

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

How Red Army under Stalin's command stood by while Nazis slaughtered Poles

—PAGES 6–7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 69/NO. 13

APRIL 4, 2005

## Utah miners protest boss plan to hire replacements for unionists

BY JOEL BRITTON  
AND GUILLERMO  
ESQUIVEL

PRICE, Utah—"Protest the illegal firings by Co-Op mine."

"We want our jobs back."

"Kingstons: You can run but you can't hide."

"Cockroaches: We know where your hiding hole is."

"Honk for support!"

These were some of the signs in English and Spanish that Co-Op miners held up at an informational picket line March 23 as coal trucks and passenger vehicles drove by on busy Ridge Road a few miles south of Price.

The weather was cold, with freezing rain giving way to hail, and finally sunshine as a dozen miners and supporters pressed their case to get their jobs back at C.W. Mining, owned by the Kingston family, and win recognition as a local of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Spirits were high.

The miners were picketing within sight of Rail Co. Coal Load Out, a Kingston-owned facility. They were also near the house where C.W. Mining boss Shane Stoddard has set up a contracting outfit in his basement, according to the miners, to hire workers for the Co-Op mine.

Dozens of double-trailer trucks bringing coal from area mines pulled into another nearby load out and into Rail Co. to dump their loads for waiting rail cars. A number of mines send their coal to Rail Co., including the Co-Op and other nonunion mines in the area, as well as the Consol mine, whose

workforce is organized by the UMWA.

About a third of the many drivers passing by blew their horns in support as they read the signs, some blasting away for a good while. Cheers went up from the miners, who gestured with their hands and arms for the next driver to pull on the horn.

Some of the cars and pickup trucks



Militant photos by Terri Moss  
**Miners fighting to win UMWA representation at the Co-Op mine in Utah picketed company's Rail Co. Load Out March 23 (above). "Kingstons, you can run but you can't hide," said one sign, referring to the owners. "We want our jobs back," said another. Most miners were fired in December, a week before a union representation election. A truck driver passing by (right) honked in solidarity.**



turning off Ridge Road stopped to get a UMWA leaflet. "I'm for you guys!" one woman yelled. Others expressed their support more quietly, but fervently.

Miners pointed down the road to where they said Stoddard last week was conducting mine safety classes in Spanish and pre-

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## Schiavo case: Most oppose gov't intrusion into right to privacy

BY KARL BUTTS

TAMPA, Florida—U.S. Congress met in an emergency session March 20 to pass legislation aimed at determining the medical care of a single individual. Three days before the vote, with the demagogic claim that the aim of the bill was to guarantee that a "culture of life must extend to individuals with disabilities," U.S. president George Bush gave his backing to the legislation, titled "A bill to provide for the relief of the parents of Theresa Marie Schiavo."

The measure aims to take the decision-making power over the fate of Terri Schiavo, a Florida woman who has been in what doctors describe as a "persistent vegetative state" for 15 years, out of the hands of her spouse and legal guardian, Michael Schiavo. His decision to remove the artificial feeding tube that is keeping his wife alive has been challenged by her parents.

Opinion polls indicate that large majorities oppose this government intervention. Opponents of the legislation argue that it is a blow to the right of individuals to make fundamental decisions concerning their medical care and other personal affairs.

"I'm outraged, and I think that every

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## Kurdish parties press for control of Kirkuk in talks to form Iraqi gov't

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Officials of the main Kurdish parties in Iraq announced that they have "agreed on the principles" but not the details of the formation of a coalition government with the Shiite-led United Iraqi Alliance. Debate over the form and extent of Kurdish control of the oil-rich city of Kirkuk and its surrounding Tamin province has been at the center of negotiations between the two groups aimed at forming a government since the U.S.-orchestrated national elections in January.

At the same time, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld gave widely publicized interviews on Fox News and ABC TV marking two years of the U.S. military occupation of Iraq. Rumsfeld said Ankara's decision to not allow U.S. troops to use Turkish soil to launch a northern front in the 2003 invasion of Iraq allowed most of the best units of Saddam Hussein's

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—Jack Barnes

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## EDITORIAL

To those coming to the March 26 meeting in New York to celebrate the publication of two new issues of the *New International*, we say welcome! We also urge *Militant* readers—including those who didn't make it to New York—to join the campaign to sell copies of these new issues of the magazine of Marxist politics and theory to thousands of workers, farmers, youth and others around the world.

This campaign is being launched at the March 26 meeting. It will be at the heart of the work of class-conscious workers in the next five months. It will last through August 15, the end of the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students taking place in Caracas, Venezuela. The widespread promotion of the new issues of the magazine—for which the *Militant* is proud to have taken the lead—will be combined not only with the efforts to distribute them in all the corners of the globe but with classes to study and absorb their contents.

The two new issues of *New International* have simultaneously been published in Spanish as numbers 6 and 7 of *Nueva Internacional*. This will facilitate their promotion, sales, and study worldwide. Efforts are already underway to translate and publish them in French and other languages. That's a magnificent illustration of what's summarized in the title of the lead

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# Int'l meeting in Vietnam plans outreach, program for world youth festival

BY JACOB PERASSO  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HANOI, Vietnam—Sixty-seven people from 36 countries attended the Second International Preparatory Meeting for the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students, held here February 27-28. Delegates discussed activities they have been involved in to build delegations to the festival around the world. They also agreed to an initial outline of the program for the gathering.

National Preparatory Committees (NPCs) have been established in at least two dozen countries to build delegations to the festival, reported Miriam Morales, general secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and a leader of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba. The previous two world youth festivals were held in Havana, Cuba, in 1997 and in Algiers, the capital of Algeria, in 2001. More than 12,000 youth attended the gathering in Havana and nearly 7,000 went to Algiers. The gatherings were marked by the political tone and character of groups and individuals engaged in popular struggles for national liberation, union-organizing and other battles by workers resisting austerity drives by the bosses, fights by peasants for land, and actions by students against cuts in education. The youth at these meetings came together to exchange experiences and improve their understanding of how to advance their struggles.

WFDY, the main initiator of these festivals that started half a century ago, is based in Budapest, Hungary. In the past, WFDY was dominated by youth groups affiliated to Communist Parties that looked to the Stalinist regime in Moscow for political direction and sustenance. The festivals were interrupted for eight years as the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. The international gatherings resumed on the initiative of communists in Cuba.

“For peace and solidarity; We struggle against imperialism and war!” is the political theme of this year’s festival. The event will be held in Caracas, Venezuela.

David Velásquez, president of the Ven-

ezuela NPC and the general secretary of the Communist Youth of Venezuela, reported that the host organizations proposed the dates of the festival be set for August 7-15, which was approved. This is slightly later than the dates approved last year, he said, so the closing of the gathering can coincide with the first anniversary of the defeat of the so-called recall referendum aimed at unseating the country’s elected government. A national demonstration to mark that anniversary is planned in Caracas that day.

The Aug. 15, 2004, vote had been spearheaded by Coordinadora Democrática, a pro-imperialist opposition coalition that has had the backing of weighty sections of Venezuela’s capitalist class and Washington. It was the third unsuccessful attempt in two years to topple the government headed by President Hugo Chávez. The previous two included a military coup in April 2002 and a bosses’ lockout at the end of that year. The Chávez administration has earned the ire of most local capitalists and their U.S. allies after adopting a land reform and other measures that, if implemented, would undermine the prerogatives of the local bourgeoisie.

### Facilities for up to 20,000 delegates

Velásquez also reported that youth organizations in Venezuela are collaborating with the country’s government to organize housing, transportation, and conference facilities to accommodate as many as 20,000 delegates during the festival. He added that the Venezuelan airline CONVIASA will arrange discounted fares in Latin America and the Caribbean.

To encourage attendance, the participation fee—which covers housing, food, and transportation for delegates—was set relatively low. It will be \$200 each for delegates from the imperialist countries, \$150 for those from Eastern Europe and the Middle East, and \$100 for other semicolonial countries. An international solidarity fund was also launched to help organizations from the semicolonial world maximize participation.

About 2,500 delegates are projected to come from the host country. Elsewhere in Latin America efforts are underway to reach



Militant/Jacob Perasso

**Panel at closing on February 28 of Second International Preparatory Meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam, for world youth festival in Venezuela. From left: Enrique Ramos, president of National Youth Institute of Venezuela and executive secretary of National Preparatory Committee (NPC) of Venezuela; Chebabha Fadila of National Union of Algerian Youth; Tapas Sinha of Democratic Youth Federation of India; Miguel Madeira, president of World Federation of Democratic Youth; Ana María Prestes of Union of Socialist Youth of Brazil; Doan Van Thai, head of international relations of Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union of Vietnam; and Tania D’Amelio, national coordinator of Youth of Fifth Republic and vice president of Venezuela NPC.**

out to thousands of youth. Ana María Prestes of the Union of Socialist Youth of Brazil said such outreach activities were held during the recent World Social Forum and the Congress of Latin American Students, both held in Brazil earlier this year. Another forum for such collaboration will be the Third International Conference in Solidarity with the Bolivarian Revolution, which will be held April 10-14 in Caracas.

Julio Martínez, first secretary of the UJC of Cuba, said the Cuban NPC is organizing to send 1,500 delegates to Venezuela for the festival and is exploring the possibility of organizing travel from Havana to Caracas by boat. About 1,000 of the Cuban delegates

will come from Cuba. They will include about 200 students from countries in Africa and elsewhere in the colonial world studying on scholarships in Cuba. Another 500 delegates, Martínez said, will come from the more than 20,000 Cubans volunteering in Venezuela as doctors, literacy teachers, or agricultural specialists. The UJC leader also reported that Cubana Airlines would offer discounted airfares for delegates to the festival.

Leaders of the UJC have been traveling to other countries to help build delegations. Kenia Serrano, for example, president of the Cuban NPC and head of international rela-

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## Miami: students build youth festival

BY SONJA SWANSON

MIAMI—The local organizing committee in Miami for the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students held its first public event March 15 at Florida International University, Biscayne Bay Campus. About 40 students and others came to see the film *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*. The movie documents the U.S.-backed military coup in April 2002 that briefly toppled Venezuela’s elected government, and the mass working-class mobilizations that led to its defeat within days.

The program included Luis Henríquez, a leader of the Bolivarian Circles here, who talked about the relevance of the documentary for today and why youth should oppose U.S. intervention in the Americas.

Nicole Sarmiento, who is active in the local committee, described previous festivals. Young people at these events, she said, have a chance to exchange experiences about struggles for national liberation, women’s rights, union organizing, and other fights of working people. She encouraged students

and other youth to make plans to go to the festival in Venezuela this summer, which will be held in Caracas and other cities August 7–15.

In the discussion, a member of the Bolivarian Circles here who is a dentist described the internationalist help by more than 20,000 volunteer doctors and literacy teachers from Cuba who serve in Venezuela. As a result of this aid, and other programs instituted by the government since Hugo Chávez was elected president in 1998, she said, working people in areas that had no access to health care now receive regular and quality medical care.

Students and others who came contributed more than \$100 to help send youth from Miami to the festival. Ten people signed up for more information on the festival and future activities of the local committee. The next meeting of the committee will take place at the offices of Veye Yo, a Haitian rights organization in Miami. The local organizing committee in Miami can be reached at wfys2005@yahoo.com.

THE MILITANT

16th World Festival of Youth, Students

Caracas, Venezuela, August 7–15, 2005

Thousands of young people will participate in the world youth festival in Venezuela. Their presence will be an important answer to the imperialist-backed campaign, that aims to overthrow the government of Hugo Chávez, and deal a blow to efforts of workers and farmers there to extend the gains they’ve won. The ‘Militant’ brings you the facts. Don’t miss an issue!

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The Militant

Vol. 69/No. 13

Closing news date: March 23, 2005

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Published weekly except for one week in January, June, July, and August.  
The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 244-4899; Fax (212) 244-4947.  
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, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.  
Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.  
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.  
Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$35 to above address.  
**Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above

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# Friendship Village in Vietnam treats Agent Orange victims

BY ARRIN HAWKINS  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HANOI, Vietnam—“It is difficult to count how many people suffer from the diseases caused by Agent Orange,” Dr. Hoang Vu Dung told the *Militant* in a visit to the Vietnam Friendship Village outside Hanoi, on March 1. “At least 2 and as many as 4 million people have been affected, both veterans and volunteers, their children, and the offspring of their children.”

Dung is a medical researcher at the Agent Orange Victims Fund of the Vietnam Red Cross. He helps organize visits to the Friendship Village. That’s where children, and a smaller number of adults, who suffer from dioxin poisoning caused by Washington’s use of the defoliant Agent Orange during the U.S. war against Vietnam in the 1960s and ’70s come for medical treatment and vocational training. “The most common medical problems of Agent Orange are cancer, mental retardation, and deformities,” Dung said. “But we are researching 70 other diseases.”

The visits to the Friendship Village are part of an international campaign launched last year by veterans’ associations and other organizations in Vietnam to press for compensation for victims of Agent Orange. The campaign includes a petition circulated internationally to put pressure on Washington and U.S. chemical companies that produced Agent Orange to pay damages to those affected in Vietnam.

Another aspect of the campaign is the civil suit filed in U.S. court by Vietnamese affected by Agent Orange who are seeking compensation from U.S. firms that manufactured the defoliant. (See article below.)

## Friendship Village

The Vietnamese government, the International Red Cross, and veterans’ associations in six countries co-sponsor and fund the Friendship Village. The facility currently houses 30 veterans and over 100 children—victims of Agent Orange across several generations.

