonald  
Tucson, Arizona*

### ‘Militant’ a great tool

I am writing because I would like to start getting your paper again. Two facts forced me to stop getting it around a year ago. First, my father died and with him my source of money. Also, Dooly State prison, where I was housed at that time, began to severely restrict the number of publications that we could receive.

I am now at a new address, listed below, and would like to begin getting your paper again. I would greatly appreciate it if you could find a sponsor for my subscription. As before, I can promise that I will pass it on to any and all who will read it, as I think yours is a great tool with which to educate the working class

I hope all of you are well and happy.

*A prisoner  
Hardwick, Georgia*

### Donate to the Militant’s Prisoners Fund

The fund makes it possible for workers and farmers behind bars to receive a subscription to the *Militant* at reduced rates: \$6 for a six month subscription and \$12 for one year.

Checks or money orders earmarked “Prisoners Fund” should be made out to the *Militant* and sent to 152 W. 36th St. Suite 401, New York, NY 10018.

**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.**

# Behind Canada's fishing crisis

BY GRANT HARGRAVE  
AND JOANNE PRITCHARD

PASPÉBIAC, Québec—"One factory ship takes in a month what the whole fleet of small fishers take in one year. If the government had eliminated them before, small fishers would still be fishing cod today," said Albert Diotte, a former cod fisher on the dock at Grande Rivière, Québec. This opinion was shared by many small fishermen and fish processing workers interviewed by these reporters on a recent trip to the eastern coast region of Québec, the Gaspésie, to get at the roots of the social crisis here.

This crisis affecting Canada's Maritime Provinces came to national attention May 3 when four fishing boats and two fish processing plants in Shippagan, New Brunswick, were set on fire by a racist mob of some 200 crab fishers and others. Also a federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) office was ransacked.

Most of the crab fishers are medium-sized capitalists. They aimed their fire at small fishermen, in this case, Mi'kmaq Natives. One of the burned boats belonged to the Big Cove Mi'kmaq. The other boats belonged to the DFO but had been promised by the government to the Mi'kmaq. One of the two burned plants had a contract with the Mi'kmaq.

The arson attack was organized in response to the federal government's decision to cut snow crab quotas by 5,000 tons, a more than 20 percent reduction from the previous year, and to allocate 15 percent of the quota to Native and other fishers who are out of work due to the depletion of cod.

There are 130 "traditional" crab fishers in the southern region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They go by that designation because they were awarded the original percentages of the annual quota. They decided not to fish this year to protest Ottawa's 2003 quotas.

Their boycott left several thousand crab processing workers out of work. "Nontraditional" producers such as cod and lobster fishers, and those from the Mi'kmaq, who were to benefit from part of the crab quota, were prevented by the crab fishermen from doing their job. The federal government offered to increase the quota by 3,000 tons in exchange for the crab fishers assuming part of the costs of research, conservation, and monitoring of the industry, and agreeing that a part of their quota be allotted to "nontraditional" fishers on a permanent basis. The six crab fishers' associations in the Maritimes rejected this proposal and are contesting it in the courts. They decided to put an end to their boycott on May 23, without reaching agreement with the federal government.

## Overfishing depletes cod

The backdrop to this crisis is the depletion of cod and other groundfish stocks, primarily due to overfishing. Since the 1500s, European and then North American producers have fished the abundant cod, which feed along the ocean floor off Canada's eastern coast. Whole towns and villages in the Maritime Provinces were based on cod fishing.

A huge expansion took place in the Canadian fishing industry and internationally after 1977, when control over offshore resources by maritime countries was extended from 12 to 200 miles off the coast by international agreement. The biggest capitalist families and financial institutions in Canada's eastern



Militant/Grant Hargrave

**Fisherman unloading crab boat in Paspébiac, Quebec, June 2003. Overfishing by huge capitalist fishing companies has depleted cod stock, devastating small fishers.**

provinces poured tens of millions of dollars into the industry. The number of fish processing plants in Atlantic Canada rose from 559 in 1977 to 1,063 in 1991. Deep sea draggers, or factory trawlers, already in use by European fishing companies, were put in use by big Canadian companies. These boats are capable of catching and processing huge amounts of fish. They drag nets along the sea floor, scooping everything out of the water and damaging the ocean floor. Immature fish, unwanted species, or fish for which the boat has no quota are tossed back dead into the sea.

