

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

**LESSONS FROM REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY**  
**1962: How revolutionary Cuba**  
**responded to U.S. war threats**

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VOL. 66/NO. 39, OCTOBER 21, 2002

## U.S.-British warplanes escalate bombings in Iraq

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

U.S. planes launched a bombing attack on missile launchers in northern Iraq October 9. Officials in Washington did not bother to claim, as they often do after such raids by U.S. and British warplanes, that the pilots had reacted to a threatened attack. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Turkey, Pentagon officials said that although Iraqis did not fire on the U.S. planes, "their presence in the zone was a threat" to the invading pilots.

The escalating air attacks are now mainly targeting Iraq's anti-aircraft defenses, with the purpose of establishing "air corridors" for bombing runs into Baghdad and other cities when an invasion and air assault are unleashed on the country. At least one raid has also dropped bombs on Iraqi anti-ship cruise missile sites.

As Washington and London continue these hostile flights over Iraqi territory and accelerate the imperialist military buildup in the region, the Bush administration has negotiated with Republican and Democratic Party leaders in Congress to prepare a joint war

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## Víctor Dreke, Ana Morales will speak on 'Cuba, Africa'

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON—Two veteran Cuban revolutionaries will begin a six-city speaking tour here on October 21. In the course of their one-month visit, Víctor Dreke Cruz and Ana Morales Varela will speak on "Cuba and Africa: 1959 to Today" to students, union fighters, and others. Meetings will be organized in Washington, D.C., Birmingham, Atlanta, and a number of other cities.

The speaking tour provides an opportunity to hear firsthand about Cuba's record of internationalist solidarity with liberation struggles in Africa, as well as learn about the Cuban Revolution today. Both speakers have been participants in these efforts.

Dreke and Morales, who on October 7

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Militant/Jonathan Silberman  
 Víctor Dreke (above) and Ana Morales will start a six-city speaking tour in October.

## Bush cites 'nat'l security' in assault on dockworkers

Uses Taft-Hartley antilabor law to back longshore bosses

BY BERNIE SENTER

OAKLAND, California—President George Bush invoked the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act October 8 in a show of force on the side of the longshore bosses and against 10,500 West Coast dockworkers who are fighting for a contract.

The federal government seized on an employer lockout, which had shut down the West Coast ports for 10 days, to obtain the court order. The workers, members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, took down their picket lines and returned to work without a contract.

Bush justified using the strike-breaking measure saying, "The work stoppage also threatens our national defense.... Because the operation of western ports is vital to our economy and to our military, I have determined that the current situation imperils our national health and safety."

Under Taft-Hartley, the government can impose an 80-day "cooling-off period" that legally bars the union from job actions or strikes and mandates that all negotiations

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Dockworkers picket Port Hueneme, near Los Angeles. Unionists returned to work without a contract after White House invoked Taft-Hartley Act to aid employers.

## Workers in Pennsylvania coalfields oppose dumping of hazardous sludge

BY TOM MAILER

GILBERTON, Pennsylvania—"They treat us like we're low-income and uneducated people and can be pushed around. No. They tell us they've done this for 20 years.

No. Their time is up. People were more afraid of the coal companies 20 years ago. Times have changed."

That's how Sharon Chiao explained why she has joined others fighting plans to dump

sewage sludge on reclaimed mine lands in this area. She spoke to the *Militant* after a July meeting of the Mahanoy Creek Watershed Association, which has taken up this health and environmental struggle.

Chiao, whose brother is a retired union miner, is one of many who have become active in the struggle to defend the health of thousands of residents in the central area of this hard-coal region of northeast Pennsylvania.

This diverse group of people—including working and retired miners, teachers, other workers of all types, students, and small business owners—is joining together to oppose the drive by Reading Anthracite, Gilberton Coal, and Waste Management Processors (WMPI) to gain permission for a one-time spreading of Class B biosolids—otherwise known as sewage sludge—over land in the region. The sludge, it is claimed, will promote new growth of vegetation.

The companies are part of the holdings of the Rich family, one of the biggest coal operators in the area. The land involved cov-

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New York City, Saturday, November 2

### Communists and the World Struggle against Imperialism Today

#### Speakers

**Jack Barnes**

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

**Jason Alessio**

UMWA miner, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in Colorado

**Arrin Hawkins**

Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor in New York

**Olympia Newton**

Young Socialists National Leadership Council, Socialist Workers candidate for secretary of state in California

**Mary-Alice Waters**

Editor of *New International*

**Martin Koppel**

Editor of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*

**Ma'mud Shirvani**

Farsi editor, Pathfinder Press

- Iraq and the Arabian peninsula: Washington's drive to redivide the region and dominate oil
- A world depression is unfolding
- Deepening contradictions in U.S. labor: opportunities and dangers
- Campaigning for communism, responding to political openings

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# Bush cites 'national security' in assault on dockworkers

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take place through a government mediator. The injunction runs through the busiest shipping season.

At issue in the labor dispute is the employers' drive to slash jobs and undermine the safety of members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), which represents the bosses at the shipping lines and terminals, is demanding to accelerate the use of computers, scanners, remote cameras, and other technology that will eliminate hundreds of union clerk jobs. Meanwhile, the bosses have outsourced clerical jobs to companies in Utah and Arizona. The union is fighting to maintain coverage over some of the outsourced clerical jobs and to set minimum staff levels for clerks.

The PMA, backed by the federal government, also wants to end the single industry-wide labor contract bargained by the union, a move that would significantly weaken the union's ability to defend its interests. The association wants to replace the union-controlled hiring hall with one operated by the bosses.

Employer speedup and cuts in safety have resulted in the deaths of seven workers on the ports so far this year, five of them ILWU members, according to the *Los Angeles Times*. Of the 14 waterfront deaths in California in the last decade, six were in 2002.

## Employers lock out unionists

The ILWU has tried to negotiate a contract since it expired July 1. The PMA shut the West Coast's 29 ports on September 29, accusing workers of engaging in a slowdown. While the union agreed to a government proposed 30-day contract extension, the PMA rejected it. "They wanted to Taft-Hartley the union all along," said union spokesman Steve Stallone. "All along, they wanted the government to come in and solve the problem for them."

The president of the PMA hailed Bush's decision. "I believe he acted in the best in-

terests of the country, the economy, and our national security," he said.

The judge's back-to-work order stipulates that union members must resume work "at a normal pace." The PMA has vowed to seek court sanctions against the union if it deems that workers are carrying out a "slowdown."

In face of threats by the employers and the government injunction, the ILWU plans "to continue to work safe," union president James Spinosa reported. "And if that's a slowdown then that's a slowdown."

"We're in a battle," said Pamela Romeiz during picket duty at the Port of Oakland October 2. Romeiz is a longshore worker like her father, who was killed on the docks in a crane accident.

Rich Alvis, a longshore worker for 36 years, was one of the last to leave the picket line. "Before we were in 15 different places," he said. "Now, since the lockout, we're all together. The employer put us together as a union thinking the same way. The good that will come out of this is that everyone will be united."

## Bosses' demand for Taft-Hartley grows

A growing number of bourgeois politicians and groups representing big business called for the president to invoke Taft-Hartley. Liberal senator Dianne Feinstein from California called for Bush to impose the act, stating, "With our nation in the economic doldrums and at the brink of war, we cannot afford to have this dispute cause further damage to our economy." "Down with Feinstein" was a popular chant at a rally of 300 people in support of the dockworkers at the Port of Oakland October 5.

The Democratic governors of California, Oregon, and Washington released a statement calling for a rapid end to the labor dispute, blaming the fight for hurting farmers, factory owners, retailers, and truckers.

*Los Angeles Times* columnist Steve Lopez wrote, "Retailers are beginning to fear the unimaginable—the cancellation of Christmas." A news article a few days later stated, "If the dispute is not settled soon, growers



Locked-out dockworkers picketing outside docks in Oakland, California.

face the ruin of their produce. Sellers of toys and clothing predicted bare shelves and plummeting holiday profits."

The American Trucking Associations said in an open letter to President Bush that the lockout is a security as well as economic threat as accumulating ships in the ports "enrich target opportunities for terrorists."

During the lockout, the union officialdom made arrangements to handle military cargo and shipments destined for Alaska and Hawaii, two states that rely on oceanbound imports. An October 2 union news release quotes Dick Marzano, vice president of local 23 in Tacoma, Washington, saying, "During this time of heightened national security, our longshore members are fully aware of the importance of the military cargo that crosses our docks. We will not jeopardize the health and well-being of the people of Alaska or this nation."