Within the complex there are several buildings—a small medical clinic that provides acupuncture and limited medical care, dormitories to accommodate the patients, a cafeteria, and a one-story school building. There is also a garden where interns grow some produce. The children stay here for two to three years receiving medical treatment and schooling. Vocational training is also part of the curriculum. It includes sewing, embroidering, and making artificial flowers. Veterans stay for six months receiving medical treatment. The Vietnamese government recently provided funds to build a new medical center on the grounds so that the patients would not have to travel to the main hospital in Hanoi for care of serious illnesses. The existing clinic is adequate for treatment of minor ailments only. Plans include construction of a new housing facility that will double capacity to 200 children.

A small staff works here to keep the

center functioning. Nguyen Tien Die, who accompanied us on the tour, is the accountant. Garment workers are hired to teach cutting and sewing. Shirts and other clothing produced by the students are sold on the market to generate some income for the center.

Nguyen Thi Nhat volunteers as an English translator. She has been working here for a year. Vocational training helps the young people learn a skill so “when they return to their provinces they can work, help their families, and be integrated in society,” she said. There are also teachers for general studies such as math and handicrafts, and health-care workers to help care for the patients.

In a math class of about a dozen students, several of the children worked with pegs learning to count. Because many of the children are mentally retarded, the instructor said, “Many forget most of the lessons, but it helps to get them involved in activity.”

In another part of the village, Giang and Huong, two sisters, sat on their beds studying English with a dry board with sentences and their English translations. Neither of them can stand or walk, because their legs are deformed. With a smile, Giang said she is determined to learn the language and wants to become an English translator.

In a separate building, veterans sat playing cards and drinking tea as they waited for lunch. Vue Ding Dao, who fought in Quang Nam province for between 1963 and 1973, told the *Militant* that before the war he had four healthy children. After returning from fighting in the south, he fathered another four, all of whom were born severely deformed and died shortly after childbirth.

From 1967 until the end of the war, Ne Van Chanh, another veteran, fought in Tinh Tay Ninh province, one of the areas heavily sprayed with the poison. When U.S. aircraft sprayed Agent Orange, he said, “We only saw the mist and did not know what it was. It felt like rain. Later our skin would itch and our faces became hot.” One of his children later died at childbirth and the other is mentally retarded. Many veterans now suffer from cancer and other diseases, Chanh said.

The Vietnamese government has set up 12 similar facilities and 500 clinics in other provinces to care for Agent Orange victims. The Hoa Binh (Peace) village at Tu Du Maternity hospital in Ho Chi Minh City currently pro-

vides medical care for 60 people. He also ruled that the plaintiffs were unable to prove the chemical had caused their illnesses.

The plaintiffs’ attorneys said they would appeal the ruling.

The chemical monopolies named in the suit were delighted with Weinstein’s ruling. “We’ve said all along that any issues regarding wartime activities should be resolved by the U.S. and Vietnamese governments,” said Dow Chemical spokesman Scot Wheeler. “We believe that defoliants saved lives by protecting allied forces from enemy ambush and did not create adverse health effects.”

The U.S. government also filed a brief in support of the chemical giants’ motion to dismiss the case.

In Vietnam, Nguyen Trong Nhan, vice president of the Association of Victims of Agent Orange, told the Reuters news agency that “We will pursue the suit until



Friendship Village near Hanoi March 1. Top: Veterans of National Liberation Front of Vietnam, including Viet Ding Dao, standing. Left: Giang, who can’t walk because her legs are deformed as a result of Agent Orange sprayed on her parents, is learning English. Right: Vocational training in sewing.

Militant photos by Argiris Malapanis

vides medical care for 60 people.

Nguyen Tien Die told the *Militant* that the center in Hanoi is the largest. Veterans’ associations from across the country make recommendations on those who are sent here for treatment and training.

## U.S. imperialism the culprit

During the course of its decade-long war against Vietnam and neighboring countries, beginning in 1965, Washington unleashed more bombs against Indochina than had been dropped in all previous wars combined. Nearly 60,000 U.S. troops died in combat, while millions of inhabitants of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were killed. The damage inflicted on the Vietnamese people, especially, however, has been long lasting.

From 1962 to 1971, the U.S. military sprayed 21 million gallons of herbicides and defoliants across southern Vietnam, particularly the areas where Vietnamese resistance was the strongest.

According to Dr. Le Cao Dai, a medical researcher and author of *Agent Orange in the Viet Nam War*, the U.S. government claimed the aims of the spraying operation, dubbed “Operation Ranch Hand,” were to defoliate the trees to reveal the hiding places of National Liberation Front troops, and to destroy crops, effectively depriving Vietnamese fighters of food supplies. U.S. forces sought to disguise their participation in these missions by painting the yellow and blue flag of the Saigon regime on U.S. aircraft and instructing pilots to wear civilian clothes during flights.

According to Le Cao Dai, the Pentagon had contracts with eight U.S. companies for the production of toxic chemicals—Dow Chemical, Diamond Alkali, Uniroyal Chemical, Thompson Chemical, Hercules, Monsanto, Ansul, and Thompson Hayward. The U.S. military used several chemicals against the Vietnamese. These included asphyxiants, insecticides, and nerve and poisonous gases. Incendiary weapons such as napalm and white phosphorous were also used widely. The U.S. armed forces dropped an estimated 100,000 tons of napalm during the war. The most notable chemical used was Agent Orange, a military code name for the chemical that refers to the color stripe painted around the barrels that contained the defoliant.

In 1971, the U.S. government claimed it was no longer using herbicides and defoliants in the war. But Washington continued to supply its puppet regime in south Vietnam with chemicals and equipment as military aid until the end of the war in 1975.

To this day, the U.S. government refuses to acknowledge the destructive effects of Agent Orange spraying in Vietnam and only recognizes limited effects of dioxin poisoning of U.S. veterans and their children. A class-action lawsuit was filed in the U.S. federal court on behalf of some 10,000 U.S. veterans who suffer from health problems caused by Agent Orange. Seven U.S. chemical companies were forced to pay \$180 million in compensation. In 1996, disability compensation was expanded for U.S. soldiers and their children suffering from spina bifida, a deformity of the spine, caused by Agent Orange poisoning. At the same time, U.S. authorities and courts claim there is no proof that the defoliant caused lasting damage to an immensely larger number of Vietnamese.

## ‘Weapon of mass destruction’

Tru Van Loi, a leader of the Vietnam Friendship Association, spoke about the campaign to get justice for the victims of Agent Orange at a February 28 forum here, entitled “Thirty Years After the War: Vietnam on the road to renewal.” It was attended mostly by delegates to the second international preparatory meeting for the world youth festival (see article on page 2).

“The United States used the pretext of ‘weapons of mass destruction’ to invade Iraq, but they are the ones who used weapons of mass destruction—Agent Orange—against the Vietnamese people,” Loi said. “Millions of Vietnamese still suffer the effects.” He encouraged everyone present to support the campaign and to help circulate the petition demanding compensation. Loi thanked the World Federation of Democratic Youth for endorsing the campaign at its General Council meeting two days earlier.

# U.S. court dismisses Agent Orange lawsuit

BY CINDY JAQUITH

A federal judge has dismissed the lawsuit by 100 Vietnamese against major U.S. chemical companies that manufactured the deadly herbicide Agent Orange, which was used by U.S. forces in the Vietnam War.

Agent Orange contained dioxin—known to produce cancer, deformities, mental retardation, and organ dysfunction. Washington sprayed millions of gallons of the poison over Vietnam from 1962 to 1971, claiming it was trying to destroy vegetation that could feed or hide liberation fighters opposed to the U.S. invasion. The Vietnamese national liberation army ultimately defeated the U.S. aggressors.

The suit charged that companies like Dow and Monsanto, by producing the poison, committed war crimes and violated international law. The plaintiffs demanded compensation for Agent Orange victims.

U.S. judge Jack Weinstein ruled March 10 that Agent Orange could not be labeled

justice is done.”

BBC News interviewed plaintiff and former liberation fighter Nguyen Van Quy, who has liver and stomach cancer and whose two children are disabled. “I’ll fight,” Quy said, “not just for myself, but for millions of Vietnamese victims. Those who produced these toxic chemicals must take responsibility for their action.”

“If the medical files [of Vietnamese victims] are not convincing enough, we will use the ones of the American soldiers,” Ngo Thanh Nhan, a Vietnamese activist in the lawsuit, told BBC. “There’s no reason why those who sprayed chemical products got compensation for their contamination...and the direct victims’ suit is rejected by an American court.”

In 1984, U.S. GIs poisoned by Agent Orange in Vietnam won a \$180 million settlement from the same chemical companies charged in the current lawsuit. Jack Weinstein was the judge in that case too.

# Miners picket load out

Continued from front page

paring to put people to work at the Co-Op mine right after Easter.

The Co-Op bosses' moves come as the miners are redoubling their efforts to defeat the Kingston family, which owns Rail Co. and many other businesses in Utah and nearby states. A rally in support of the union-organizing struggle at Co-Op held at the UMWA hall here on March 12 drew miners and their supporters from many areas of the West. Co-Op miners explained the stakes in their fight, how they are reaching out, and how they are stepping up their fight to get jobs at other mines so the Kingstons will not be successful in starving them out.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is investigating charges by the UMWA detailing how the company fired more than 30 pro-union miners last fall to thwart efforts by the workers to be represented by the union. Most were fired on the eve of an NLRB-supervised representation election held on December 17. The board has not ruled on the validity of ballots cast by the fired workers, now more than three months later. Eighteen months have passed since 75 Co-Op miners were fired in September 2003 for refusing to work after the bosses fired one of their fellow miners.

During the picket line on Ridge Road, two of the most gung-ho miners were the youngest.

Humberto Miranda is 24 and worked at Co-Op for a year, operating a buggy (coal shuttle car) underground for \$6.30 an hour. "We simply want justice," he said. With the UMWA, "The bosses will not be able to mistreat us as before, we'll have more protection. The mine will be safer," he said.

Francisco Carrillo, 22, held up a "Honk for support!" sign. "Justice, the pay we deserve, the rights we deserve," said Carrillo, a shuttle car and scoop operator, is what he expects to win with UMWA representation. Carrillo worked at Co-Op for a year.

Raymundo Silva has nine years at the Co-Op mine, including the nine-and-a-half months on strike. A tall man, Silva positioned himself where coal trucks coming up the road from the load out would see his sign first. He explained how he was won over to the UMWA cause during the five months following the strikers' return to work as part of an NLRB settlement in July.

"I saw the bosses laugh at the miners during the strike," Silva said. The "abuses at the mine" got to him. A boss "yelled at

me to clean four faces, to clean four extra cross-cuts. They called me *pendejo*, a 'dummy,'" he said. "They made me work as a roof bolter in water above my knees and refused to pump it out." With the UMWA as the miners' union, "Yes, we will force them to pump out the water," he said. Also on Silva's list of abuses is that bosses would sometimes refuse to provide drinking water underground, "for two and three days."

Following the informational picket, miners gathered at the UMWA District 22 offices where they were greeted by several solidarity messages from the day's mail. "To Future UMWA miners, As promised during the Mar. 12th rally, we're sending you the \$500 check on behalf of L[ocal] U[nion] 1332, Stand on SOLIDARITY. You will win," says a letter from Navajo coal miners in Arizona. After reading other mail, the miners dispensed funds to each miner not working from the contributions received.

Miners filled out applications for English classes given at the local public library and discussed going to businesses to apply for jobs that same afternoon.

"This picket line was to show them we are not sitting around waiting," said Juan Salazar, one of the leaders of the union fight. "Each time we do something like this, with people going by expressing support for our fight, it gives us great motivation. We'll do it again soon!"

## Utah mine bosses respond to UMWA brief

BY PAT MILLER

PRICE, Utah—Attorneys for C.W. Mining and the company-run International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU) at the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, filed a memorandum with the central Utah district federal court on March 16 in opposition to the motion to dismiss the mine boss's lawsuit against the United Mine Workers of America and its officers. The union and the workers who have been leading the fight for UMWA representation at the coal mine are central targets of the harassment lawsuit by the Kingstons, the owners of C.W. Mining (CWM).

Through their attorneys, the Kingston family contends that the UMWA, acting as an organization and through the individual workers who have been the strongest

### NY bus drivers strike for early retirement



Militant/Dan Fein

YONKERS, New York—Nearly 600 bus drivers and mechanics, members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union employed by the Bee-Line bus company in Westchester County, New York, walked out March 3 to demand a contract that eliminates the penalty for retiring at age 57.

"A driver with 27 years seniority died behind the wheel last September due to stress. He could not retire because he had 10 more years to go," Tony Smith, a bus driver with five years' seniority, told the *Militant*.

Workers said the old contract imposes a 26 percent cut in benefits if they retire at age 57 with 20 years of service, instead of at age 62. One picket said the New York City bus and subway workers who are also members of Local 100 have a contract that allows for full retirement benefits at age 55 with 25 years of service.

—DAN FEIN

## Kingstons ask for more time to reply to the 'Militant' motion to dismiss harassment case

BY NORTON SANDLER

Attorneys for the Kingston family and the International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU) filed a motion March 16 with the Central Utah Federal District Court requesting a month delay in responding to the motions filed by the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party to dismiss their harassment lawsuit.

The Kingstons own C.W. Mining, also known as the Co-Op Mine, in Huntington, Utah. The IAUWU is an outfit that workers say is organized and run by the bosses to serve their interests and to keep a real union out.

In the March 16 motion, the Kingstons requested that presiding Judge Dee Benson also grant them until April 15 to respond to the motions to dismiss from the 17 Co-Op miners named in the bosses' lawsuit; the Utah State AFL-CIO and its president, Ed Mayne; Jobs With Justice; PACE union Local 8-286; and University of Utah professor Hans Ehbar.