This practice resulted in a dangerous depletion of the cod stocks. After an outcry by small fishers, the Canadian government declared a moratorium on cod fishing in the early 1990s. At that time, more than 40,000 people in five provinces were thrown out of work or lost a large part of their earnings. They were also affected by cuts in unemployment insurance, which hit seasonal workers particularly hard. Cod fishing was resumed in 1998 with reduced quotas, even though cod stocks had not yet recovered.

On April 24 the government again declared a cod fishing moratorium. Some cod fishers were given rights to fish for other species such as lobster, shrimp, and crab, increasing the pressure on these stocks, which is the context for the current crisis.

There is a wide stratification of social classes in the fishing industry in Canada, with different and often conflicting interests. On top are the large corporations, like Fish Products International and Clearwater, that own multiple processing plants and fleets of factory trawlers, which trawl in "off coastal" waters. Then there are the capitalist fishers in the crab industry, who employ four or five workers on their boats and are part owners of the crab processing factories as well. The smaller fishers, either former cod fishers or lobster fishers, often employ one other person to work with them on their small boats or have a family member help out. Finally there are the fish processing workers on the docks and in the factories.

## Small fishers and the boycott

The boycott of the fishing season affected these classes differently. In a May 16 press conference, Chief Robert Levi of the Big

Cove reserve in New Brunswick told reporters that the Mi'kmaq would challenge the embargo. "We have had enough of being held hostage to this fight between the federal government and crab fishers," he said. "We're going to fish even if we have to call out the RCMP, the coast guard, the ministry of fishing and oceans, and even, if necessary, the army and the navy."

On May 12, in Caraquet, New Brunswick, 100 crab fishers stopped former cod fishermen from leaving the shore to catch their quota of crab. Other incidents of intimidation were reported. The Union of Maritime Fishers, who joined the Mi'kmaq at the press conference, also planned to defy the boycott. As Réginald Comeau of the Union explained to the Montréal daily *La Presse*, "we have smaller boats and we can only fish for crab in shallow, warmer water and if we wait too long, they will begin to molt and will be of no value."

Diane Huard Francoeur, whose husband is a small lobster fisher, told *Militant* reporters on the dock at St. Godefroi. "Small fishers don't have the financial means to cross their arms and refuse to fish," she said.

She also described some of the ways small fishers are exploited. In addition to lobster, her husband catches herring, caplan, and mackerel, primarily for crab and lobster bait. The lobster fishers give their catch over to the lobster processing plants before knowing what price they will get, she said. "Just to show you how nasty the plant owners are, they'll buy herring at 15 cents a pound from one small fisher and then turn around, and without even leaving the dock, they'll sell it to another small fisher to use as bait for 40 cents a pound. They're profiteers."

Albert Diotte, who has been allotted a quota for crab to make up for the moratorium on cod, said, "I only have the right to land 20,000 pounds. I would need to take 40,000 in order to make payments on my boat, keep up insurance, and pay my crew."

## Indigenous fishing rights

Daryl Patnode is a Mi'kmaq fisher *Militant* reporters interviewed at the Grande Rivière quay. He is one of the "traditional" crab fishers because the Gesgapegiag reserve in the Gaspésie bought some permits four years ago from "traditional" fishers. But he explained that the profits on their boats don't go exclusively to the captain. "We have community permits and the benefits go to the community," he stated.