## Dockworkers win solidarity

Before October 8 economic impact of the employer lockout was accelerating. The NUMMI auto assembly plant in Fremont, California, run jointly by General Motors and Toyota, ceased production October 2. The idle plant, which employs 5,500 workers, relies on "just-in-time" inventory from its suppliers, including imported engines and transmissions. United Auto Workers Local 2244 at the plant has offered its solidarity to the longshoremen, as have the Teamsters and other unions.

Eric Cox, a truck driver at the docks, said, "The employers are trying to drive a wedge between the truckers and the ILWU but also between the nonunion and union truckers. We take aluminum coils to the NUMMI plant. The workers at NUMMI I talked to said 'we are behind the ILWU 100 percent. If we go on strike we want their support.'"

Japanese and Australian dockworkers issued statements in support of ILWU. "Kenji Yasuda, chairman of Zenkoku-kowan, the

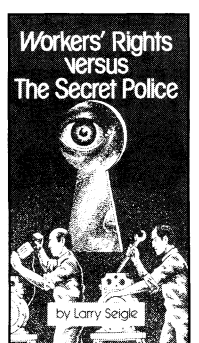
Japanese dockworkers union, said, "Ship-owners that have attacked the ILWU are the same companies that Zenkoku-kowan deals with. We acknowledge that the ILWU's struggles and the attacks upon them have an effect on ourselves and we will fight in solidarity with port workers and seafarers around the globe."

The Taft-Hartley Act was last used in 1978 by then president James Carter during the 110-day strike by the United Mine Workers of America. Miners broke the court order and continued their strike until they won a contract. In 1971, the government also used the measure against the West Coast dockworkers, who had been on strike for three months. Since that time the tonnage handled by West Coast ports has quadrupled, with the introduction of containerization of cargo and the rise of global trade. The number of longshoremen on the West Coast has plunged to 10,500, down from 100,000 in the 1950s.

## From Pathfinder

### Workers' Rights versus the Secret Police by Larry Seigle

How, since the inception of the modern revolutionary movement in 1848, the ruling classes have responded with police spies, agents provocateurs, and political frame-ups. **\$3**



## THE MILITANT

### Imperialists out of the Ivory Coast

*As Washington marches toward war for oil in the Mideast, it is extending its military presence in Africa's oil-producing countries. Read the 'Militant' to get the facts about the deepening U.S. economic penetration of Africa and the stakes involved for workers and peasants.*



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# Unionists in South Africa protest job cuts

BY T. J. FIGUEROA

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Thousands of workers took to the streets of South African cities October 1 in response to a call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) for a two-day general strike against the sell-off of state enterprises, and job losses. In a march in Johannesburg, workers carried signs with slogans such as “COSATU says no to privatization,” “Keep public services public,” “Stop huge food price increases,” and “Away with the high maize meal prices.”

The strike met with a mixed response. Only COSATU-affiliated unions lent their support to the action. According to officials of the labor federation, about 60 percent of the workforce stayed away nationwide, although the actual figure appears to have been smaller, as many large industrial plants and mines stayed open. The South African Chamber of Business stated that 15 percent of workers in private industry struck over the two days. The government opposed the strike and said few state workers participated.

The most concentrated support for the walkout was reported in gold mines in the Free State, at the Port of Durban, and in plants owned by four of six auto manufacturers.

In Johannesburg, thousands of workers marched on the first day of the strike. Metalworkers, telephone workers, transport workers, food industry workers, health workers, teachers, and a small number of miners formed contingents. The South African Communist Party and the Landless People's Movement also participated in the march, as did the Anti-Privatization Forum, a group aligned with “antiglobalization” forces.

## Anger over price hikes for food, services

During the march, workers expressed anger over rising prices for food and basic services, and continued job losses. In the past year the price of maize meal, a staple for millions of working people, has risen by 110 percent, and other food prices have also increased sharply. As the currency, the rand, has depreciated against the dollar and the euro, prices for basic commodities, from fuel to clothing, have also soared.

According to COSATU secretary-general Zwelinzima Vavi, four state-owned enterprises—Eskom (the electricity utility), Transnet (railroads and other transport), Telkom (the fixed-line phone company), and Denel (an arms manufacturer)—have cut 100,000 jobs. Some of these companies, such as Telkom, which has eliminated 20,000 jobs and is slated to be listed on the stock market next year, have been partially sold off to private capital. Stakes in other companies are to be sold off in the next couple of years. A number of municipal water services have now been contracted to private operators.

“If they privatize services like water and electricity, I’m going to pay a lot,” said Meshack Mabula, a machine operator and member of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa who participated in the October 1 march. “But it’s going to be even worse for those who are not working.” Official unemployment here continues to hover at about 30 percent.

“We are against the selling of state assets because it results in joblessness and poverty,” said Winston Mahli, a member of the South African Democratic Teachers Union



Workers march in Johannesburg October 1 during national strike called by Congress of South African Trade Unions to protest job losses and sale of state-owned enterprises.

in Soweto, where many of his students have parents who are unemployed. “Privatization of basic services means people cannot afford them. We think standing up against privatization will make some sense to government, will help it reconsider its position. The government is right to defend its position by talking about globalization and so forth to say that they want to create jobs, but the opposite is happening.”

Asked whether this was a march against the government, as asserted by officials of the African National Congress, which leads the government, he replied, “It’s not a march against government, it’s a march against

government policies.”

Blessing Vilakazi, a gold miner at Durban Deep, noted that “the families of people working in the mines are poor. Privatization will affect everyone, especially for electricity and water.”

“I spend 100 rands (1 rand = US 10 cents) on the electricity card per month, but it isn’t enough,” said Themba Mkhabele, a general worker and NUMSA shop steward at the Maxiprest tire company, whose monthly take-home pay is R1,000. “It’s only good for lights and cooking. You cannot run a fridge and all that other stuff that will make life easier. TV, music, those are luxuries.”

## Ohio SWP candidates: stop ‘no match’ letters

BY MICHAEL FITZSIMMONS

CLEVELAND—Campaigners for the Socialist Workers ticket in Ohio have been meeting militant workers and youth around the state. Eva Braiman, the socialist candidate for governor of Ohio, was invited by GL, a meatcutter from the slaughterhouse where they both work, to attend a rally of farm workers and other packers organized by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) at the University of Toledo. GL joined Braiman in introducing the socialist campaign to the workers and students present.

FLOC organized the September 24 rally in order to present to AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, who was speaking on campus that day, with FLOC’s “legislative agenda” in favor of amnesty for undocumented immigrants. Several of those attending the rally were meat packers who had been fired after their boss, J.H. Routh Packing Co., received Social Security “no match” letters from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS has sent out hundreds of thousands of such letters, forcing many workers to leave their jobs rather than face harassment from the bosses and the cops and possible deportation. The workers hope to gain the support of their union, the United Food and Commercial Workers, and other unions.

Two of the workers were particularly interested in the socialist campaign. One worker decided to subscribe to the campaign’s Spanish publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, to learn about the broader picture of working-class struggles in the United States and about the Cuban Revolution. The other worker, who works in the fields of a large nursery near Oberlin, described to Braiman the brutal conditions workers face there.

In a discussion with a University of Toledo student, who was jarred by the patriotic, pro-government rhetoric of Sweeney’s address, Braiman and her fellow campaigner pointed to the socialist campaign’s position in opposition to “no match” letters, INS raids, and deportations, and on the need for working people to stand together regardless of their country of origin. Braiman explained the perspective her campaign advocates of fighting to transform the unions into revolutionary instruments in a fight by workers, together with farmers, to take political power. One interested student purchased the *Militant* and a Pathfinder catalog and ex-

pressed interest in continuing the discussion.

Braiman and her co-worker were interviewed by the campus newspaper about conditions faced by workers in factories and farms in the region. Drawing on his own



Eva Braiman, Socialist Workers candidate for governor, discusses politics with workers on streets of Cleveland September 28.

experience in the peach orchards, GL pointed out that, while the U.S. government hypocritically accuses the Iraqi government of developing chemical weapons, immigrant farm workers all over the United States are routinely sprayed with pesticides and other toxic chemicals. “The growers put up signs warning people to keep their families and pets out of the fields while they spray, but meanwhile there are human beings working there,” he said.

## Discussions with striking teachers

The Socialist Workers candidates have also joined striking teachers on the picket line and set up a campaign table at a support rally in the Maple Heights school district, a working-class suburb of Cleveland. The teachers have been on strike for more than a month, confronting black-clad, combat-boot-wearing guards of the Huffmaster Crisis Response, as well as scabs recruited by Alternative Workforce. The school district has hired the two companies in an effort to intimidate the teachers and break the strike.