Attorneys Randy Dryer and Michael Petrogeorge responded March 19, stating: "Defendants *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have no objection to Plaintiff's request for additional time to respond to said Defendants' Motion to Dismiss Plaintiffs' Complaint." At the same time, they requested that the judge hold a consolidated hearing on the motions to dismiss the case filed by the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret Morning News*, and the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party.

"Given the substantial similarity of the legal issues presented by the motions of the three newspaper defendants, a consolidated hearing would serve the interests of

all parties and judicial economy and would otherwise be in the furtherance of justice," the March 19 motion states. "Counsel for the Plaintiffs, *The Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Morning News* have indicated they have no objection to such a consolidated hearing," the *Militant* and SWP motion continues.

The court has yet to issue a ruling on these requests.

The Kingstons originally filed their sweeping harassment lawsuit in September 2004—accusing the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and many individual Co-Op miners of unfair labor practices and defamation. A number of newspapers and other organizations and individuals were also cited with defamation. The Kingstons amended their complaint in December of last year. Those named as defendants are the UMWA and its officers, 17 workers at the Co-Op mine, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Morning News*—Utah's most prominent dailies—the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant*, and other unions, labor organizations, and individuals who have backed the Co-Op miners' struggle to win UMWA representation.

All the defendants filed motions to dismiss the case. The Kingstons, however, have thus far responded only to the briefs filed by the UMWA and one filed jointly by the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret Morning News*.

A memorandum urging the court to continue C.W. Mining and the IAUWU's case against the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Morning News* submitted by Attorney Mark Hansen on March 9 says the Kingstons have sued the two papers because they have republished statements not

made "by a responsible organization but by a rabid labor union and its cohorts."

The Kingstons' response to the Utah papers repeats the allegation in their amended complaint that coverage by these papers of the labor dispute is "slandereous." The alleged defamations includes quoting workers involved in the dispute describing the firing of miner Bill Estrada in September 2003, the company lockout that ensued after the workers walked off the job in protest of that firing, and comments by workers about the company's low pay scale and the dangerous working conditions at the mine. The alleged defamations also include statements by the workers about their desire to be represented by the UMWA—because of the conditions they faced at that mine—and their contempt for the IAUWU, which the company claims is a union.

The Kingstons' answer repeats their assertion that the two Utah papers intentionally gave inaccurate reports on the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board involving the company and the miners.

The bosses' reply to the Utah dailies' brief also describes as defamations opinions expressed in the papers such as that C.W. Mining is "part of an unfortunate American industry habit of exploiting immigrant workers," or that "the Kingstons' treatment of the miners is appalling."

A footnote in the Kingstons' memorandum states that the dispute, which had drawn wide attention in Utah and elsewhere, is a private one, not a public controversy. As a result, the Kingstons claim the papers are not subject to the freedom of the press protections afforded the media when reporting on a public controversy.

an attempt to rewrite history, slander workers who have fought to be represented by the UMWA, try to isolate their leaders, and, in short, turn the victims of unceasing company abuse and exploitation into the criminals.

"UMWA and its agents repeatedly stated that CWM fired some 74 workers for seeking union representation, called in the sheriff to kick them off the property, and locked them out," says the March 16 Kingston reply to the UMWA legal brief asking for dismissal of the case. "CWM fired no one but Bill Estrada, who was discharged for cause. While they were meeting, some of the workers gathered outside. Estrada came out and falsely told the waiting workers they had also been fired. Relying on Estrada's lie, the other workers left their jobs. CWM never locked them out, they simply chose not to return to work.

"One or more of Defendants or their agents published statements to the effect that IAUWU is a 'company union,' a 'yellow-dog union,' an 'employer dominated union,' 'not a real union,' that the union officers are all mine bosses, etc., all of which were specifically defamatory of IAUWU and its officers....

"They said CWM's workers had no health insurance, which was a lie.

"They made specific claims of unsafe working conditions, all of which were lies....

"They said workers were paid only \$5.25 to \$7.00 an hour, which was a lie. While workers base pay was in that general range, workers also received supplemental pay and production bonuses that increased their pay, often substantially. A number of workers by applying themselves were receiving, and all workers through similar diligence could earn, \$12.00 to \$18.00 per hour.

"They said if a worker refused to carry out an unsafe work practice he was likely to lose bonus and supplementary pay, which was a lie.

"They said CWM had threatened to report workers to INS, which was a lie."

After hearing about these claims by the company in the lawsuit, miners laughed at what they call the bosses' hypocrisy. "Many Co-Op miners have the pay stubs to prove the low pay we got over many years," said José Contreras, a supporter of the UMWA and one of the miners fired a week before the December 17 union representation vote. "We have only spoken the truth about conditions at the mine."

Attorneys for C.W. Mining and IAUWU have asked for extra time to answer the separate motion to dismiss the lawsuit filed by union attorneys on behalf of the 17 individual Co-Op miners named in the suit. Unless denied by the judge, the Kingston lawyers will have until April 15 to respond to that particular motion.



# Thousands protest U.S.-led Iraq invasion 2 years later

BY SAM MANUEL

FAYETTEVILLE, North Carolina—Opposition to the U.S.-led war against Iraq was the theme of a demonstration here March 19, the second anniversary of the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq. This city is home to Fort Bragg, one of the largest U.S. military bases in the country, and nearby Pope Air Force base. Among the groups sponsoring the protest were Military Families Speak Out; Iraq Veterans Against the War; Veterans for Peace; Bring Them Home Now; Fayetteville Peace With Justice; and United for Peace and Justice. The latter includes in its leadership the Communist Party USA and an array of liberal and pacifist groups.

The march and rally, which grew to around 3,000, was led by a group carrying 100 cardboard coffins draped in the U.S. flag. Organizers said the coffins symbolized U.S. troops killed in Iraq, which now exceed 1,500. U.S. authorities and the succession of U.S.-backed Iraqi administrations have not provided information on the number of Iraqi deaths. Iraq Body Count, a database run by a group of academics and peace activists, has placed Iraqi civilian deaths at between 17,000 and 20,000.

Placards and banners throughout the crowd expressed patriotic opposition to the war. “Peace is Patriotic,” read some. “Real support for the troops! Bring them home now!” read a large banner over the stage. Other signs and banners were directed at President George Bush and top officials of his administration.

Speakers consisted mostly of veterans of the 1991 and 2003 wars against Iraq and family members of soldiers who are cur-

rently deployed in Iraq or died in the war. The largest applause was given to Camilo Mejia, a former Florida National Guard staff sergeant who refused to rejoin his unit in Iraq after returning home on a two-week leave in October 2003. Mejia filed an application for a discharge as a conscientious objector from the military in March 2004. He was sentenced in May by a military court to one year in prison on the charge of desertion. “I don’t stand before you today to say the war in Iraq is criminal and immoral. I have learned that all wars are criminal and immoral,” Mejia said. He was released from prison in February.

Michael Hoffman, a former Marine corporal during the 2003 invasion of Iraq, was cheered by the crowd when he called for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq. “As soldiers we were trained to kill, we were not taught how to rebuild anything,” said Hoffman, one of the founders of Iraq Veterans Against the War.

A few busses each came to the rally from Atlanta, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Knoxville, Tennessee. People also car pooled from North and South Carolina.



BY ARRIN HAWKINS

NEW YORK—Several peace protests took place in New York to mark the second anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. In Central Park, a march organized by the Troops Out Now coalition drew around 5,000 people. Smaller actions were held in Times Square and at military recruiting stations elsewhere. Troops Out Now includes



Militant/Sam Manuel

**About 3,000 took part in March 19 peace rally in Fayetteville, North Carolina. “Real support for the troops. Bring them home now!” says main banner over stage. Size and patriotic character of actions was similar in other U.S. cities.**

the ANSWER coalition, which includes in its leadership the Workers World Party.

Two high school students, Abby Guinane and Katie Hamelin, from Schodack, New York, came with their parents to the Central Park peace rally. Both had attended the antiwar demonstration in Albany, the state capital, the Wednesday before. “I don’t like war, and we are killing people and it’s not their fault,” said Abby. “We are there under false pretenses,” Katie told the *Militant*. “Now that Saddam is gone, I don’t see why we are still over there.”

Addressing the rally, Charles Rangel, Democratic congressman from the 15th district in Harlem, said, “It’s one thing to go to war, it’s another thing to mislead the American people. If they had been in com-

bat, or their children would have had to fight in the war, there never would have been this war.” Rangel had introduced a bill in Congress prior to the invasion to reinstate the military draft on that “patriotic” premise.

“They are trying to put me away for 30 years,” said Lynne Stewart, another speaker. The lawyer was convicted in February on five charges of “conspiracy to provide material support to terrorist activity” for the way she defended Sheik Abdel Rahman. “I am part of the war here at home, the war against democratic rights. I intend to fight this conviction,” she said. Stewart will be sentenced in September.

Other speakers included Larry Holmes, who represented Troops Out Now; Brian Becker of ANSWER; Chris Silvera of the Million Worker March; former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark; Pam Afrika of the Mumia Abu-Jamal defense campaign; and Teresa Gutierrez of the New York Committee to Free the Cuban Five.

Holding the flags of countries invaded by the United States armed forces, a group of about 15 counterdemonstrators heckled antiwar protesters in Central Park.

Protesters targeted military recruitment centers for civil disobedience. Police arrested 27 at the center near Times Square.



Rallies similar in size and character to the ones in New York and Fayetteville took place in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Smaller actions also took place in Boston, Chicago, and other U.S. cities. Antiwar protests were organized in London, Rome, and other European cities too. The Associated Press said the police estimated 45,000 turned out for the London action. *Militant* reporters said, however, the London rally was several thousand.

## World youth festival meeting in Vietnam

Continued from page 2

tions for the UJC, reported that she traveled to Malaysia for that purpose prior to Hanoi and would have a similar stopover in Peru after departing from Vietnam.

Jessica Marshall of the Young Communist League and Arrin Hawkins of the Young Socialists, as well as other delegates from the United States, reported on activities across the country to build a large delegation for the Caracas event this summer. These included the second meeting of the U.S. NPC in Chicago on February 12, which was attended by about 100 students and other youth from some 40 organizations.

Delegates from Europe reported initial plans to send up to 150 people to the festival from each of their countries. Projections from more remote areas—from Cambodia to Bahrain—ranged to smaller delegations of a few dozen. Groups from more than 100 countries are expected to send delegations.

A deadline of April 21 was set to establish National Preparatory Committees in all countries where efforts are under way to build the youth festival.

Delegates in Hanoi also discussed the initial outline of the program for the festival, presented by the Venezuela NPC.

Velásquez said the plan includes organizing up to a third of the delegates to travel to a half a dozen provinces in Venezuela, where a number of seminars will be held. This will allow delegates to get a first-hand feel for the struggles of workers and farmers in the country for land, jobs, and literacy. Delegates who stay in Caracas will also have a chance to visit working-class districts and see the new popular clinics staffed by Cuban doctors and a growing number of Venezuelan counterparts. The trips to the countryside will also give a chance to thousands of Venezuelan youth who cannot go to the festival in Caracas to meet with their peers from around the world. The workshop on young peasants, for example, will be held in Cojedes state, where Venezuelan toilers have waged land occupations and other struggles for land.

Most conferences will be held at universities and other facilities in Caracas. Their topics include “peace, war and imperialism,”

“education, science, and culture, communication and technology,” “employment, economy and development,” and “democracy and human rights.” Workshops will also be held on the struggle for women’s liberation and the fight against racist discrimination.

One of the main activities will be the anti-imperialist tribunal, which will be held August 13-14. It will be held at the Caracas Exposition Center, with capacity for 15,000 people. At that meeting, delegates will conduct a mock trial of Washington and other imperialist powers, presenting evidence by fighters for national liberation—from Puerto Rico to Ireland and Western Sahara.

The third international preparatory meeting, scheduled for April 22-25 in Lisbon, Portugal, will finalize the festival’s program and activities.

## ‘Militant’ launches \$90,000 fund

BY SAM MANUEL

The *Militant* is launching a \$90,000 spring fund drive to help cover operating expenses for the socialist newsweekly and its sister publication in Spanish *Perspectiva Mundial*. The campaign starts March 26 and will last eight weeks, ending May 22.

The fund drive will coincide with the *Militant* subscription drive (see article on this page). It starts the same weekend as the launching of the international campaign to sell the new issues of the Marxist magazine *New International* and the Spanish-language *Nueva Internacional* (see front-page editorial).

The *Militant* is funded solely through the contributions of workers, farmers, and others who value the paper’s irreplaceable role in covering struggles by workers to organize unions and use union power to resist job speed up, weakening of safety provisions, cuts in wages and broader attacks by the wealthy rulers on the social wage. The paper also covers what’s behind the sharpening conflict between the main imperialist powers and the turn in Washington’s military policy and organization—the U.S. rulers’ most far-reaching shift since the late 1930s preparations for World War II. And it sends reporters around the world—from Cuba and Venezuela to the Middle East—to give first-hand accounts of struggles by working people for land, jobs, and national sovereignty, and in opposition to imperialist intervention and domination.

The \$90,000 fund will be used to help

cover rent, utilities, and printing and shipping costs for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. It will also help finance special reporting teams like the recent one at the 2005 Havana International Book Fair.

Because these expenses have to be paid weekly, regular payment of pledges is needed and requested from our readers.