Other indigenous fishers are allocated a part of the 15 percent crab quota put aside for them and other independent producers. This was the result of a ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada that recognized the right of Native peoples to sell fish caught outside the legal fishing season. This ruling is based on a 1760 treaty between the British government and three Native peoples. Some crab fishers see this decision as a threat to their profits. But Chief John Martin of the Gesgapegiag reserve explained, "with the Marshall decision we finally had the capac-

ity to earn a living. Before we had to beg the government for money."

Guy Methot works as a fisher's helper on a lobster boat. "It's the factory workers who suffered the most from the crab boycott," he said. Fish processing is seasonal and workers survive on unemployment benefits the rest of the year. But by May, their benefits had expired and they were not being called into work.

The Gaspésie's economy is based on fishing, wood, agriculture, and tourism. The region has already seen substantial job losses in other sectors. The Canadian mining giant Noranda closed its copper mine in Murdochville in 1999, and then its smelter in the same town last year. Noranda was the town's main employer. Also in 1999 Abitibi-Consolidated closed its Gaspésie paper mill in Chandler. The mill is to be reopened by new owners in 2004, but with half of the former workforce. Workers at this mill were part of a hard-fought strike in 1998 involving 10 different plants in Ontario, Québec, and Newfoundland. Unionists in Chandler played a key role in winning the strike by standing firm in the face of company threats to close that mill.

## Fish processing workers fight back

Johanne Huot, a workers' association representative at the Unipêche crab processing plant at Paspébiac, said that workers need 14 weeks in order to qualify for federal benefits. With the collapse of the cod fishery, the Québec government has set up a program that allows some workers to qualify by employing them in public works projects to complete the required 14 weeks of labor if they work a minimum number of hours.

Linda Delarosbil, another workers' association representative at Unipêche, said that the crab season was starting late because of the boycott by crab fishers and only 80 of the 200 workers had been called back to work. "Johanne and I are OK," she said, "we've got more seniority, but we're fighting for those who are sitting at home."

Huot and Delarosbil explained that workers at the plants in Anse aux Gascons, Paspébiac, and Pabos had shut down Québec Employment offices for several days and had even blocked a highway for several hours to win access to work on the projects for everyone. They are also demanding that they be paid Can\$8.55 per hour (US\$6.33) hour for this work instead of the \$7.30 minimum wage (US\$5.40), to help make up for the short season.

At Unipêche, where Delarosbil and Huot work, five crab fishers own the factory of 200 workers. They said these fishers own several other factories in the region.

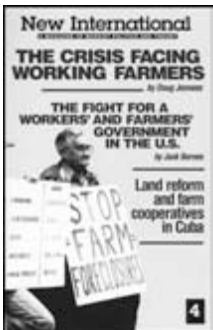
The fish processing workers have to buy their own clothing and safety equipment. For the men's jobs, it costs Can\$200 (US\$148). "But if you get a hole in your glove, you're billed right away for new ones and they take the money off your pay check," said Delarosbil.

Diane Huard-Francoeur described the working conditions in a lobster processing plant where she worked for 20 years. She never earned more than minimum wage. "You get called when the fish arrive and you stay as long as it takes to process. You can work up to 15 hours straight, on your feet in the cold and in the wet. Today, I hurt all over."

When asked if they had tried to organize a union, Huot said she thought the crab fishers would just shut down the plant.

In the past, the workers' associations would get five cents for every pound of crab harvested. This has been cut in many plants. But Monique Lambert, the workers' association representative at the E. Gagnon and Son plant in Ste. Thérèse, where she has worked for 20 years, said workers there refused to process the crab if the owners didn't pay into the fund. "We won because they couldn't just replace 500 workers overnight and also because our plant is only 49 percent owned by the crab fishers," she said. "The other plants are 100 percent owned by the crab fishers."

## Further reading



## The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States

by Jack Barnes

The shared exploitation of workers and working farmers by banking, industrial, and commercial capital lays the basis for their alliance in a revolutionary fight for a government of the producers. Also includes "The Crisis Facing Working Farmers," by Doug Jenness and "Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba." \$12.00

Available online at [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)