The teachers are fighting for a pay increase, smaller classes, and time each week to prepare lessons. Maple Heights teachers report that they are among the lowest-paid in the county. A number of meetings have been organized by parents and teachers to back the union’s demands.

Asked about the government’s stated view that privatization is required to increase efficiency and boost the economy, Mkhabele responded: “Do you think that is a good idea? To say that I must die today so that I can live tomorrow?”

Amos Maphake, a clerk at electricity utility Eskom, noted that as private capital buys into the state-run companies, jobs are not being generated. “A lot of people at Eskom have already lost their jobs and a lot more are going to lose their jobs. And it’s going to affect the community definitely because the price of electricity will definitely go up. There are still a lot of disadvantaged people who do not yet have electricity, and I wonder with this privatization, how are they going to get access to electricity? They can have privatization, but a lot of people will not be working and definitely will not be able to afford to pay those services.”

Following the strike, public enterprises minister Jeff Radebe told a press conference that the privatization measures would continue. “There is no question about the political commitment of the ANC government in proceeding with this program because of the benefits that it will have for the economy of this country.”

ANC leaders bitterly criticized the strike. The party’s secretary-general, Kgalema Motlanthe, called the walkout “a political strike against the ANC government.” A statement from the organization said “the ANC cannot support a strike against the policies our government is correctly implementing in pursuit of our strategic objective: the overall liberation of the historically oppressed masses of our country.” ANC Youth League president Malusi Gigaba went so far as to declare the COSATU action “a counterrevolutionary strike aimed at defeating the new government,” an allegation that a COSATU spokesperson rejected.

Many of the teachers have expressed the hope that a tax increase proposal on the ballot in November will pass and, by helping the school district bridge the “budget gap,” convince the authorities to give them a wage increase.

Helen Meyers, the Socialist Workers candidate for Ohio attorney general, explained on the picket line, “My campaign is urging other working people to support the Maple Heights teachers—their fight is an example of how workers can defend our interests. The solution to funding the public schools is not taxes on workers’ wages. Workers and farmers, who produce all the wealth and are exploited by the superwealthy families that rule this country, are already squeezed by taxes on their modest earnings and other regressive taxes. Taxes on working people should be abolished and replaced with a steeply graduated tax on the profits, dividends, and interests of wealthy individuals and capitalist corporations.”

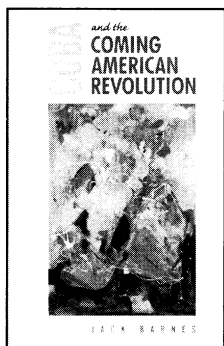
The Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, Michael Fitzsimmons, recently participated in a rally by salt miners protesting the union-busting moves of Cargill, Inc. Some 130 miners were fired by the company following their strike last summer over scheduling, seniority rights, and subcontracting. Several miners have purchased the *Militant* to find out more about the socialist campaign.

Exchanging views with the miners, Fitzsimmons pointed out that they are an important part of the working-class resistance to the capitalist rulers’ offensive both at home and abroad. “As working people, we need to oppose the U.S. war drive against Iraq—which is an imperialist war of plunder—as we join with other working people to win solidarity in the fight against Cargill,” said Fitzsimmons, who pointed to a number of Pathfinder books that explain what’s behind the imperialist drive to war.

After meeting students at Cleveland’s Case Western Reserve University, Braiman has been invited in October to participate in the Islamic Bazaar in the student center. On the encouragement of a number of Ohio farmers, the campaign will also visit grain storage and processing facilities in the state, as farmers deliver their harvest. The socialist campaigners will learn more about the effects of the drought and explain working-class proposals for defending small farmers from the cost-price squeeze of the capitalist market.

## CUBA and the Coming American Revolution

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

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—Dozens of janitors chanting “*Si se puede*” (Yes, we can), picketed at 100 Summer Street in downtown Boston after walking off the job September 30. A month earlier the contract for 10,000 Boston area janitors, members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), had expired.

After the expiration of the contract, SEIU officials, at the request of Mayor Thomas Menino, agreed to postpone strike action and to continue negotiations with the Maintenance Contractors of New England, an association of 30 cleaning companies. Failing to reach an agreement, union officials decided to organize a selective strike against Unico Service Co., a national office-cleaning company that cleans 1,450 buildings in the area.

On the first day of the walkout, janitors picketed 16 major Boston office buildings, including One Beacon Street, 100 Federal Street, 100 Summer Street, One and Two International Place, Russia Wharf, the World Trade Center, and the John Hancock Building. The second day, another 11 city buildings and 19 in the suburbs were struck. By the end of the first week, more than 2,000 workers were on the picket lines in front of 63 buildings.

The slogans carried by strikers on their signs explain their demands: “Part time work doesn’t work” “\$39 a day is not enough” and “Health care for our families.”

According to press reports, the cleaning bosses have agreed to increase wages to \$12.50 an hour from \$10.20 over four years, and to expand some medical coverage for full-time workers. But they have balked at creating more full-time positions as demanded by the union. Seventy-five percent of the janitors are employed on a part-time basis and have no medical benefits.

Workers on the picket line explained that they usually work about four hours a night Monday through Friday with an ever increasing workload.

The *Boston Herald*, voicing the bosses’ point of view, argued against the union’s demand for full-time jobs, declaring, “Union leaders have simply refused to acknowledge that some workers for whom this is a second job want part-time work. They have also failed to admit the economic reality that a conversion to full-time jobs will leave many of those workers just flatly out of work.”

On the second day of the strike, Unico advertised in the *Boston Herald* for temporary workers for all shifts. Within a couple of



Militant/Sarah Ullman

**Striking janitors rally in Boston October 2 demanding a wage hike, more full-time jobs, and better benefits. About 75 percent of the janitors work part-time with no benefits.**

days, some buildings were getting cleaned with replacement workers and union members who have crossed picket lines. The union estimated that 5 percent of its members were crossing the picket lines, while cleaning industry sources put the figure higher.

During rush hour on October 2, more than 300 janitors and their supporters converged on 100 Summer Street where they briefly

rallied and then marched through the streets of downtown Boston chanting “*Unico escucha! Estamos en la lucha!*” (“Listen up, Unico, we’re here to fight!”)

In response, Mayor Menino won a court order on October 3 barring janitors and their supporters from staging street demonstrations without permits.

Earlier that day, workers and others in solidarity with the janitors marched down Boylston Street, a tony shopping district in downtown Boston. They were joined by delegates to the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO convention taking place in the city.

Also that day, 26 supporters of the janitors were arrested as they blocked traffic at the entrance to the Callahan Tunnel, the major thoroughfare to the airport and the suburbs and towns along the North Shore.

AFL-CIO state president Robert Hayes commented, “He likes to say he’s labor’s mayor. Preventing these working people from expressing themselves is not what one would expect from labor’s mayor.”

Menino claimed to be “sympathetic” to the janitors but that he was “concerned about the public safety.”

In August the Boston City Council passed a resolution “requesting” that “the commercial real estate community and their chosen maintenance contractors offer decent wages and benefits, including health care, in line with cities like New York and San Francisco that have similar cost requirements.”

Janitors struck in Los Angeles in 2000, winning a 26 percent wage increase.

On the third day of the strike here, John Hancock Financial Services said it would be willing to spend up to \$1.5 million more for cleaning services to help ensure higher pay and health insurance for janitors.

After the walkout began, Standard & Poor’s lowered Unico’s credit rating and placed it on “credit watch” with “negative implications,” citing expected weakness in its operating performance.

*Ted Leonard is a packinghouse worker in the Boston area. Sarah Ullman, a garment worker, contributed to this article.*

## New Caledonia anti-imperialist fighters meet

BY ARLENE TATE AND CHRISTIAN COUNOYER

NOUMÉA, New Caledonia—Under the title “organizing the anti-imperialist struggle in times of globalization” some 25 people and international guests participated in an all-day seminar September 7 hosted by the Kanak Liberation Party (Palika).

Held at the Secretariat of the Pacific Community in Anse Vata, Nouméa, the event attracted people from New Caledonia’s three provinces and from several different political organizations. A number of young supporters of Palika attended, as well as representatives of the organization’s leadership. Four members of the Movement of Oceania Youth (MJO), the youth organization of the pro-independence party based among immigrants from Wallis and Futuna Islands, also contributed. Like New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna is a colony of French imperialism.

The New Caledonian participants welcomed a delegation representing the international Young Socialists and the communist movement. The members of the delegation, who hailed from Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, each gave a brief presentation on the fight to build an international anti-imperialist movement, the class struggle in the countries in which they are active politically, and their efforts to build the communist movement. Those presentations kicked off a lively political exchange.

The delegation’s visit was the product of collaboration between Palika and the Young Socialists that picked up momentum last year as youth from the region prepared to send delegates to the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students in Algiers last August.