To take advantage of increased opportunities to expand the *Militant*’s readership, the cost of the special offer for a 12-week introductory subscription was cut from \$10 to \$5 in the United States a year ago. Supporters of the *Militant* in other countries instituted similar rate reductions. In the last 12 months the average weekly circulation of the *Militant* in the United States increased to 1,550 subscribers from 1,050 during the same period in 2003-2004. The fund drive will help ensure that these subscription rates can be maintained.

As we go to press, supporters of the *Militant* from a dozen U.S. cities and from Sweden had sent in quotas they had adopted, which amounted to more than \$50,000. Supporters from around the world are urged to do the same in the next few days. A chart with all local quotas and initial payments will be published next week.

Supporters of the *Militant* are encouraged to send in accounts of their progress each week that can be included in this column. Checks or money orders should be made out to The Militant, earmarked “Spring Fund Drive,” and sent to the *Militant* at 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

## ‘Militant’ begins subscription drive

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper are launching a seven-week drive to win more than 1,000 new subscribers to the socialist newsweekly. Partisans of the *Militant* in cities across the United States and in a number of other countries are taking local quotas for the April 2–May 22 campaign. These will be published along with the international goal in next week’s issue.

An important feature of this subscription campaign is the work to win new subscribers among students, young workers, and other youth who are preparing to go to Venezuela to participate in the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students. The *Militant* is carrying regular coverage of the work here and in other countries to build participation in the August 7–15 gathering.

Supporters of the *Militant* will be taking advantage of a special offer to sell the two new issues of *New International* magazine (see front-page editorial) along with subscriptions to the socialist newsweekly. New readers will have the option of purchasing the magazines for just \$10 each, or \$20 for both issues, when they pick up an introductory subscription. The offer also applies to subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the

*Militant*’s sister monthly publication in Spanish, and will help the sub drive.

Subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as sub renewals to both periodicals, will also count toward the goal. The effort, however, is focused on winning new readers to the *Militant*.

The seven-week campaign is shorter than previous efforts. Its success will depend on preparation by *Militant* supporters to hit the ground running on April 2. A special target week is planned for the first week of the drive, April 2–10, to get momentum going from the start.

“In New York, we are planning a special regional team to two campuses upstate, SUNY Binghamton and Albany, during the target week,” said Doug Nelson, the director of the campaign in New York. “Students at both of these campuses have invited *Militant* supporters to help in the effort to build delegations to the world youth festival.” For example, William Camacaro, a leader of the Alberto Lovera Bolivarian Circle in New York, and *Militant* editor Argiris Malapanis have been invited to speak at SUNY Albany on April 7 about the current political situation in Venezuela and why students should oppose Washington’s intervention in the Americas.



# How Red Army under Stalin's command was complicit in the crushing of 1944 Warsaw uprising by Nazi-led army

The following article is reprinted from the Nov. 25, 1944, *Militant*. It appeared under the headline, "The Uprising in Warsaw." It describes a popular insurrection in Warsaw, Poland's capital, against the German imperialist army in 1944 and the complicity of the Stalinist regime in Moscow in its bloody defeat.

The uprising took place between August 1 and October 2 of that year. With more than 35,000 troops, the Polish Home Army attacked the German forces August 1. Much of Warsaw's population joined the fight, taking control of virtually the entire city by August 4. The Nazi regime, however, sent reinforcements and in the end crushed the revolt in blood, killing some 200,000 Poles.

During the 63 days of fighting, the Soviet Red Army, under the command of the bureaucratic regime headed by Joseph Stalin, sat across the Vistula River in the Warsaw suburb of Praga, where it was encamped within sight of the fighting. The Red Army did nothing to assist the rebels, even though Moscow had encouraged the Poles to launch the attack and had promised aid. In September, when a German victory seemed certain, the Russian forces allowed a small amount of ammunition to be dropped in for the Polish resistance.

When hostilities ceased, the remaining Polish resistance was annihilated, 85 percent of the city was razed, and the German occupiers deported most of the rest of the population. This allowed the Stalinist regime in Moscow to establish a subservient government in Poland after the German rulers were defeated by the Red Army and the Allied imperialist powers in 1945.

We publish the article below as the second installment of this column, which will appear regularly this year—the 60th anniversary since the end of World War II—to tell the truth about the second worldwide interimperialist slaughter.

BY PAUL STEVENS

At the beginning of October the great Warsaw insurrection was crushed. After the insurgents had suffered 250,000 casualties, their leaders surrendered to the Nazi command. Thus one of the most heroic mass actions in history was brought to a tragic close. The dead are buried and the survivors



Polish resistance fighters during 1944 uprising in Warsaw

vors are undoubtedly being subjected to the bestial tortures of the Hitlerite conqueror. But the action in which they fought and fell is more than an epic of heroism. It is an event of great historic significance, which must be understood, so that the lessons can be learned and transformed into weapons by which the workers of Warsaw can be avenged in the coming European revolution.

No adequate picture of the events leading up to the insurrection, or of the insurrection itself, is as yet available and probably will not be until free access to the survivors can be had. Even then the picture will not be complete until the archives of the various governments involved are opened to public view. But what we could only surmise in the first flush of the struggle itself—namely, that an uprising involving the mass of the working-class population of Warsaw was being betrayed by the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin—has since found considerable substantiation in published facts.

## Background Of The Insurrection

Before we proceed with an examination of the facts that have been established, it

is necessary to recall the atmosphere in Moscow and in London at the time of the insurrection. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow had set up a "Polish National Council" under its own auspices in opposition to the Polish "Government-in-Exile" residing in London and enjoying the recognition of Great Britain and the United States. The Moscow "Council" and the London "Government" espoused similar social programs: preservation of capitalism in Poland and promises of reforms. Their differences concerned foreign policy: whether Poland was to be in the British or the Russian "sphere of influence." The differences emerged concretely on the question of the future borders of Poland.

The Red Army's guns were already within earshot of Warsaw. When the insurrection broke out, both parties to the dispute reacted at once: The Moscow "Council" negatively, claiming it was untimely and therefore to be opposed; the Warsaw "government" positively, claiming it was leading the insurrection and had prepared for it by agreement, etc. Let us examine these claims on the basis of established fact.

The first reaction of the Moscow "Council" and of all the Stalinist apologists the world over was that there was no insurrection at all; that the whole thing was just a "canard" broadcast by the Polish reactionaries in London. That continued to be the Stalinist line until it became manifest from military communiques that there was a full-scale battle going on for control of Warsaw. Meanwhile the Red Army's advance towards Warsaw was halted.

When they could no longer pretend to ignore what was happening, the Kremlin gang took the line that the insurrection was premature, that it was organized without the Red Army being informed and without any attempt to correlate military operations. Charging that the London "government" was using it as a "political maneuver," the Kremlin branded the insurrection as a "crime" and refused to give any aid whatsoever to the hard-pressed insurgents. Only in the last week or two of the struggle, when the blood-letting had been heavy enough to preclude any possibility of victory for the insurgents, were feeble attempts made from Moscow to supply them. The line of the Stalinists has remained the same, however, to this day; the insurrection was a "crime," it was premature, it was undertaken without prior agreement and even against the wishes of the Red Army high command.

To date, the Stalinists and their apologists have offered no substantiation in fact for their line. But there is already ample proof at hand to contradict it.

1. Between June 2 and July 31 (the day before the uprising) there were constant appeals over the Moscow Radio for the Polish masses to take up arms against the Nazis.

2. During this time, the Stalinist Radio charged that the masses were ready to rise, but that the military leaders of the London

government were *restraining* them. Thus, on June 5 Moscow broadcast the following: "It is generally believed that it is time to act. There is great discontent with the orders of Sosnokowski and Bor."

3. We have no reason to doubt the assertion that the masses were in an insurrectionary mood as a result of the Red Army victories, and that there was discontent with the policy of restraint pursued by the London Polish government. The latter was a declared policy, based undoubtedly upon a desire to utilize the Polish masses against the Soviet Army rather than against the Nazis retreating before it. The pertinent fact is, however, that the Moscow authorities dwelt on the discontent of the masses, and utilizing it against the London leaders, became more and more specific in the broadcasts.

Thus, on July 29 the Stalinist-controlled Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow issued a direct call to the Warsaw masses: "Appeal to Warsaw. Fight the Germans. No doubt Warsaw already hears the guns of the battle which is soon to bring her liberation. . . . It (the Red Army) will be joined tomorrow by the sons of Warsaw. . . . For Warsaw, which did not yield but fought on, the hour of action has already arrived."

Obviously, if Stalin and his Polish lackeys thought an insurrection "premature," it is clear that *on the eve* of that insurrection they not only did not say so, but said the *exact opposite*.

## London Government Gives Approval

4. Hearing these appeals and hearing the guns of the Red Army in the distance, the insurrectionary mood of the masses undoubtedly ran to fever pitch. The military leaders from the London government probably could not have prevented the insurrection even had they tried. In any case, they decided to identify themselves with it and give it their formal approval.

5. On July 31, the day before the uprising began, Premier Mikolajczyk of the London "government" was in Moscow. The British periodical "War Commentary" (Mid-October 1944) informs us: "It is stated by Polish socialists in London that when the Polish Premier saw Stalin in Moscow on July 31 and told him the rising would take place the following day, Stalin signified his approval and stated that the Red Army would have occupied Warsaw by August 6."

Moscow, on the other hand, denies that it was informed. But it is not necessary for us to take anyone's word for it, in order to ascertain that the insurgent mass conceived of its action as one coordinated with the advance of the Red Army. We have not only the fact that the Red Army's guns were already being heard in the city. We have evidence that in Moscow this conception was known. Far from the insurrection being discouraged as premature, Moscow called for the insurrection as a direct supporting action to aid the Red Army advance on Warsaw. On July 30, the Moscow radio beamed the following instructions to Warsaw:

"The whole population should gather round the National Council and the underground army. Attack the Germans. Stop the Germans destroying public buildings. Assist the Red Army in crossing the Vistula. Give it information and show it the best fords. The more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men fighting for liberation and destroying the German invader."

## Stalinist Perfidy Is Apparent

What Moscow's position on the insurrection was before it actually broke out is thus irrefutably established. It is clear that the sponsors of the quoted broadcasts knew of the insurrectionary mood of the Warsaw masses, that they fostered it, and directly appealed for the rising immediately before it began.

Most of the broadcasts were under the auspices of the "Polish National Council" and not the Soviet government, to be sure. However, no one in his right mind can believe that these broadcasts could be made from Moscow without the knowledge and approval of the Kremlin. At any rate, the

## For further reading

### TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY

by Farrell Dobbs

How the leadership of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 organized to oppose Washington's entry into World War II, and how the rulers—backed by the top officialdom of the AFL-CIO and Teamsters—accelerated union-busting and government efforts to gag class-struggle minded workers. It recounts the infamous 1941 federal sedition trial that culminated in the imprisonment of 18 leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the international campaign to win their release. **\$18.95**



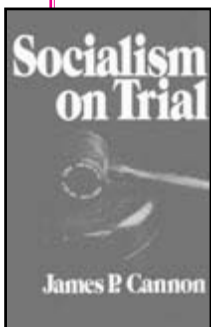
### SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the SWP framed up and imprisoned under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act during World War II. **\$16**

"Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime" in 'New International' no. 7

Includes "Washington's Third Militarization Drive" and "1945: When U.S. Troops Said 'No!'," both articles by Mary-Alice Waters, and "The communist antiwar program, 1940-1969." **\$12**





# Explicit in slaughter of Poles

## was one of the great crimes of Stalinism

broadcasts were never repudiated and have been passed over in complete silence by the Stalinist press despite their repeated quotation in the world press.

6. There is further evidence, however, that once the insurrection began, contact was established between its military leaders in Warsaw and the Red Army of General Rokossovsky which stood almost at the gates of the city. According to the “Government-in-Exile,” on the third day of the uprising a Captain Kalugin, sent by Rokossovsky, contacted General Bor, the military leader of the insurgents and “made an appeal by radio to Stalin, via London, for arms and supplies. A request was made for five tons of supplies to be dropped by plane.” Moscow has never denied this story. The silence of the Stalinists would indicate that there is at least an element of truth in it.

7. The line of Moscow after the outbreak of the insurrection becomes no less clear under examination and proves to be in direct contradiction to the Stalinist line which preceded it. Insofar as action is concerned, we have these undisputed facts: Immediately after the outbreak of the struggle in Warsaw, the Red Army advance on the city, steady up to then, is abruptly halted, not to be resumed until nearly six weeks later, towards the end of September.

Whether the halt of the Red Army before Warsaw was an act deliberately calculated by the Kremlin in order to isolate the Polish insurgents and insure the crushing of the insurrection by the Nazis; or whether the halt was dictated by considerations of a purely military-strategic character, is known only to Moscow. The important thing is that once the insurrection was under way, the Stalin gang refused the insurgents any material aid whatever, although such aid was manifestly possible.

### A ‘Canard’ Becomes A Fact

Insofar as propaganda is concerned, the development is less abrupt. At first, Moscow denies that there is an insurrection and dubs the reports a “canard.” Then, when evidence of the struggle and its mass character makes denial impossible, a hue and cry is raised that it is first, “premature;” secondly, organized without coordination between Moscow and London; thirdly, a criminal political adventure undertaken by the reactionaries in the “Government-in-Exile.” Finally, all these charges are crowned with propaganda opposing insurrections in principle. On August 19, United Press cables from Moscow:

“*Pravda*, official Communist Party newspaper, said today in a front-page dispatch that the Warsaw insurrection was doomed to failure from the beginning and that the men who died fighting German mechanized troops in the Polish capital were ‘foully deceived by a group of adventurers and political speculators of the London emigre government.’

“Not one city has been freed by the combined blows of Soviet troops and citizen insurrections,” *Pravda* said, although hundreds of cities have been liberated by troops alone in Russia, Lithuania, White Russia, and Poland.

“The reason is that ‘only stupid adventurers think success is possible by the insurrection of inadequately armed civilians in cities filled with German Panzer troops, planes and guns,’ *Pravda* added.

“The Red Army is opposed to such insurrections, the dispatch asserted, since complex technical materials ‘are necessary to wage successful modern warfare, and people equipped only with ardent emotions and cold arms cannot expect to win.’” (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 20, 1944).

It is now apparent that what the Kremlin opposes is not the “prematureness” of the insurrection, its lack of coordination with the action of the Red Army, or even its leadership by the military representatives of the London “government”—but the very idea of the *insurrection itself*. And not only in Warsaw, but *anywhere*. That is what becomes crystal clear if this *Pravda* dispatch is stripped of its casuistry.

Obviously, the Warsaw insurgents, or any

other insurgents for that matter, would not propose to carry through such an action “inadequately armed” or only with their “ardent emotions and cold arms.” It was just because they expected adequate arms from the Red Army at the gates of their city that the Warsaw masses undertook their insurrection. It was just because of its approach that their emotions became ardent.

By condemning insurrections in general (do they dare repeat it still after the events in Paris and Athens?), the Kremlin oligarchy merely sought to cover up its counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Warsaw masses. Actually, the Kremlin disclosed its real motivation—fear of the revolutionary masses in arms—and its own criminal conduct. If they thought all along that insurrections are “doomed to failure” then how can their repeated broadcast appeals to Warsaw for an uprising be characterized otherwise than as criminal provocation?

8. From a juxtaposition of the two lines—before and after the insurrection began—another important fact emerges: The appeals over the radio were intended only to take advantage of the Polish mass discontent with the policy of the nationalist and social-democratic leaders. The invasion of Poland by joint agreement with Hitler in 1939 and the subsequent bureaucratic suppression of workers’ rights in the Soviet-occupied territory had undoubtedly driven the Warsaw workers further over to the side of the nationalist demagogues and their social-democratic henchmen. Under the impetus of the Red Army victories against the Wehrmacht, however, the revolutionary aspirations of the masses probably rose and clashed with their allegiance to leaders who were kowtowing to the Allied imperialists. The Kremlin sought to utilize this situation for its own counter-revolutionary purposes.

### Warsaw Got Only Token Aid

9. The Anglo-American imperialists, were naturally not averse to utilizing the insurrection for their own reactionary purposes, that is, to win the Polish masses over to the idea of a Poland within their “sphere of influence.” To this end, they rushed “token aid” to Warsaw, in the form of meager supplies—but not until three weeks of unaided struggle had passed. To this same end they made the gesture of requesting the Kremlin for bases in Soviet territory for alleged use to supply the insurgents. When 2,000 Polish paratroopers in England volunteered to go to Warsaw, their request was denied. “Token aid,” on the other hand, was sent by Moscow also, late in September, when the insurrection had already virtually bled to death. Only when it became obvious that the insurrection was crushed did the Red Army resume its advance on Warsaw, which to this day is still in Nazi hands. This fact requires further scrutiny when we recall that, on the day the insurrection broke out, even the Stalinist press was reporting that the Nazis were evacuating Warsaw.

10. Regarding what happened inside the Polish underground, inside Warsaw, information is still very sparse. But two isolated items are worth our attention. The first is taken from the London *Tribune*, and reads as follows:

“The Polish official daily accuses the Lublin Patriots (Stalinist “National Council”) of having disarmed and interned whole detachments of the Polish Home Army that were rushing from the provinces to Warsaw to assist the insurgents. The names of the detachments, their numbers, the places where they were disarmed have been published. What will the Lublin commander-in-chief—General Rola Zymierski—reply to this?”

### Kremlin Maintains Guilty Silence

Of course, no reply has been made to the charge. Silence here too indicates that there is some truth in it. If that is so, it points to the fact that the Warsaw insurrection must have aroused a tremendous response in the rural sectors of Poland, *in particular in territory already occupied by the Red Army*. The action of the Kremlin, if this is verified, was then not only confined to passive



Prisoners liberated by resistance to Nazi occupation in Warsaw, during 1944 revolt.

betrayal *but amounted to active assistance in suppressing the insurrection*.

Finally, in the British anarchist periodical, *War Commentary* (October), we find the following item: “a decree ... issued by the Polish civil authorities during the first days (of the insurrection) proclaimed control of the factories by workers’ councils. This was a clear indication that the workers had already taken over.”

The periodical does not give its source for this information, so it is difficult to check. But should it prove to be true, it would point to the very heart of the whole policy of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang in the Warsaw tragedy. Even so, an examination of the known facts permits us already to draw our conclusions:

1. Although the conflict over “spheres of influence” between the Allied imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy played a role in determining the policy toward the Warsaw insurrection, it was not the decisive factor. This conflict had effect only insofar as each side attempted to exploit the revolutionary aspirations of the Polish masses to undermine the prestige of the other.

2. The decisive factor making for the policy of betraying the insurrection was fear of the European revolution, of the independent action of the masses. Both sides share this fear equally and no doubt have had basic agreement on policy since the Teheran conference. Basic agreement, however, does not preclude jockeying for position

among them. In the case of the Warsaw insurrection, the threat of revolutionary action was of more immediate concern to the Kremlin. The Allies, while doing nothing seriously to interfere with the betrayal of the Warsaw uprising, naturally took advantage to strengthen their diplomatic position as against that of the Kremlin.

3. Stalin’s policy was clearly aimed at the attrition of the uprising.

4. The betrayal of the insurrection, followed by the stalemate at Warsaw up to the present, appears to have been a direct blow to the Red Army even in a strictly military sense. It certainly was a blow against the defense of the Soviet Union in the broader political sense. In deserting the Warsaw insurrection and permitting it to be crushed by the Nazis, Stalin was applying a strategy directed at nipping in the bud every manifestation of the ferment which is developing into the European revolution.

5. Defense of the Soviet Union today, means in the first place defense of the European revolution against the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

6. The successful development of the European revolution, with the coming defeat of Nazi Germany, can be assured only by the independent revolutionary action of the masses. The first task in that direction is the building of strong Trotskyist parties in every country under the banner of Socialist Revolution.

# Iraqi Kurds press for autonomy

## Continued from front page

Republican Guard to escape with their weapons and command intact. Regrouped as irregulars later, these forces have been at the center of the armed campaign against U.S. and Iraqi government forces as well as civilians, Rumsfeld said, and Washington has been waging a war against them since last fall.

Meanwhile, Italy’s prime minister Silvio Berlusconi said that Rome would begin a “gradual” reduction of the 3,000 Italian troops in Iraq in September. Most of the big-business media presented the announcement as another blow to the Bush administration’s course in Iraq. There is evidence, however, that Berlusconi made the statement largely for electoral purposes, two weeks before Italy’s regional elections. His move does not represent another defection from Washington’s “coalition of the willing.”

### Kurds press to consolidate autonomy

Officials of the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) said Iraq’s National Assembly would reconvene soon. “If things go smoothly we could see a presidential council elected in the same session,” said Ibrahim Bahr al-Uloum, according to Reuters. Al-Uloum is the UIA’s candidate to head Iraq’s oil ministry. The assembly will reconvene after Kurdish parties and the UIA sign an agreement on the status of Kirkuk.

On March 11, Kurdish parties and the UIA announced an agreement to form a new government in which UIA leader Ibrahim Jaafari would be named prime minister and Jalal Talabani, a leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, would become president. Kurdish groups hold 77 seats in the 275-member National Assembly elected in January. The UIA won a slim majority with

146 seats, not enough to form the government on its own.

Talks between the two groups on the details of their agreement broke down days before the March 16 opening session of the assembly, reported Agence France Presse. The session was rocked by several nearby explosions. But it was Kurdish demands for control of Kirkuk, one of Iraq’s largest oil centers, and incorporation of the city’s surrounding province into their autonomous region that prevented the assembly from conducting anything more than a ceremonial opening. The Kurds also seek to strengthen their autonomy in three northeastern provinces, popularly called Iraqi Kurdistan.

Starting in the 1970s, the Baathist regime expelled thousands of Kurds from Kirkuk and replaced them with Arabs in order to assure Baghdad’s control of oil reserves in the area. Kurds are demanding the right to return to their lands and homes.

### Turkish ban caused U.S. army trouble

U.S. troops continue to focus their fire on organized and well-armed military units of the deposed Hussein regime. In what has been described as their largest firefight since the January 30 elections, U.S. soldiers reportedly killed dozens of irregulars on a road south of Baghdad in the area known as the Triangle of Death.

The Hussein regime had its strongest base among the wealthy layers of the Sunni Arab minority. It’s in the largely Sunni Arab areas that groups organizing attacks on U.S. and Iraqi forces, as well as bombings aimed at civilians and kidnappings and beheadings of hostages, have been based.

On the second anniversary of the U.S.-  
**Continued on Page 10**



# Socialist revolution, the family & women’s liberation

Below is an excerpt from *Women and Family*, one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for April. In this collection of speeches and writings, Leon Trotsky examines the effect of the Russian Revolution on the condition of women and the development of the family. The following excerpt is from the chapter titled, “To build socialism means to emancipate women and protect mothers,” an article by Trotsky on the occasion of the Third All-Union Conference on the Protection of Mothers and Children, held in Moscow in December 1925. Along with V.I. Lenin, Trotsky was a central leader of the Bolshevik party and the Russian Revolution. Copyright © 1970 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY LEON TROTSKY

Just as it was impossible to approach the construction of the Soviet state without freeing the peasantry from the tangles of serfdom, so it is impossible to move to socialism without freeing the peasant woman and the woman worker from the bondage of family and household. And if we used to determine the maturity of a revolutionary worker not only by his attitude to the capitalist but also by his attitude to the peasant, i.e., by his understanding of the necessity of freeing the peasant from bondage—so now we can and must measure the socialist maturity of the worker and the progressive peasant by their attitude to woman and child, by their understanding of the necessity of freeing from bondage the mother in penal servitude, of giving her the possibility of straightening her back and involving herself as she should



Corbis/Hulton-Deutsch Collection

**Class of women training to work on the railroads in the Soviet Union, December 1923. The Russian Revolution opened the door to women’s participation in social labor, the first step in freeing them from the bondage of family and household.**

in social and cultural life.

Motherhood is the hub of all problems. That is why each new measure, each law, each practical step in economic and social construction must also be checked against the question of how it will affect the family, whether it worsens or lightens the fate of the mother, whether it improves the position of the child.

The great number of homeless children in our towns bears most terrible witness to the fact that we are still caught up on all sides in the tangles of the old society, which manifests itself in the most vicious way in the epoch of its downfall. The position of mother and child was never so difficult as in the years of the transition from the old to the new, especially in the years of the civil war. The intervention of Clemenceau and Churchill and the Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel elements hit most cruelly at the woman worker, at the peasant woman, at the mother, and left us an inheritance of unprecedented child homelessness. The child is from the mother and the homelessness of the child is above all the fruit of maternal homelessness. Consideration for the mother is the truest and deepest way to the improvement of the fate of the child.

The general growth of the economy is creating the conditions for a gradual reconstruction of family and domestic life. All questions connected with this must be posed in their full magnitude. We are approaching from various directions the renewal of the basic capital of the country; we are acquiring new machines to replace the old ones; we are building new factories; we are renewing our railways; the peasant is acquiring plows, seeders, tractors.

But the most basic “capital” is the people, i.e., its strength, its health, its cultural level. This capital requires renewal even more than the equipment of the factories or the peasant implements. It must not be thought that the ages of slavery, hunger, and bondage, the years of war and epidemics, have passed without a trace. No, they have left behind in the living organism of the people both wounds and scars. Tuberculosis, syphilis, neurasthenia, alcoholism—all these diseases and many others are spread widely among the masses of the population. The nation must be made healthy. Without that, socialism is unthinkable.

We must reach the roots, the sources. And where is the source of the nation if

not in the mother? The struggle against the neglect of mothers must be given first place! Housing construction, the construction of child-care facilities, kindergartens, communal dining rooms and laundries must be put in the center of attention, and that attention must be vigilant and well organized. Here questions of *quality* decide all. Child-care, eating and laundry facilities must be set up so that by the advantages they provide they can deal a deathblow to the old closed-in, isolated family unit, completely supported on the bent shoulders of the housewife and mother. Improvement of the environment inevitably calls forth a surge of demand, and then a surge of means. Caring for children in public facilities, as well as feeding of adults in communal canteens, is cheaper than in the family. But the transfer of material means from the family to the child-care centers and canteens will take place only if the social organization learns to satisfy the most primary demands better than the family. Special attention must now be paid to the questions of quality. Vigilant social control and constant urging on all the organs and institutions which serve the family and domestic needs of the toiling masses is essential.

The initiators in the great struggle for the liberation of mothers must of course be the advanced women workers. At all costs this movement must be directed against the village. In our city life too, there is still much of the petty-bourgeois-peasant character. The view of women held by many working men is still not socialist, but conservative, peasant, essentially medieval. Thus the peasant mother oppressed by the yoke of the family pulls the worker mother down with her. The peasant woman must be raised up. She must desire to raise herself, i.e., she must be awakened and shown the way.

It is impossible to move forward while leaving the woman far in the rear. Woman is the mother of the nation. From the enslavement of women grow prejudices and superstitions which shroud the children of the new generation and penetrate deeply into all the pores of the national consciousness. The best and most profound path of struggle against the superstition of religion is the path of all-sided concern for the mother. She must be raised up and enlightened. Freeing the mother means cutting the last umbilical cord linking the people with the dark and superstitious past.