At the festival itself delegates from Palika described the ongoing struggle in New Caledonia against French colonial rule—a struggle in which the indigenous Kanak people, who have historically faced conditions of apartheid-like discrimination—have played a central leadership role.

Roughly one year after the festival, in early

September, a team of three YS representatives from Canada, New Zealand, and the United States arrived in New Caledonia to begin a busy schedule of discussions and visits to the scene of political and labor actions.

In the days before the seminar, their hosts took them to the site of a proposed nickel mine owned by the Canadian mining giant Inco that has been targeted for protests by Kanaks and others; a Nouméa hotel that has been occupied by workers demanding an improved severance deal; and a squatter camp inhabited and organized by Kanak fighters and by workers from Wallis and Futuna.

### Perspectives of communist movement

The seminar was chaired by an independence supporter who works as a truck driver and who had attended the World Festival of Youth and Students in Algeria last year.

From the Communist League and YS in New Zealand, Arlene Tate said that the international movement of which those organizations are a part stands in continuity with the battle to build an international class-struggle leadership conducted by Marx and Engels, the leaders of the Russian Revolution and its defenders against the Stalinist political counterrevolution, and the communist leadership of 40-plus years of deepening and defending the socialist revolution in Cuba.

An epoch of capitalist crisis and depression, rising inter-imperialist competition and war, and intensifying class struggle is opening up today, she said.

It is not just Washington that is on the warpath, Tate noted. In the Pacific region, the smaller imperialist powers of New Zealand and Australia are also extending their military reach, with substantial forces in East Timor and Bougainville. The New Zealand government has also mounted a police operation in the Solomon Islands.

Rebecca Williamson, of the Young Socialists in the United States, talked about the resistance of working people against the

bosses’ assaults, from the longshore workers along the Pacific coast of the United States to fighters against police brutality.

“In the course of the dockworkers’ fight, and others like it,” she said, “young socialists and socialist workers have participated in picket lines and rallies, urged others to get involved, and sold significant numbers of *Militants* and Pathfinder titles to union fighters. Right now we are in the middle of an election campaign to present a socialist program to working people and youth.”

Garment worker Christian Cournoyer, from Montreal, also addressed the seminar. Among other points, the socialist worker discussed the antilabor record of the Canadian mining companies that are sinking their roots into New Caledonia’s nickel resources. “Several people have explained to us here that the nickel mining industry is your national patrimony,” he said. “They argued persuasively that this resource must be used as a motor to fight against regional inequalities generated by decades of colonialism.”

### Kanak economic independence

The fight for Kanak ownership of the nickel mines is a key front in the fight for economic independence, said Sylvain Pabouty, a member of the Palika national leadership, in response. The wealth generated by this industry must be transformed into new roads, electricity, hospitals, schools, and proper houses for all, he added.

Palika member Doris Douper described the impact of French colonial rule on the Kanak people, and its broader effect of impeding the development of New Caledonia. Today Kanak fighters face new challenges, she noted, with big multinationals from Canada and elsewhere operating in the country.

MJO president Moie Kamalele Sione stressed the increasing involvement of immigrant workers and others from Wallis and Futuna in actions for independence.

Charles Wea, a prominent figure in the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, the long-standing leadership of the independence fight, pointed to the overbearing role of the imperialist powers in the South Pacific—and not just France. “More and more you feel the weight of the United States,” he said, “while Australia and New Zealand have the primary weight in the affairs of the region.” The Solomon Islands recently changed their currency to the Australian dollar, he noted.

Seminar participants spent some time looking over a table of Pathfinder books and socialist periodicals, and scrutinizing a display illustrating the political work carried out by the communist movement in workers districts and at factory gates, on campuses, and as part of political protests. By the end of the day they had purchased almost 60 revolutionary titles published or distributed by Pathfinder Press.



Militant/Arlene Tate

**Participants at September 7 meeting in Nouméa on fight against imperialism**

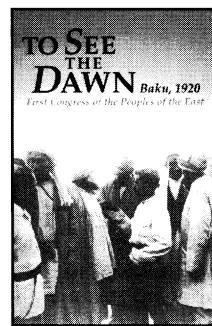
### From Pathfinder

#### To See the Dawn

Baku, 1920  
First Congress  
of the  
Peoples of  
the East

How can peasants and workers in the colonial world achieve freedom from imperialist exploitation? By what means can working people overcome divisions incited by their national ruling classes and act together for their common class interests? These questions were addressed by 2,000 delegates at the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East. \$19.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14; write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690; or visit [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com). Please include \$3 for shipping and handling.





Oct. 12-20 target week will feature special regional sales teams

BY JACK WILLEY Supporters of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial around the United States are organizing special regional sales teams and full-day efforts during the October 12-20 target week to sell subscriptions to the socialist press as well as copies of New International magazine and Capitalism's World Disorder. This special one-week extra effort is needed to bridge the gap between the current sales results for the Militant and the targets we need to hit each week to bring home a successful drive.

The sales of Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions and of the featured books demonstrate the response that campaigners for the revolutionary literature have already received. In several areas they have raised or plan to raise their goals to the Spanish-language socialist magazine and to the books because they have leaped beyond the original goals. We are ahead by 16 percent on the book sales.

On the opening weekend of the target week, the Socialist Workers campaign in Florida is heading from Miami up to Immokalee, a town where many farm workers live. They will also sell in Homestead, where workers have held actions demanding access to drivers licenses for immigrants. The campaign will return to both places the following weekend to follow up with individuals who buy copies of the paper and to introduce more workers to the socialist press.

Team to Lackawanna

Supporters of Martin Koppel's campaign for governor of New York are going to Lackawanna, near Buffalo. The FBI arrested six young men there last month, accusing them of providing "material support" to al-Qaeda. The campaign, which demands the immediate release of the six, will introduce communist literature to workers and students who are outraged by the arrests and the trampling on constitu-

tional rights.

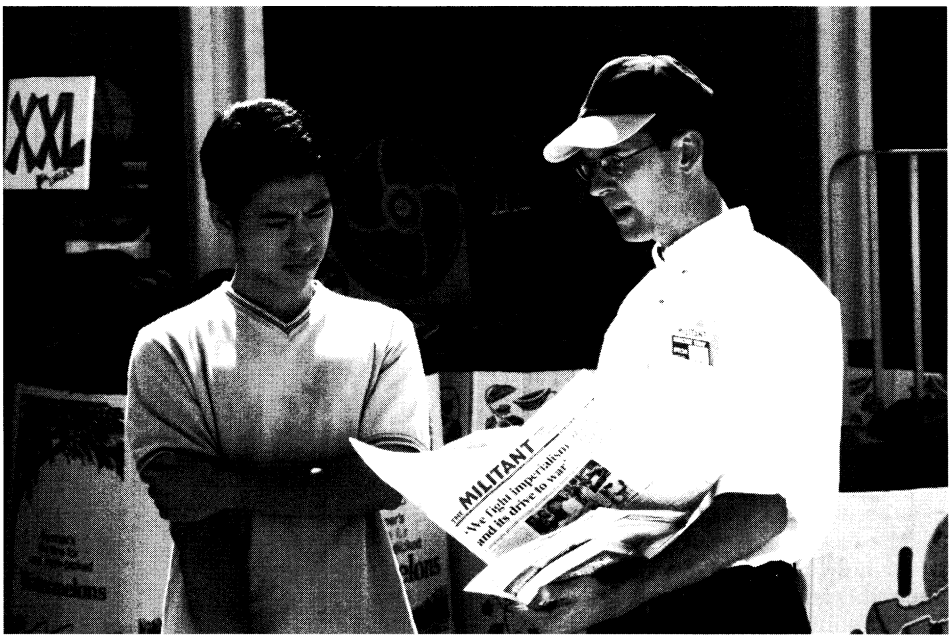
The Lackawanna trip will expand on the campaigning by socialist candidates and their supporters who have carried out weekly soapboxing in New York City. During the annual New York Is Book Country street fair on September 29, participants picked up some \$1,300 in books as well as six Militant subscriptions and nine Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions between the Pathfinder Bookstore stall at the event and a soapboxing campaign table near the event. Fourteen people also purchased October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba and 10 copies of the fall campaign books.

Presenting a communist view

At an October 6 action opposing the U.S. rulers' preparations for war against the peoples of the Mideast, another six people bought subscriptions to the Militant and more than \$200 in books by revolutionary leaders. All 71 copies of the paper that socialists brought to the rally were sold.

During an action in Seattle the same day, David Ferguson, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, and his supporters set up a large campaign table featuring Pathfinder books and got out some \$160 in literature. Three people bought Militant subscriptions and 37 purchased single copies to check it out.