April

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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**Love it, sort of**—AT&T internet reports a poll found that half of U.S. workers are “happy” with their jobs. But, the polltakers add, this is down



**Harry Ring**

from 59 percent a decade ago. Also, they note, of the “happy” 50 percent,

14 percent are “very satisfied.”

**The sane society**—Last month, Daniel Provencio, a California prisoner, was released despite five months to go. He is brain dead and doctors see no hope of recovery. In January, Provencio, doing time for alleged parole violation, was shot in the head by a guard’s stun gun foam pellet. According to officials, the shooting was triggered when a fracas broke out between three inmates. There was no indication that Provencio was involved.

Since then, he’s been in a public

hospital, and the prison was paying the bills. Also, regulations required that guards be posted near his bedside around the clock, even though he remained comatose. His family has refused to agree to pulling the plug. Gov. Schwarzenegger declared it was “ludicrous” for the state to be footing the bills. Now “free,” Provencio has qualified for Medicaid.

**A grim note**—“London—Two drugs often prescribed for patients with dementia are ineffective, and one of them actually speeds mental

decline, a study shows. Quetiapine (sold as Serquel) and rivastigmine (Exelon) are prescribed to almost half of patients with dementia in residential homes.”—*The Times*, London.

**Must be revos**—Las Vegas, Nevada, has been sprouting like a weed patch. New casinos, hotels, condos—profits are rolling in. But for a significant sector of the work force, the profits aren’t coming their way. However, the Democrats in the state legislature have a radical plan. Follow this. If

the boss refuses to provide health benefits, the minimum wage will soar from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.15. And if the boss does provide medical coverage, he won’t have to pay the \$1 minimum wage hike.

**Speaking of HMO**—Relatively, it’s surprising how little dental coverage is provided. Here’s an indication: In Salinas, Kansas, 2,000 volunteer dentists from across the state, spent a three-day weekend at a local clinic. For free, they pulled 3,700 teeth and filled 2,300 cavities.

# Communist League launches campaign in UK

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON—The Communist League announced March 19 that it would be standing two candidates in the forthcoming general election expected to be called on May 5. Peter Clifford, 49, who works in the butchers section at Grampian Country Pork Halls will be standing in the Edinburgh East constituency; and Celia Pugh, 52, a sewing machinist, will be standing in Bethnal Green and Bow in London.

“Our campaign presents a working class alternative to the capitalist rulers and all their parties—Labour, Tory, Liberal Democrat, and Scottish National Party,” said Tony Hunt, a spokesperson of the League and co-chair of

the London campaign. The other co-chair is Young Socialists member James Haywood.

“We will be taking our campaign to working people resisting the grinding offensive against living standards and conditions at work,” Clifford said at the campaign launch. The communist candidate had been promoting support for protest strike action by hundreds of thousands of union members over pensions in response to government plans to increase to 65 from 60 the age at which government-employed workers may retire without incurring a reduction in their benefits, and increasing from 50 to 55 the minimum age at which these workers may retire.

The UNISON union reported majorities of between 73 percent and 87 percent in favour of strike action in secret ballots and thousands of union members attended meetings in the lead-up to the action. The protest strike was called off by union leaders when the government offered talks.

The government moves follow on the ending of “final salary” pension schemes by the majority of UK companies, where workers retire at 65, replacing them with lower payout “defined contribution” schemes. Under these schemes workers’ pensions are dependant on how the funds were invested, how much workers and their employers agreed to pay into the scheme, and the interest rates at the time of retirement. The ending of final salary plans has provoked strike action at a number of companies.

The basic state pension in the UK is £79.60 per week for an individual and £127.25–£159.20 for a married couple. To qualify for the basic pension, a man must have paid National Insurance contributions for 49 years and a woman for 44–49 years depending on when she was born. Through a means-tested “pension credit” scheme, pensioners may get an additional £40 supplement. Despite this, 2 million pensioners, many of them women, are officially living in poverty. On average, retired workers in the United Kingdom receive just 37 percent of their earnings from the state. But in the face of uncertain economic conditions and the collapse of a number of private pension companies, there is a dramatic fall in the number of working people who are taking



**Celia Pugh, right, Communist League candidate for parliament in Bethnal Green and Bow in London.**

Militant/Jim Spaul

## CL candidate joins London antiwar rally

Communist League (CL) candidate Celia Pugh spoke at a London campaign launch on March 19. Earlier that day, she campaigned at a march and rally in opposition to what the organizers called “Bush wars.” Many among the thousands of protesters in Trafalgar Square carried signs that read “No more crosses (coffins or ballots) for Blair.”

The CL campaigners’ signs said, “Organise and strengthen the unions, Use union power against the bosses’ attacks”; “UK troops out of Iraq, Ireland, the Balkans, Cyprus, Sierra Leone”; “Oppose threats against Iran, Korea, Defend right of oppressed nations to electrification”; “Defend workers rights, Scrap the Terrorism Act, No to ID cards,” and “Defend abortion rights, No reduction in time limits.” Many protesters attracted by the signs stopped by the tables to pick up campaign literature. A number expressed happy surprise to see signs calling for British troops out of Ireland.

“Our campaign calls for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of UK and all imperialist troops from Iraq,” Pugh said. “No matter which party wins the election, wars like those against Iraq and Afghani-

stan will continue. The imperialist rulers are driven to such wars by declining profit rates and sharpening competition from their rivals. They are an extension of the assaults on working people at home with speedup on the job, and attacks on already weakened unions.

“The rulers are using momentum from their occupation of Iraq to push forward their goal of imposing a solution to the Irish question in their interests,” Pugh said. “That’s what’s behind the upping of the pressure by London, backed by Washington and Dublin, on Sinn Fein. We stand for a united Ireland and for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops.

“The government speaks in the name of defending ‘national interests.’ But under this banner they defend the interests of the ruling rich against working people in the UK and around the world. Many opponents of the Iraq war, like the organizers of today’s protest, target Washington. But that’s just an adaptation to the Britain First policy of the rulers. Our enemy is at home. There are no UK national interests, there are only class interests.”

# Farmers rally in Canada

Continued from Page 12

taxpayers’ dollars, our governments support and promote Quebec, Native, Arts, Homosexual, Urban and Multi cultures [i.e., immigrants]. However, when it comes to the independent, peaceful rural culture in Canada, government support is stifling, suffocating and controlling.”

Many farmers are attracted to Rural Revolution’s action orientation and also to its program. Others look to the Union producteurs agricoles (UPA), the farmers’ organization in Quebec, as an example to emulate. Signs at both the March 9 and March 2 actions said, “Hats off to the UPA,” “We need a UPA now,” and “Equity with Quebec.” Farmers say that government commodity price stabilization supports are higher in Quebec than in Ontario. Farmers in Ontario often describe this as a gain won through the struggles of Quebec farmers, which they attribute to the UPA.

In recent weeks, supporters of the *Militant* have gotten a hearing from a number of farmers as they have presented a revolutionary working-class perspective on the roots of the farm crisis and the need for an alliance between workers and exploited farmers to fight a common enemy—the capitalist class.

When this reporter, for example, told hog farmers that he was a meat packer at Quality Meat Packers here, where workers went on a four-week strike in November for a living wage, the farmers explained their own conflict with the company, saying it would not give them a price that allows them to meet the costs of production. These farmers agreed that common action was needed by workers and working farmers to defend their interests against the huge agribusiness companies that dominate the food processing industry and the government.

Both the OFA and Rural Revolution are planning further actions.

“In 30 days you will see us closing up the major food distribution units...that distribute all the food to supermarkets [with tractor blockades],” Randy Hellier, LLA president and Rural Revolution leader told the demonstrators March 9.

A March 10 statement by OFA president Ron Bonnett said, “all of the partners in the ‘One Voice March’ continue to meet and make plans for further actions” to press both the provincial and federal governments to meet their demands.

*Carlos Cornejo, Annette Kouri, Michel Prairie, and Joe Yates contributed to this article.*

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



**April 4, 1980**

Anti-Castro rightists escalated their terror March 25 with an attempted assassination of Cuban United Nations Ambassador Raúl Roa.

A bomb—powerful enough to have blown up a city block, police said—was discovered under Roa’s car outside his residence in Manhattan. Police defused the device.

The ultra-right Cuban exile group Omega 7 called news services later to take credit for the murder attempt. The caller reportedly told United Press International that Omega 7 had found the Cuban ambassador “guilty of treason and now we are going to execute him.”

In a protest telegram to President Carter March 26, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley said the assassination attempt “makes federal action to stop Omega 7 even more urgent.”

Omega 7 has carried out a long series of murders and bombings. It has been documented that the assailants are well known to the police. But nothing has been done to bring these criminals to justice.



**April 4, 1955**

CLEVELAND, March 27—Frederick Engels noted many years ago that F.M. Fourier, the French Utopian Socialist, was “the first to declare that in a given society the degree of emancipation of women is the natural expression of the general emancipation.”

This truth can probably be adapted as follows: A union’s attitude to women workers today is an expression of its general level of class consciousness.

At any rate, the only real debate on the first day of the 15th convention of the United Auto Workers, CIO, was the one that broke out over “the woman question.”

The main reason is that the auto workers experienced serious layoffs during 1954. The union leaders failed to provide the members with any effective program to fight unemployment. This failure created an opportunity for the more backward elements in the union to come forward with their own “solution”—drive women workers, and especially married women, out of the plants as long as any men workers are unemployed.



# ‘New International’ sales campaign

Continued from front page

article of *New International* no. 13: “Our Politics Start with the World.”

“Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.” This statement, made by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* a century ago, captures the importance of the publication of *NI* numbers 12 and 13. The articles and documents in the 13 issues of *New International* are an invaluable political tool for working-class militants today. This magazine and its distribution, along with other programmatic documents, by the cadre of proletarian parties, and the day-to-day political work of class-conscious workers in mines, mills, and factories, are what distinguishes above all the communist movement from all other tendencies that still pretend to be “socialist” or “Marxist.”

After leading the workers and peasants of Russia to take power in October 1917—the mightiest revolution of our epoch—the Bolsheviks proudly took the name communist, Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes explains in the “In This Issue” that introduces *New International* no. 12. “The Bolsheviks were taking a name synonymous with being in the front ranks of the proletariat—among ‘the most advanced and resolute section,’ in the words of the [Communist] Manifesto—in its march toward power, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat,” Barnes says. “They were proclaiming a new kind of movement, one ‘in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer,’ but on ‘clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.’ . . . ‘Insofar as it is a theory,’ Engels had explained a year earlier, ‘communism is the theoretical expression of the position of the proletariat in [the class] struggle and the theoretical summation of the conditions

for the liberation of the proletariat.”

This is the kind of movement partisans of the *New International* are working to build.

“As the social consequences of capitalist crises grow, as inevitable political conflicts sharpen between and within classes, and as probes to restrict political and democratic rights used by working people increase,” Barnes says, militant workers taking the lead to reach for, organize, and use union power will join others “to resist accelerated employing-class assaults in the plants and the political arena, at home and abroad.” In doing so they will change themselves as they fight to change the world. Using the new issues of *New International*—buying them, studying them, and selling them—is at the heart of carrying out this course.

Partisans of the *Militant* will find interest in the *NI*s among the thousands of young people traveling to Venezuela this summer for the world youth festival. We can expect similar interest on the job, at plant gates, on picket lines, during door-to-door visits in working-class communities, at social protest actions, or political activities on campuses.

These issues of the magazine demand our time and energy to work at and conquer, and this can best be accomplished by common study. Working people in capitalist society are taught to do the opposite. “We’re supposed to go to work, do our job, produce a profit for the boss, and not disturb the placidity of the homeland,” as Barnes says. “That’s the long and short of it.”

We invite you to join us in using the new issues of *New International* and in the process learning to think as the makers of history we can be. The larger type and increased space between the lines of these issues—along with their photographs, ads, and indexes—make them more inviting, more readable, more valuable political tools.

Join the campaign to sell the *New International*!

## Defend right to privacy in Schiavo case

We side with Michael Schiavo. The state has no business intruding into the right to privacy; the right of individuals—or whoever they designate to step in if incapacitated—to decide on health care and other issues affecting their lives.

The emergency session of Congress and late-night signing by the president of “Terri’s Law” are not about the “right to life.” They are an assault on the basic right to decide your own medical and personal affairs in private, without the interference of the state or its agencies.

A string of Republican and Democratic politicians paraded to the podium in Congress and demagogically disputed the medical diagnosis of scores of doctors who have examined Schiavo, who has been in a permanent vegetative state for 15 years with no hope for recovery. Politicians who had practiced medicine before pursuing their careers in Washington claimed that their medical degrees gave them the right to make a diagnosis from hundreds of miles away—without ever having examined the patient!

For seven years Michael Schiavo has battled to implement his wife’s wish to not be kept in a state of virtual brain death. He is backed up by state law and several court rulings in his favor that concurred with the diagnosis of doctors on the scene.

Despite this unambiguous record, both state and federal governments have set a dangerous precedent by intervening in such a private matter and in a dispute within a family already settled in the courts.

While calling for a “culture of life” and crying

crocodile tears about the life of Terri Schiavo, these same politicians are driving ahead on efforts to cut access to life-extending Medicare benefits and to slash Social Security pensions for younger generations.

Some claim that at the root of the Schiavo affair is a conflict between young and old. Those of Michael Schiavo’s generation have different “values” from the generation of his wife’s parents, they say. Because many of the right-wing groups involved dress their arguments in religious garb, others say this is a religious affair—claiming Washington is doing the bidding of a “Christian right wing.” None of these arguments hold water.

The right to privacy is fundamentally a class question, a political question. Keeping the government from interfering with personal decisions in the bedroom, at bedside in the hospital, and when a woman decides whether to carry a pregnancy to term or seek an abortion, are not rights handed to us. These rights have been won through struggles that overturned miscegenation and sodomy laws, decriminalized abortion, and established the right of an individual to decide on personal medical matters.

The capitalist ruling class and its Democratic and Republican politicians continue to look for ways to chip away at these rights. Working people and all defenders of democratic rights have a stake in defending the right to privacy and in opposing all attempts by the federal and state governments to overturn court decisions and force the feeding tube back into Terri Schiavo.

## Italian decision to pull troops is electoral ploy

Continued from Page 7

led invasion of Iraq, U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld appeared on Fox and ABC TV News. ABC’s “This Week” host George Stephanopoulos asked Rumsfeld what mistakes Washington made during the invasion. “Well, the first thing I think I would say and the most important thing was that had we been successful in getting the Fourth Infantry Division to come in through Turkey in the north when our forces were coming up from the south out of Kuwait, I believe that a considerably smaller number of the Baathists and the regime elements would have escaped,” Rumsfeld responded. “More would have been captured or killed. And as a result, the insurgency would have been at a lesser intensity than it is today.”

Rome’s electoral maneuver

Facing local elections in April, Italy’s premier, Silvio Berlusconi, said on a state TV talk show, “Starting with the month of September we would like to proceed with a gradual reduction of our soldiers” in Iraq. He added that the withdrawal would be tied to progress made in training Iraqi government security forces, according to the Associated Press.

Italy has the fourth-largest contingent of troops in

Iraq after Washington, London, and Seoul. Berlusconi said he told Britain’s prime minister, Anthony Blair, “We need to construct a precise exit strategy, also because our publics’ opinions expect this communication.”

Blair’s office at Downing Street downplayed Berlusconi’s remarks, saying they had been “misinterpreted.” According to the BBC, Blair told the House of Commons, “Neither the Italian government nor ourselves have set some form of deadline for withdrawal.”

Asked about Berlusconi’s remark during a March 16 White House press conference, U.S. president George Bush said he had spoken with Berlusconi, who said “he wanted me to know that there was no change in his policy, that, in fact, any withdrawals would be done in consultation with allies and would be done depending upon the ability of Iraqis to defend themselves.” Bush said he asked Berlusconi if he could say that to the media, to which the Italian prime minister replied, “absolutely.”

“Berlusconi’s decision is aimed at triggering an immediate effect in favor of candidates supporting his center right coalition, just over two weeks ahead of local elections in which some 40 million Italians can vote,” the main daily in Milan, *Corriere della Serr*a, editorialized.

## Terri Schiavo case

Continued from front page

American in this country should also be outraged that this government is trampling all over a personal family matter that has been adjudicated in the courts for seven years,” Michael Schiavo said on CNN the day before the law was signed.

The law grants jurisdiction to the federal district court to render judgment “for the alleged violation of any right of [Terri Schiavo’s] under the U.S. Constitution relating to the withholding or withdrawal of food fluids, or medical treatment necessary to sustain her life.” It grants standing to the parents of Schiavo to bring a suit under the law.

The day after the bill’s passage, a three-judge panel of the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta rejected an appeal by Schiavo’s parents, leaving in place the decision of the Florida court for the withdrawal of her feeding tube.

On Feb. 25, 1990, Terri Schiavo went into cardiac arrest, triggered by a condition brought on by an eating disorder. After her condition stabilized, Schiavo was left in a vegetative state. While she experiences periods of sleep and wakefulness, some reflexive responses to light and noise, and some basic gag and swallowing reflexes, she shows no signs of emotion, willful activity, or cognition. Her brain has been irreparably damaged. Medical studies have shown that there has never been a case in which an individual with brain damage of the type Schiavo has suffered, and who has been in this state for such a period of time, has regained minimum cognitive and motor functions.

In a decision upholding Michael Schiavo’s claim, Second District Court of Appeals Judge Chris Altenbernd wrote four years ago that “by mid 1996, the CAT scans of her brain showed a severely abnormal structure...much of her cerebral cortex is simply gone.... Medicine cannot cure this condition.... Theresa will always remain in an unconscious, reflexive state, totally dependent upon others to feed her and care for her most private needs.” Terri Schiavo’s parents disagree, claiming that she is not in a persistent vegetative state and that she should be continue to be kept alive through artificial means. Right-wing groups and many Republican and Democratic politicians have backed the parents’ claims, seeking to use the case to strike a blow at the right to privacy.

In 2000, Judge George Greer of Pinellas-Pasco Circuit Court in Florida ruled that Schiavo’s feeding tube could be removed after concurring with the doctors’ opinion that she was in an irreversible vegetative state and hearing convincing testimony at a trial that she had expressed the view before her accident that she would not have wanted to live that way. Since then, her feeding tube has been withdrawn twice and in both cases the decisions were reversed.

State lawmakers in Florida hastily passed “Terri’s Law” in October 2003 after Schiavo’s feeding tube had been removed for six days. The measure allowed governor John Ellis Bush to order it to be reinserted.

The Florida Supreme Court subsequently declared “Terri’s Law” unconstitutional. In its ruling the court said that “if the Legislature with the assent of the Governor can do what was attempted here, the judicial branch would be subordinated to the final directives of the other branches. Also subordinated would be the rights of individuals, including the well established privacy right to self-determination.”

The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of the state court’s decision.

On February 25 of this year, Judge Greer ruled that the feeding tube should be withdrawn on March 18.

Medical diagnosis debated in Congress

As the deadline for the feeding tube’s removal neared, the two houses of Congress began debating bills designed to allow the case to be heard in federal court in order to override the state court decision and Michael Schiavo’s rights as his wife’s legal guardian. On March 21, the House passed the bill on a 203-58 vote after calling lawmakers back Sunday for an emergency session. The measured received considerable bipartisan support: 156 Republicans and 47 Democrats voted in favor, 5 Republicans and 53 Democrats against. In the debate House Speaker Dennis Hastert and others rejected the description of the brain-damaged woman as persisting in a “vegetative” state. “She laughs, she cries and she smiles with those around her,” Hastert asserted.

Highly edited videotape showing Schiavo’s various reflexive responses was presented by politicians as medical “evidence” that she had cognitive ability. Florida congressman David Weldon, a doctor for 16 years, presented his diagnosis without ever examining the patient, claiming that Schiavo was “not in a persistent vegetative state.” Another physician, Congressman Joseph Schwarz, followed suit, claiming “she does have some cognitive ability.”

The California Medical Association at its annual session, in which 1,000 delegates set policy for the 35,000 physicians throughout the state, passed an emergency resolution March 21 in response to the law. It voiced the group’s “outrage at Congress’ interference with medical decisions.”

Right-wing campaign

Rightist forces have organized to demand state intervention in the case. Many of the groups that claim they are defending Terri Schiavo’s life are also vocal opponents of a woman’s right to choose abortion. Bush, in his March 17 statement on the case, included a demagogic appeal to these rightists. “It should be our goal as a nation to build a culture of life, where all Americans are valued,” he said, using language that clearly evoked the anti-abortion movement.

Outside the Pinellas Park hospice where Terri Schiavo is receiving care, about 35 protesters gathered March 19 carrying signs saying, “Judge Greer: Florida’s Hitler,” “Michael Schiavo: Which Wife do You Want Dead?” and “Michael: Give Terri Back to Her Parents!”

In the latest public opinion poll conducted by ABC News and the *Washington Post*, 87 percent said they would not want to be kept alive if they were in Schiavo’s condition. On the question on who should have the final say over life support in this situation, 65 percent said the spouse and 25 percent the parents.



# Fonseca biography among titles presented at Havana book fair

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA—One of the books presented at the Havana International Book Fair in February was *Carlos Fonseca Amador: bajo las banderas del Che y de Sandino* (Carlos Fonseca Amador: under the banners of Che and Sandino), by Matilde Zimmermann. The Spanish-language title was recently released by Ediciones Ciencias Sociales, one of the major publishing houses in Cuba, as part of its expanding series of biographies of revolutionary figures around the world.

The original edition in English, *Sandinista: Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution*, was published by Duke University Press in 2000, and the first Spanish-language translation came out in Nicaragua in 2003.

Fonseca, one of the outstanding communist leaders of the 20th century, was the central founder and leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) until his death in combat in 1976. Under the FSLN's leadership, working people in Nicaragua carried out a popular insurrection in 1979 that overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, established a workers and farmers government, and began to take far-reaching measures in the interests of the producing majority that earned the hatred of capitalists at home and abroad. They mobilized and defeated a U.S.-organized

counterrevolutionary war.

More than 70 people attended the book launching. Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, a prominent Cuban historian, writer, and editor of the collected works of José Martí published by the Center for Martí Studies in Havana, was scheduled to make the main presentation. When he had to travel out of the country unexpectedly and could not be at the meeting, he left written remarks that were read by Norberto Codina, director of the cultural magazine *La Gaceta de Cuba*, published by the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC).

Also on the platform were Zimmermann and María del Pilar Díaz Castañón, author of the preface to the Cuban edition and a professor at the University of Havana.

Above all, “this book explains how Carlos Fonseca was forged as a revolutionary leader,” Díaz Castañón said.

“It shows that without the Cuban Revolution there would have been no Fonseca.”

“I am delighted that finally, after so many years, a book will circulate in Cuba that tells about the deeds of the Sandinistas,” Rodríguez said in his presentation. He noted that only a few titles about this subject have been published in Cuba, most of them shortly after the revolutionary victory in Nicaragua a quarter of a century ago and long out of print.

To resist the imperialist offensive in the world today, Cubans need to know the history of “our own struggle for social justice and socialism,” Rodríguez said. And “understanding Fonseca and the Nicaraguan revolution means understanding better our own revolution, our dreams, and our realities.” This is especially important at a time of “a retreat from revolutionary ideas and practice in today’s world.”

The well-documented Fonseca biography tells “the historic truth” about this revolutionary leader and the movement he built, Rodríguez noted. At the same



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

**The Havana International Book Fair, held February 3–13, drew 600,000 people, up from 460,000 the previous year. After Havana, the fair went on to 34 other cities in Cuba. The biography of Nicaraguan revolutionary leader Carlos Fonseca was one of the many hundreds of new titles presented.**

time, he added, the author writes from the standpoint of an “unabashed partisan on the side of the Sandinista revolution.” Zimmermann, who teaches Latin American history at Sarah Lawrence College in New York, lived and worked in Nicaragua for a number of years. In 1981–82 she reported on the unfolding revolution for the Managua Bureau of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*.

## Political impact of Cuban Revolution

In her remarks, Zimmermann pointed to the impact the Cuban Revolution and its communist leadership had on revolutionary-minded Nicaraguans of Fonseca’s generation. “Just weeks after the Cuban victory, Carlos left his university classroom in the city of León and headed for Havana,” she said. He and many leaders of the FSLN spent considerable time in Cuba over the following years, participating in the popular mobilizations that consolidated the first socialist revolution in the Americas, studying, receiving military training along with millions of Cubans, and getting the medical care they needed as they recovered from wounds received in combat against the forces of the Somoza dictatorship.

Zimmermann explained that Fonseca was in Cuba during the October 1962 “missile” crisis, when working people mobilized massively to defend their revolution in face of U.S. preparations to invade the island.

Fonseca and his Nicaraguan comrades “witnessed directly the process of transformation here [in Havana] during the early years and the inevitable conflicts with U.S. imperialism,” she said. “The Cuban Revolution showed young Carlos Fonseca that a popular revolution and a profound social transformation were possible.”

It was only in Cuba, Zimmermann added, that Fonseca also began to discover the revolutionary anti-imperialist legacy of Augusto César Sandino, who in 1926–34 led the armed resistance by

workers and farmers against the invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. Marines. There, she said, “he read for the first time books like Gregorio Selser’s biography of Sandino. In Nicaragua in the 1950s, the only book about Sandino was the one written by his assassin, Anastasio Somoza García.”

In being won to a communist, working-class perspective, she noted, he broke with the politics of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Nicaragua, of which he had been a member, and joined with other revolutionaries to establish the FSLN.

*Sandinista*, Zimmermann said, tells the story of the political evolution of Fonseca and of the organization he helped build.

By the mid-1980s, however, the FSLN leadership increasingly abandoned the proletarian course Fonseca had fought for, subordinating land reform and revolutionary mobilizations of working people to conciliation with sections of the capitalists and landlords. By the time of the 1990 elections, which FSLN candidate Daniel Ortega, then president of Nicaragua, lost to liberal bourgeois politician Violeta Chamorro, the revolution had been gutted.

For some today, the demise of the Nicaraguan revolution in the late 1980s shows “the impossibility of a popular revolution that can open the road to a socialist transformation,” Zimmermann said.

“For me it represents just the opposite.” An accurate understanding of the events shows “how a genuine revolution can be victorious if it has adequate leadership.”