As Washington ratchets up the war propaganda, thousands of young workers and students will be repelled



Mike Fitzsimmons (right), Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Ohio's 9th district, campaigns with the Militant in Cleveland. Supporters of the socialist newspaper are gearing up for October 12-20 target week to get back on pace for circulation drive.

by imperialism's war to gain control of the oil resources and territory in the Middle East. The weekly coverage in the Militant on the facts of the military buildup, and the explanation of its place in imperialism's broader drive toward a series of wars in the Mideast and Far East to redi- vide the natural resources of the region, will attract a number of youth to the socialist press.

Distributors report an up-tick in the number of actions and campus events on the Palestinian resistance and opposing the Israeli regime's unrelenting assault on the Palestinian people.

Dreke, Morales to speak on 'Cuba and Africa'

Continued from front page received notice that their visas had been granted, will begin their speaking engagements in the Washington, D.C.-Baltimore area the week of October 21. Meetings are planned in Baltimore at the University of Maryland—Baltimore County and at the College of Notre Dame.

In Washington, D.C. they will speak on October 23 at American University and on October 25 at Howard University, at a meeting hosted by a number of student groups and academic departments including the Howard University Student Association, NAACP, Amnesty International, and the political science department.

They have also been invited to speak at campus meetings in Atlanta; Charlotte, North Carolina; and Birmingham, Alabama, among other cities.

The series of speaking engagements is being hosted by the Africa-Cuba Speakers Committee headed by Professor Piero Gleijeses of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and author of the recently published book Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa 1959-1976.

Dreke, currently vice president of the Cuba-Africa

Friendship Association, has for the past decade led work to construct housing, schools, roads, and other development projects in Africa. As a teenager he joined the popular struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. After the 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution Dreke held numerous responsibilities in the revolutionary armed forces and in the political leadership of the battle to transform Cuban society, including the uprooting of institutional racial discrimination inherited from the past.

Dreke was one of the commanders of the fight against the CIA-backed counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains of central Cuba in the early 1960s. In 1965, he served as second in command under Ernesto Che Guevara in the Congo, where more than 100 Cuban volunteers fought alongside fighters for national liberation who were followers of Patrice Lumumba, the assassinated independence leader. This experience laid the basis for Cuban internationalists to aid other liberation struggles in Africa, including the successful defense of Angola from invasions by South Africa's apartheid regime.

Dreke returned to Africa in 1966-1968 to head Cuba's military mission in Guinea-Bissau, then waging a struggle for independence from Portugal; there he fought alongside Amilcar Cabral. He also headed Cuba's mission in the Republic of Guinea, and returned to Guinea-Bissau in 1986-89.

Victor Dreke tells the story of some of these experiences in his book From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution, published by Pathfinder.

Ana Morales, a doctor and a professor at the Latin American School of Medicine in Havana, headed the Cuban medical mission in Guinea-Bissau in 1985. She helped found the first medical school in Guinea-Bissau, donated by Cuba. She returned to the Republic of Guinea and Guinea-Bissau in 1995-1997 to direct medical facilities in both countries. She will be speaking on "Cuba's Medical Missions in Africa, 1963 to Today."

In February Dreke and Morales carried out a speaking tour in Santa Clara, Trinidad, and other cities and towns of central Cuba, addressing audiences of workers, farmers, and young people on the history of Cuba's revolutionary struggles and their lessons for the new generations in that country. Earlier, Dreke spoke at the Havana International Book Fair on the same topic. These events were covered in the Militant in the February 25, March 25, and April 29 issues.

For more information or to send a contribution to help defray travel expenses, contact the Africa-Cuba Speakers Committee; c/o Howard University NAACP, 2400 6th St. NW, Suite 118, Washington, D.C. 20059.

AMIEU-Australasian Meat Industry Employee's Union; MWU-Meat Workers Union; NDU-National Distribution Union; UFCW-United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA-United Mine Workers of America; UNITE-Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive Sept. 7-Nov. 17: Week 4

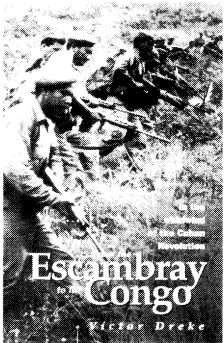
Country	Militant			PM			Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold		Goal	Sold
Australia	28	3	11%	6	0		15	0
Canada								
Vancouver	30	14	47%	5	2		15	5
Montreal	15	6	40%	10	2		20	11
Toronto	30	9	30%	5	1		25	2
Canada total	75	29	39%	20	5		60	18
Iceland	9	9	100%	1	1		25	4
New Zealand								
Auckland	20	11	55%	1	0		7	6
Christchurch	12	5	42%	1	0		7	6
N.Z. total	32	16	50%	2	0		14	12
Sweden								
Stockholm	12	8	67%	3	2		5	6
Gothenburg	15	7	47%	3	2		10	4
Sweden Total	27	15	56%	6	4		15	10
United Kingdom								
London	45	16	36%	15	6		60	49
Dundee	10	0	0%	0	0		8	4
UK total	55	16	29%	15	6		68	53
United States								
Washington	30	25	83%	12	10		25	15
Tucson	5	4	80%	1	3		5	0
Seattle	40	23	58%	12	5		30	8
San Francisco	30	17	57%	20	17		20	20
Western Colorado	30	17	57%	10	5		12	8
Atlanta	35	18	51%	15	2		25	7
Brownsville	8	4	50%	2	2		6	0
Houston	35	17	49%	15	3		30	19
Des Moines	25	11	44%	12	7		12	12
Detroit	43	19	44%	12	6		25	12
Birmingham	22	9	41%	10	4		12	3
Upper Manhattan	75	28	37%	45	16		50	19
Cleveland	28	10	36%	7	6		15	2
Omaha*	20	7	35%	23	12		12	16
Philadelphia	25	8	32%	10	2		15	4
NY Garment Dist.	80	24	30%	45	18		70	14
Chicago	45	12	27%	30	21		25	15
Los Angeles	45	12	27%	30	8		30	1
NE Pennsylvania	30	8	27%	7	1		15	5
Twin Cities	55	14	25%	30	28		25	11
Miami	30	7	23%	10	2		25	7
Pittsburgh	40	9	23%	4	0		15	3
Newark	65	13	20%	40	19		35	9
Charlotte	20	3	15%	8	2		20	5
Tampa	25	3	12%	8	1		12	1
Boston	28	3	11%	20	5		45	23
U.S. total	914	325	36%	438	205		611	239
Int'l totals	1140	413	38%	488	221		808	336
Goal/Should be	1100	440	40%	500	200		725	290
IN THE UNIONS								

	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Australia							
AMIEU	4	1	25%			2	0
Canada							
UFCW	9	0	0%	1	0	8	0
UNITE	6	1	17%	7	2	7	1
Total	15	1	7%	8	2	15	1
New Zealand							
MWU	3	1	33%			1	0
NDU	2	0	0%			1	0
Total	5	1	20%			2	0
United States							
UFCW	50	13	26%	65	30	60	13
UMWA	25	0	0%	4	0	13	0
UNITE	50	6	12%	40	9	60	14
Total	125	19	15%	109	39	133	27
raised goal*							

FROM Pathfinder

From the Escambray to the Congo

IN THE WHIRLWIND OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by VÍCTOR DREKE



In his account of how easy it became after the 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution to "take down the rope" that for decades had segregated blacks from whites at dances in town squares, yet how enormous was the battle to transform the social relations underlying this and all the other "ropes" inherited from colonialism, capitalism, and Yankee domination, Victor Dreke captures the historical challenge of our epoch.

At the heart of this book lies the willingness, determination, and creative joy with which Cuba's working people have, for more than forty years, defended their revolutionary course against the imperialist bastion to the north.

In English and Spanish, \$17.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14; write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690, or visit www.pathfinderpress.com. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling.

# Pathfinder titles a draw at Sweden book fair

BY DAG TIRSÉN  
AND ANDREAS BERGERHEIM

GOTHENBURG, Sweden—"I like the fact that these books don't show things as simply history, but as part of today," said a student who stopped by the Pathfinder booth at the September 19-22 Gothenburg Book Fair. The annual book festival is the largest such event in Scandinavia. This year it attracted a record 108,000 visitors in a city of half a million inhabitants. Pathfinder volunteers set up a stall for the 11th year in a row.

This year the fair took place in the midst of an escalating imperialist war drive in the Middle East and just a few days after elections in which, among other results, ultraright parties had made substantial gains in local polling.