**THE MILITANT**  
*on line*

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## CALENDAR

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Hear Leonard Weinglass speak on the Cuban Five and other civil rights cases.** Tue. April 5, noon. *Thurgood Marshall School of Law, Texas Southern University, Room 202.*

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**Defend Immigrant Rights—Driver’s Licenses for All Workers.** Speaker: Kevin Dwire, Socialist Workers Party. Fri. April 1 Dinner 6:30 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. *3707 Douglas Ave. (515) 255-1707*

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Political Developments in Venezuela Today: The Fight for Land Reform, Education, and Health Care.** Speaker: Romina Green, Socialist Workers Party. Fri. April 1. Dinner 6:30 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m. *11018 Lorain Ave. (216) 688-1190*

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Auckland

**The Cuban Revolution, Culture and Internationalism.** Hear from participant in international team staffing the Pathfinder Press stand at 14th Havana International Book Fair in February. Sat. April 2. Dinner 6 p.m. Forum 7 p.m. Donation: Dinner \$7; program \$3. (09) 276-8885. *7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu (upstairs, above laundromat).*

#### Christchurch

**The Cuban Revolution, Culture and Internationalism.** Fri. April 1. Program: 7:00 p.m. *‘The Gloucester Arcade,’ (near the Theatre Royal), 129-131 Gloucester St. (03) 365-6055*

## LETTERS

### Down to earth

Thank you for being a genuine, down-to-earth example for working people and the downtrodden in the world. I’m a senior English major at Penn State who is trying to organize a delegation to go to the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students. Your publications and representatives have changed my life.

As a born artist and shy person, I’ve always felt like an outsider; but this past school year, I saw a table in Penn State’s free-speech zone that changed my life. I couldn’t believe it—an actual social movement campaigning right before my eyes! Ever since, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists have been in contact with me. As a result, I’ve experienced what Che and Marx meant by the “new man,” the revolutionary

consciousness that will lift the world out of the mire. Having an artist’s disposition made me reserved, content to be outside the human scene I observed... your campaign helped me incorporate social struggle into my artistic worldview; I feel more human, more compassionate, more connected to the passers-by I see everyday.

I sincerely admire the character of leadership I’ve encountered in the SWP, here at Penn State and in New York City. Every candidate and representative of your party has been genuinely concerned not only of the interests of the working class but of the welfare of humanity. I wish you all the best in your future struggles and the assurance that I will do all I can to help.

*Dan Schwabenbauer  
State College, Pennsylvania*

### Venezuela and Scotland

The news the *Militant* has covered about the progress by peasants in Venezuela in their struggle for land has a significance here in Scotland. The peasants have occupied part of El Charcote, the vast 36,000-acre estate owned by the Vestey family, in their fight to win control of the land for themselves.

The Vestey family are not only one of Britain’s wealthiest families but also own vast parts of Scotland too. They currently have 100,000 acres in the Scottish highlands in the county of Sutherland. This puts them in the top 10 landowners in Scotland, a part of the United Kingdom where 1,252 people own 66 percent of the land. As with the land they acquired in Venezuela this was also stolen from working people. In the first volume of *Capital*, Karl Marx describes how

in the 19th century the Duchess of Sutherland had the county’s inhabitants “systematically, hunted and rooted out. All their villages were destroyed and burnt, all their fields turned into pasturage. British soldiers enforced this mass of evictions, and came to blows with the inhabitants. One old woman was burnt to death in the flames of the hut she refused to leave. It was in this manner that this fine lady appropriated 794,000 acres of land that had belonged to the clan from time immemorial.” It should be added that London’s role in defending this by force was part of the deal of the Act of Union with the Scottish aristocracy to protect their property rights in return for the integration of Scotland into the development of capitalist Britain. The landless peasants from the highlands were forced into the big cities, such as

Glasgow, to seek work.

The Vestey family acquired this land from the Sutherlands in the 1930s after they made millions from cattle ranching in Latin America and a butchers’ chain in the UK. But as in Venezuela, progress by working people is catching up with them. A consequence of the “devolution” of Scotland and the establishment of the parliament here is that land reform legislation is giving local people the right to buy back the land.

*Pete Clifford  
Edinburgh, Scotland*

**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**



# Canada farmers fight for livable income

## In tractorcades and rallies since January, they demand government aid

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO—In response to the depression-like conditions they face, thousands of farmers from all corners of Ontario have been mobilizing since January to demand financial support from the provincial and federal governments. Using tractors and other vehicles, farmers have closed sections of Highway 401 on three occasions and rallied twice at the provincial government buildings at Queen's Park in downtown Toronto. The "farm income crisis" has generated a discussion among farmers on the program, tactics, and organization necessary to defend their livelihoods.

The biggest mobilization took place March 2 when 8,000 farmers responded to the call for a "One Voice March" by the Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA). They arrived at Queen's Park in tractors and rented buses. The OFA is the main lobby organization of Ontario's 60,000 farmers.

"I'm only farming today because my father farmed," Eric Hoffer, 33, a tobacco farmer from Innerkip in southwestern Ontario, told the *Militant*. "In today's world I wouldn't be able to start a farm by myself." Hoffer said he didn't know if he could survive because tobacco farmers—whose aid from the Ontario Liberal government remains undelivered—receive just 10 cents on a pack of cigarettes sold at retail for \$7.00.

Hundreds of tractors and other farm equipment surrounded the government buildings in the bitter cold. Signs affixed to tractors and carried by farmers and their families said: "Off farm jobs are our real farm subsidy," "Farmers need cost of production," "Average farm income below poverty line," "Corn prices: 1979—\$3.09 a bushel. 2005—\$2.62 a bushel," "Ontario farmers, underpaid, overregulated," and "Buy Canadian, no more imports."

Speakers at the rally represented a range of producers in Ontario's multi-billion-dollar-a-year agricultural industry, which is the second-largest in the province after auto parts and assembly. The industry as a whole, including food processing, employs 650,000 people, according to the OFA.

The OFA is demanding immediate emergency aid of \$300 million (Can\$1 = US\$0.83) to ensure the planting of the 2005 crop for grain and oilseeds farmers, who the farm group says face a 25-year low in commodity prices; delivery of the promised \$50 million in transition aid for tobacco farmers; improvements in the Canadian Agriculture Income Stabilization (CAIS) program; and financial aid and compensation for farmers affected by new regulatory laws like the Greenbelt Protection Act, Drinking Water Safety Act, and Nutrient Management Act.

OFA president Ron Bennett, a cow-calf farmer, ended the rally by contrasting the Ontario government's \$400 million subsidy of Casino Windsor along with its recently announced subsidy of \$235 million to General Motors to retool its Oshawa assembly plants, and its failure to "invest in 650,000 jobs in agriculture."

One week later, on March 9, about 700 farmers were again at Queen's Park, this time in response to the call of the Rural Revolution coalition.

"I was born in Belgium, and moved to Canada 20 years ago," grain farmer Michel Calande told the *Militant*.

"Twenty years ago I could get \$200 for a ton of corn. Now I get \$100," Calande continued. "I come from a family of farmers. Farming is essential. What's happened in Canada is terrible. Knowledge is transmitted from one generation to another. School can't replace what real experience on the land teaches you. The world needs to know the situation we are living through."

"Because of the difficult situation we are facing, and the lack of slaughterhouses, I had to sell a cow for \$1.56," said Terry, a cattle farmer. "We are stuck with old cows because they are banned from crossing the

border to the United States. At the same time, the slaughterhouse owners are lining their pockets."

### Farm income drops

The depth of the farm crisis is an expression of one side of the opening stages of a depression in the world capitalist economy. Failure to receive adequate and timely aid and support from both the provincial and federal governments has generated a discussion among farmers on how they can effectively resist their deteriorating conditions.

The crisis affects whole communities, said Julien Papineau, president of the Essex Federation of Agriculture. "The entire community is getting involved [in the preparations for the March 2 protest], offering support and donations, including local input suppliers, as well as equipment dealers, manufacturers, and financial institution representatives," Papineau told the March 1 *Voice of the Farmer*. "The farming crisis has a ripple effect in the community. The spin-off is tremendous. When people don't have the money to spend, everyone is affected."

Farmers point out that the crisis affects farmers from one end of the country to the other. For example, Statistics Canada reports that between 1996 and 2001 the number of farms in Canada dropped 11 percent

to 246,293—the fastest drop between censuses since 1971. Although it is the small farm that is taking the hit—almost half the farms with less than \$25,000 in total revenue counted in the last census had disappeared by 2001—small farms operated by families who work the land still comprise two-thirds of all farms in Canada.

While farm productivity is rising, so are expenses. As a result, net income for working farmers is dropping. In 2000 total farm revenue across Canada was \$38.3 billion. With operating expenses of \$33.2 billion, farmers had an income of \$5.1 billion, which was less than the \$5.5 billion they earned in 1995, when revenue was \$32.2 billion and expenses reached \$26.7 billion.

The farm financial survey reported last December that the 2003 average net agricultural income of \$25,311 represented a 26 drop percent from the year before. According to the NFU, real average net farm income—without including government subsidies—in 2003 declined to *negative* \$20,000 per farm.

### Rightists dominate Rural Revolution

Rural Revolution, spearheaded by the Lanark Landowners Association (LLA), which is a coalition of farmers and rural business owners, was formed about two

years ago in collaboration with a number of Conservative Party members of the federal parliament and Ontario provincial legislature. The OFA, NFU, and the Christian Farmers Federation have taken their distance from Rural Revolution, both because of the group's central demand for federal legislation to protect "property rights," and its civil disobedience tactics.

The political focus of the March 9 Rural Revolution rally centered on 11 resolutions drawn up by the LLA called "legislation to be tabled and enacted on March 9, 2005." A number of Conservative Party politicians had promised to bring the resolutions into the provincial legislature.

The preamble to the resolutions poses the struggle of farmers and rural business people in terms of urban versus rural priorities, rather than a struggle for an adequate and stable income for farmers that meets their costs of production. "Through over-regulation and excessive legislation politicians and bureaucrats have transferred rural wealth and prosperity into the hands of urban monopolies and mega-bureaucracies," said the declaration, charging the government with "crimes against rural Ontario."

The founding declaration of the LLA has a clear rightist tinge to it, stating: "Using

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# Quebec students strike against cuts in education

BY AIMEE KENDERGIAN

MONTREAL—On March 16 more than 80,000 university, college, and high school students and their supporters from across Quebec poured into the streets of Montreal to press their demand that the provincial government reinstate the Can\$103 million (Can\$1 = US\$0.83) of bursaries (grants) it had cut from the education budget last fall. Several thousand marched in Quebec City the same day in a similar protest.

The demonstrations were the latest in a series of actions linked to a student strike movement that began three weeks ago and now involves up to 230,000 secondary and post-secondary students.

"We're on strike because we need a[n education] system that's inexpensive," Mélanie Cadieux, a striking student who had also participated in a mass demonstration four days earlier, told the *Militant*. "The government wants a system for those who can pay for it. I won't be able to. I earn only \$8,000 a year. They will keep the elite. We have to be unified and in solidarity against the injustice that will be created. They want people who have the same mentality that they do."

Tim McSorley, spokesman for the Canadian Student Federation, one of the three student groups organizing the protests, told the Toronto *Globe and Mail* students in Quebec are trying to set a precedent in forcing a provincial government to retreat on cuts that others have succeeded in imposing.

Students in Quebec had received more than 40 per cent of financial aid in bursaries and the rest in loans, the *Globe and Mail* reported. They had carried a debt load of about half the national average of \$25,000, and their tuition fees of \$1,800 per year were the lowest in the country.

Quebec premier Jean Charest's Liberal Party government has been on the defensive on this question. In a February cabinet reshuffle he replaced the education minister who had imposed the latest cuts. On March 15, the new minister, Jean Marc Fournier, offered to put \$29 million back into bursaries.

In a ploy to divide and conquer, Fournier has said he would not meet with the Coalition of the Association of Student Union Solidarity and Allies (CASSÉE). He demanded that the group condemn some of the student occupations of government buildings, which had caused some property damage during police repression against the protesters. Fournier said he is willing to meet with the Federation of Quebec University Students



Militant/Sylvie Charbin

**March 16 protest of 80,000 in Montreal. Strikes have involved 230,000 students.**

(FEUQ) and the Federation of Quebec College Students (FECQ), which have also backed strike action and are demanding that the cuts be rescinded. These groups sponsored the March 16 actions. CASSÉE was the initiator of the student mobilizations and has asked the other associations not to meet with Fournier unless they are included. The FEUQ and the FECQ have said they would be willing to meet with the minister of education by themselves, but have insisted that the \$103 million cut is not negotiable.

"We are here to maintain our rights," said Veronique Pronovost. "We are doing it in a peaceful manner. It's a shame that it's the violent actions that get the media's attention." She explained that she and her friends had written a letter to the media and had obtained 1,000 signatures within the last few days and yet no newspaper had printed it. The letter quotes the official web site of the governing party: "In social matters, the basic principle laid down by Liberals allows for no misunderstanding. Economic growth should not occur at the expense of the most disadvantaged members of society."

Students at the English-language Concordia University voted to strike for one day on March 16. University of Montreal's

École Polytechnique (the engineering faculty) and McGill University graduate students, often viewed as more conservative, have also voted to support the protests with one-day strikes.

Teachers with their union flags were part of the latest street protests. Several teachers unions are in contract talks with the provincial government. They have also been part of a coalition demanding that the government stop funding private schools and instead put those resources into the public school system.

Spokespeople for CASSÉE said the struggle is not just about the latest \$103 million cut but all the "reforms" of the education system. "The perspective is for free education and the abolition of the student debt," said a representative of the group.

Among other "reforms" students oppose is the government's attempt to decentralize the college system. Pierre-Olivier Paquin told the *Militant* he would lose one year of college if he transfers from Sherbrooke to Montreal, as he plans. "I'm against all the budget cuts," he added. "Health and education should be the priorities. I heard on TV that 68,257 patients are waiting for surgeries only in Quebec! It's deplorable!"