The Pathfinder booth, which carried a range of titles on communist politics, was at most times crowded with visitors, mostly youth. Often four or five discussions with the volunteer staffers would take place at the same time, with others sometimes looking over shoulders to see the books that attracted such interest.

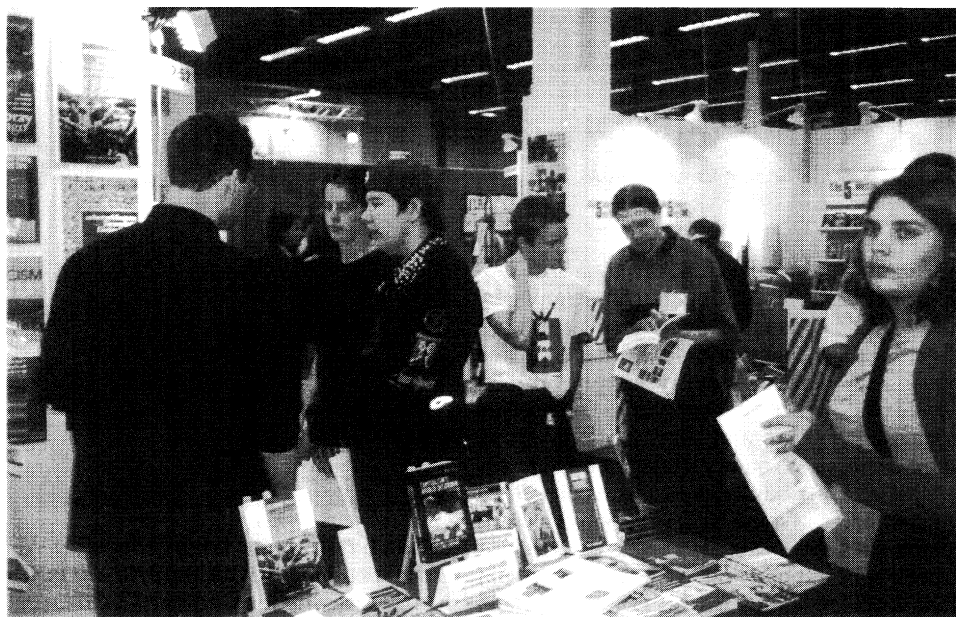
The booth was staffed by an international team of volunteers from Gothenburg, Reykjavik, Stockholm, New York, and Dundee, Scotland.

The books that explained the roots of the imperialist war drive in the Mideast and the accelerating world depression drew many people to the booth. Titles addressing these issues were prominently displayed, ranging from the Swedish translation of "The Opening Guns of Guns of World War III: Washington's assault on Iraq" contained in *Ny International* no. 1 to *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Díez Acosta and *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* by Jack Barnes. Visitors purchased eight copies of the first title and two of the second.

Some commented on the stance of the Swedish rulers toward the imperialist war moves in the Middle East. Prime Minister Göran Persson had said in a recent interview that the Swedish government would probably support the war against Iraq whether or not it had the blessing of the UN Security Council.

Many visitors were Pathfinder loyalists from earlier book fairs who have come back year after year to discuss the international class struggle and check out the revolutionary publisher's new titles.

"Every year I come to your stand to buy a book," said one browser, Masoud, as he bought a copy of *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*. "I wish you had a Pathfinder bookstore here in Gothenburg, not just in Stockholm," he added.



Militant/Catharina Tirsén

Visitors and staffers at Pathfinder booth in book fair in Gothenburg, Sweden.

This classic pamphlet by Leon Trotsky had proved timely and popular during an election event held in the Gothenburg city library the week before, at which parties running in the local elections in Gothenburg had set up information tables.

The ultrarightist National Democrats was one group that responded to the invitation and arrived with a table. Hundreds of youths turned out to give the racist outfit a piece of their mind. Many of them said they were pleased to see the Communist League table nearby.

Some people came back day after day during the 10-day exhibition at the library and became more familiar with Pathfinder books and the Communist League campaign.

## Pamphlet on fascism popular

When *Fascism: What It Is and How to*

*Fight It* sold out at the library display, campaign activists encouraged disappointed customers to come to the book fair where more copies would be available.

The Palestinian struggle for their homeland and the accelerating U.S. war drive in the Middle East also sparked political discussions and interest in the books.

Several visitors, including a couple of members of the Young Muslims, said that they had taken part in demonstrations in support of the Palestinians' fight.

Noam Chomsky, who had been declared the featured guest by the book fair organizers, drew some 3,700 people to a seminar during the four-day event at which he spoke. Following the seminar a flow of visitors came to the Pathfinder booth, eager to discuss their response to Chomsky's presentation. The staffers contrasted Chomsky's an-

archist politics—including his opposition to the Cuban Revolution—to a communist perspective that points to workers and farmers taking political power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

The best-selling title at the booth was a Swedish translation of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, with 11 copies, followed by "The Opening Guns of World War III" with eight. Pathfinder's books of speeches by Malcolm X were also popular.

Books explaining the roots of women's oppression were well received by the many young women who visited the booth. Twelve such titles were sold, most of them books by Evelyn Reed, including the Swedish and English editions of *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*.

Books and pamphlets to a total value of \$850 were sold at the booth. In addition, 12 people purchased subscriptions to the *Militant* and one bought a *Perspectiva Mundial* sub; two more subscriptions were picked up at house calls during the week after the book fair.

The team staffing the booth also set up two book tables at the University of Gothenburg, where the stance of the Communist League campaign against Swedish imperialism—including its preparations to participate in the U.S.-led war drive in the Middle East—attracted interest among students. The team also visited the working-class districts of Angered and Hjällbo; from both areas, visitors later came to the booth at the fair. The team also did plant-gate sales at the SKF industrial plant and the Volvo vehicle factory in the city, as a result of which three workers purchased the *Militant*.

Dag Tirsén is a member of the Industrial Workers Union. Andreas Bergerheim is a member of the Food Workers Union.

# Fund campaigners organize to step up collections

BY MAGGIE TROWE

The most recent addition to the international Pathfinder Fund comes from France, where supporters of Pathfinder have taken a goal of US\$350.

Fund-raising meetings are now taking place across the United States, giving fund campaigners a good focus for stepping up the pace of collecting pledges for the fund. This is necessary, because the fund stands at 27 percent of the \$105,000 goal but should be at 45 percent.

Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Washington, is speaking in

Atlanta October 12. Paul Pederson, the Socialist Workers congressional candidate in Brooklyn, who took part in a recent solidarity trip to Puerto Rico, is speaking in Northeast Pennsylvania October 19.

Argiris Malapanis, who was part of the trip by communists from the United States and Canada to Venezuela last summer to discuss the fight against imperialism with workers and fighters in that country, will be the featured speaker at the Pathfinder Fund meeting in Houston on October 26.

All of these meetings will feature Pathfinder's newest book, *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Díez Acosta.

Pathfinder sales representatives have been visiting buyers at bookstores and libraries in a national effort to sell the new book. Special programs at universities and in the media commemorating the 40th anniversary of the "missile" crisis will pique the interest of many people to read this clear factual account drawing on U.S., Cuban, and Soviet sources that records the course of events when the Kennedy administration prepared an invasion of Cuba, and how the massive response by Cuban workers and farmers defending their sovereignty and revolution was the decisive factor in standing down imperialism.

## New books

The Pathfinder Fund allows contributions to go right into financing the production of several books that will be released this fall. These include *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon in Cuba's Revolutionary War*, which features an interview with Puebla, who fought in Cuba's revolutionary war and is a general in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba; and *The Assault on Moncada* by Mario Mercia.

Young socialists attending the 13th congress of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), to be held in Guadalajara, Mexico, from November 29 to December 2 will

take along an array of Pathfinder titles to sell to congress participants. The congress coincides with the Guadalajara Book Fair, the largest book fair in Latin America, where Pathfinder will have a booth.

Contributions to the Pathfinder Fund can be sent to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, with checks made out to Pathfinder.

# French troops stay in Ivory Coast

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Some 1,000 French troops remain deployed in Ivory Coast. In late September, Paris and Washington sent hundreds of troops into this West African country under the guise of evacuating French and U.S. citizens.

The French government, the former colonial power in the Ivory Coast, now says its soldiers are staying there to help protect the government of President Laurent Gbagbo from rebel forces. The imperialist troops, allegedly providing "logistical support," are stationed alongside pro-government forces north of the capital city, Yamoussoukro.

Washington had invaded the capital of

Ivory Coast on September 25 with more than 200 U.S. troops, mostly Special Forces. Those forces are now "on standby" in neighboring Ghana.

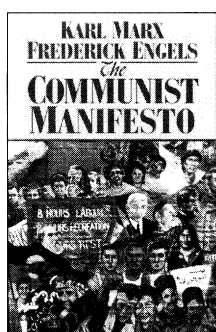
Since a failed coup attempt on September 19 antigovernment soldiers have gained control of much of the northern region of the country. After a brief pause, fighting resumed October 6 as government forces initiated a military offensive against rebel-controlled towns.

The government has been systematically burning down shantytowns in the major coastal city of Abidjan where immigrant workers, mainly from Burkina Faso, live. Three of the 5 million immigrant workers in Ivory Coast are Burkinabé. Government and paramilitary forces have been waging attacks on immigrants and the Muslim population in the north.

French imperialism, both during and since the end of direct colonial rule, has sought to foster religious and social divisions in Ivory Coast—between Christians and Muslims, and between those born in the country and immigrants from Burkina Faso—to maintain its economic dominance. Ivory Coast buys 26 percent of its imports from France and sells France 15 percent of all exports. The debt to imperialist banks held by the Ivorian government is \$13.9 billion.

The world's largest producer of cocoa beans, Ivory Coast has the second largest economy in the region behind Nigeria. U.S. and other imperialist investors have been eyeing potentially large oil and gas reserves off the country's coast.

## The Communist Manifesto



Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Explains why communism is derived not from preconceived principles but from facts and

proletarian movements springing from the actual class struggle. \$3.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14.

## \$105,000 Pathfinder Fund Sept. 1—Nov. 17. Week 5

	Goal	Paid	%
<b>Tucson AZ</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>67%</b>
<b>Charlotte NC</b>	<b>3,500</b>	<b>1,800</b>	<b>51%</b>
<b>NY Garment District</b>	<b>6,000</b>	<b>2,950</b>	<b>49%</b>
<b>Western CO</b>	<b>2,600</b>	<b>1,225</b>	<b>47%</b>
<b>Newark NJ</b>	<b>3,600</b>	<b>1,612</b>	<b>45%</b>
San Francisco CA	8,500	3,690	43%
Northeast PA	1,200	455	38%
Seattle WA	7,500	2,790	37%
Philadelphia PA	5,000	1,672	33%
Birmingham AL	3,100	975	31%
Des Moines IA	1,200	315	26%
Pittsburgh PA	4,200	1,000	24%
Los Angeles CA	9,500	1,920	20%
Boston MA	3,500	690	20%
Omaha NE	900	165	18%
NY Upper Manhattan	3,600	617	17%
Cleveland OH	1,700	290	17%
Detroit MI	3,000	485	16%
Tampa FL	2,000	320	16%
Twin Cities MN	5,000	710	14%
Chicago IL	5,500	750	14%
Houston TX	4,500	600	13%
Washington DC	3,000	350	12%
Atlanta GA	4,250	410	10%
Miami FL	2,100	120	6%
Other		1,889	
<b>U.S. total</b>	<b>95,100</b>	<b>27,900</b>	<b>29%</b>
New Zealand	1,500	460	31%
Sweden	1,400	100	7%
France	350	20	6%
Australia	1,300	0	0%
Canada	4,500	0	0%
Iceland	150	0	0%
United Kingdom	1,200	0	0%
<b>International total</b>	<b>105,500</b>	<b>28,480</b>	<b>27%</b>
<b>Int'l goal/should be</b>	<b>105,000</b>	<b>47,250</b>	<b>45%</b>



# Canadian rulers join in imperialism's war drive in Mideast

BY ROSEMARY RAY

TORONTO—Defense Minister John McCallum stated October 1 that the Canadian government is prepared to join a U.S.-led military force in the Mideast. The government in Ottawa, which has previously deployed troops to Afghanistan, already has several warships and planes in the Arabian Sea.

The Liberal Party government is carrying out this drive to war under the cover of demanding that the government of Iraq accept UN "weapons inspectors" and then, if Baghdad doesn't meet all their demands, assaulting that country under UN sponsorship.

Minister of Foreign Affairs William Graham made a point of meeting with Iraq's foreign minister September 17 in New York and warning him that unless his government admitted inspectors, "your time is up."

McCallum said his government favors a diplomatic settlement but that "it is clear that diplomatic efforts can fail to yield results and military action becomes necessary."

He warned, "Let no one think Canada will hesitate to provide military support.... Canada is sometimes known as a peaceable kingdom but never as a pacifist kingdom."

Canada's imperialist ruling class has long portrayed itself as "peaceable" and reluctant to use military force. It fact, it has joined or supported every imperialist military action around the globe since World War II, including the deployment of ships, fighter jets, and an infantry unit in the 1990-91 Gulf War.

A week earlier, Prime Minister Jean Chretien gave an interview on CBC television where, in an anti-U.S. posture, he attempted to pose Ottawa's foreign policy as more humane than that of its rival in Washington. "The perceived greed of the Western world helped plant the seeds" for the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, he said. Chretien called on "Western leaders to address the growing gap between rich and poor."

Stephen Harper, leader of the right-wing Canadian Alliance, the official parliamentary opposition party, condemned Chretien's comments as "bashing the United States and engaging in damaging anti-American rhetoric." Harper has called on the government to support a U.S.-led assault on Iraq regardless of official UN backing. Industry Min-

ister Allan Rock replied by stating that critics of the prime minister were "unthinking defenders of the 'ready, aye ready' school of thought about Canada's role toward the United States."

## Canadian warships in Arabian Sea

While until now the Canadian government had officially posed as undecided in its approach toward Iraq, the Canadian military already has two frigates, one destroyer and two patrol aircraft in the Arabian Sea. They are part of enforcing the imperialist embargo on Iraq and supporting the operations of U.S. aircraft carriers in the region.

The fact that Canada is a weaker imperialist power with limited military weight has fueled debate in the ruling class here on just how the Canadian government can defend its economic interests around the world and not get edged out even more by its imperialist competitors, especially the United States.

Some columnists in the capitalist media have argued that Ottawa's military strength is "negligible" and that, rather than increasing its military capacity it should take a "soft power" approach by joining efforts in an imperialist-occupied Iraq in "nation building, the development of civic society, economic progress, democracy, the rule of law."

Others, like Vice-Admiral Ron Buck, commander of Canada's navy, are waging a public campaign for increased military spending by Ottawa. Buck has called for improving Canada's naval capacities to be able to "deploy a self-sufficient group of vessels almost anywhere around the world, without having to rely on foreign allies." Such an approach, Buck says, would offer the government "a wide variety of options when it comes to foreign missions."

In an October 30 column titled "Shaping the World the Canadian Way," the editors of Canada's national newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*, advised the Canadian government to take a more rounded approach. Boosting military spending is important because "a stronger Canadian military makes sense for more than just peacekeeping," they concluded. And "military might and good works are not mutually exclusive. Whatever the merits of a particular conflict, war must be followed by relief efforts and reconstruction." The message: let's not get iced out of the booty.

## N.Y. transit workers rally to defend health-care benefits

BY DAN FEIN

BROOKLYN, New York—More than 1,000 transit workers, members of Transport Workers Union Local 100, rallied here September 25 outside the Metropolitan Transit Authority's Livingston Street headquarters to demand an improved contract.

The union contract, which covers 34,000 working members and 20,000 retirees, expires December 15. It covers bus drivers, subway operators and conductors, station agents, signal maintainers, cleaners, skilled trades persons and others. The first bargaining session was held five days before the rally.

The transit workers are fighting around three issues: health-care benefits, wage increases, and dignity on the job. The union-administered Health Benefit Fund is \$30 million in the hole due to lack of payments by the MTA, a state agency.

Underfunding by the MTA has resulted in increased out-of-pocket costs for the workers. On April 24 more than 5,000 transit workers rallied outside MTA headquarters in Manhattan to defend their health-care benefits.

Some 1,500 TWU Local 100 members who are covered by a different contract conducted a successful seven-week strike last spring over health care coverage. They are bus drivers and mechanics for three private bus lines that operate in Queens.

New York city and state officials and capitalist politicians have raised the prospect of increasing the subway and bus fares, supposedly as a way to help meet expenses toward the Health Benefit Fund. The TWU is part of the "Save the Fare" coalition, which opposes any fare increase.

Local 100 is demanding that wages be brought up to the rates paid by Metro North and the Long Island Railroad, the main commuter rail lines in the area. Subway operators, for example, earn \$6 an hour less than their counterparts at Metro North and the LIRR.

At a news conference before the first negotiations session, Local 100 president Roger Toussaint described the "plantation mentality" of supervisors on the job, where workers are subject to numerous disciplinary measures and abusive treatment.

Mervin Gray, a mechanic at the Jackie Gleason MTA facility, said in an interview, "Health benefits, decent wages, retirement and life time benefits are most important to me. The union needs to do some more work in the organization of its members and getting larger numbers to participate in this fight."

Following the September 25 rally, Isaac Krinsky, a train conductor, said, "It was an excellent turnout and sent a strong message to the MTA. We are stronger now, more unified than before."

## On 20th anniversary of Sabra and Shatila massacre, protesters oppose Israeli occupation



Militant/Alexandre Geoffroy

Several thousand people demonstrated in Ottawa, Canada, September 28 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the massacres of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon in September 1982. While the two refugee camps, home to 30,000 people, were surrounded by Israeli tanks, ultrarightist paramilitary forces entered the camps and murdered more than 2,000 civilians. The actions of the Israeli forces were overseen by Ariel Sharon, then Israel's minister of defense. Protesters at the Ottawa rally called for an end to Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and demanded that the Canadian government cut all its ties to Israel. Participants came from Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and other cities. Pictured above are protesters carrying coffins of those killed in the struggle against Israeli aggression.

## North American Command was set up under Clinton

Reprinted below is a front-page article that appeared in the Jan. 31, 2000, issue of the *Militant*. The socialist newsweekly was one of the few newspapers at the time that reported the establishment under the Clinton White House of a "homeland defense command." On October 1 of this year, the U.S. Northern Command officially began operations at the Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado.

BY GREG McCARTAN

The Clinton administration has begun to set up a military command for inside the United States. Operations for the Joint Task Force Civil Support have been established in the Joint Forces Command, which supervises more than half of the U.S. military.

Brig. Gen. Bruce Lawlor is in charge of the unit. He is third in the chain of command from the president. According to reports in the big business media, Lawlor was chosen to appease civil rights concerns posed by giving the military the formal go-ahead for domestic operations, which would include secret police and other branches of the armed forces. "He can talk to civilians," said John Hamre, deputy secretary of defense.

U.S. defense secretary William Cohen said that openly using a name such as the "homeland defense command" and formally appointing a commander in chief for operations inside the United States may have been "premature." But, he added, "Who are you going to turn to when there is a catastrophic event?"

A *New York Times* article entitled, "Military Terrorism Operation Has a Civilian Focus," said that the military operations "would bring order to the expected chaos and panic that would follow a terrorist attack."

Clinton also proposed an additional \$280 million on computer security to fight "cyberterrorism," according to the *Wall Street Journal*. The "education president" said most of the funds would go for college scholarships for students who agree to work for the government as computer security specialists.

The head of the National Security Council's counterterrorism unit, Richard Clarke, said the additional funds are needed because several unnamed "foreign governments are believed to have developed 'offensive information warfare units,'" the *Journal* reported.

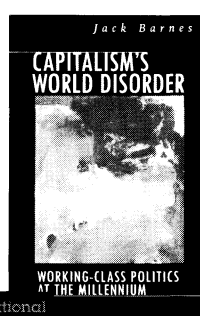
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# 'U.S. has no right to demand inspections'

## How revolutionary Cuba responded to U.S. war threats in October 1962

In October 1962, in what is widely known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, Washington pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war. The events brought to a head the drive by the U.S. rulers to launch a direct invasion of Cuba and overthrow the revolutionary government there.

Released on the 40th anniversary of these events, the Pathfinder book *October 1962: The "Missile" Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Cuban author Tomás Diez Acosta, tells the story of what really happened.

The *Militant* has been printing excerpts from the new book. The one below is from the transcript of a meeting between Fidel Castro, Cuba's prime minister, and U Thant, United Nations secretary-general, held in Havana on Oct. 30, 1962. Also participating as part of the Cuban delegation were President Osvaldo Dorticós, Foreign Minister Raúl Roa, and Carlos Lechuga, the newly appointed Cuban representative to the United Nations.

The accompanying box (see below) outlines how, in face of the U.S. government's plans to invade the island, Cuban working people mobilized in their millions to defend their revolution, staying Washington's hand.

Two days before the meeting recorded below, the Cuban leadership learned from a Radio Moscow broadcast of a letter sent by Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev to U.S. president John Kennedy ordering the removal of missiles from Cuba that were part of the mutual defense pact between the Cuban and Soviet governments.

The U.S. government demanded that Cuba accept "inspectors" to "verify" the removal of the missiles. U Thant visited Cuba for two days of talks to try to convince the revolutionary leadership to accept a team of UN inspectors on Cuba territory combined with a UN reconnaissance plane that would operate over Cuba's airspace.

As the following exchange shows, Castro explained in no uncertain terms why this proposal was unacceptable. Copyright © 2002 by Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission.

✦

**CASTRO:** There is one point I find confusing—the proposals for inspection. They talk about two points here: about a team, and about a plane. I would like you to elaborate on that—the part that refers to proposals for inspection. Please repeat that.

**U THANT:** Both proposals would involve the United Nations. It would consist of two units: one on the ground and the other from the air, for as long as it takes to dismantle the bases, that is, around two weeks.

**CASTRO:** I don't understand why they ask these things of us. Could you explain a



Above: Granma; left: Bohemia  
Top: (from left) Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro, UN secretary general U Thant, and Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticós during U Thant's visit to Cuba on Oct. 30-31, 1962. Revolutionary leadership rejected U.S. demands for UN 'arms inspections' as violation of Cuba's sovereignty. Left: militia women take part in defense mobilizations by hundreds of thousands throughout the island in face of U.S. war threats.

little better?

**U THANT:** The explanation the United States gives is that it wants to make sure that the launchers are really being dismantled and that the missiles are being returned to the Soviet Union.

**CASTRO:** What right does the United States have to ask this? Is this based on a genuine right, or is it a demand imposed by force, made from a position of force?

**U THANT:** My viewpoint is that this is not a right. Something like this could be undertaken only with the approval and acceptance of the Cuban government.

**CASTRO:** What we do not understand is precisely why this is asked of us. We have not violated any law. Nor have we carried out any aggression against anybody whatsoever. All our actions have been based in international law; we have done absolutely nothing outside the norms of international law. To the contrary, we have been the victims, in the first place, of a blockade, which is an illegal act. And secondly, we have been victims of another country's claim to determine what we have the right to do or not do within our own borders.

It is our understanding that Cuba is a sovereign state, no more and no less than any other member state of the United Nations, and that Cuba has all the attributes inherent to any of those states.

Moreover, the United States has been repeatedly violating our airspace without any right to do so, thereby committing an act of intolerable aggression against our country. It has tried to justify this by referring to an agreement of the OAS [Organization of American States], but so far as we are concerned that agreement has no validity. We were expelled from the OAS, in fact.

We can accept anything that respects our rights, anything that does not imply a reduction in our status as a sovereign state. But the rights that have been violated by the United States have not been restored. And we accept nothing imposed by force.

As I see it, all this talk about inspection is one more attempt to humiliate our country. We do not accept it.

This demand for inspection aims to validate the U.S. presumption that it can violate our right to freely act within our borders, that it can dictate what we can or cannot do within our borders. And our line on this is not only a line for today; it is a view we have always maintained, without exception.

In the revolutionary government's reply to the joint resolution of the U.S. government, we said the following:

"Equally absurd is its threat to launch a

direct armed attack should Cuba strengthen itself militarily to a degree the United States takes the liberty to determine. We have not the slightest intention of rendering accounts or of consulting the illustrious members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives about the weapons we find it advisable to acquire, nor the measures to be taken to fully defend our country.... Do we not have the rights that international norms, laws, and principles recognize for every sovereign state in any part of the world?

"We have not surrendered nor do we intend to surrender any of our sovereign prerogatives to the Congress of the United States."

That view was repeated by the president of the Republic of Cuba at the United Nations, and also in numerous public statements I have made in my capacity as prime minister of the government. This is the firm position of the Cuban government.

All these steps were taken for the sake of the country's security, faced with a systematic policy of hostility and aggression. They have all been taken in accordance with the law, and we have not renounced our decision to defend those rights.

We can negotiate with full sincerity and honesty. We would not be honest if we agreed to negotiate away the sovereign rights of our country. We are willing to pay whatever price is necessary to uphold these rights. And that is not a mere formula, mere

words; it's the deeply felt stance of our people.

**U THANT:** I understand perfectly Your Excellency's feelings. That is why I clearly said to the United States and others: "Any action of the United Nations in Cuban territory can be undertaken only with the consent of the people and government of Cuba." I told them so in the name of peace, which all the world and all the peoples of the world ardently wish for. I told the forty-five countries that I agreed to come to Cuba without having commitments from either side.

Some press reports last night and this morning, before I left on this trip, said I was coming to arrange details of a UN presence in Cuba. That is totally erroneous—that would constitute a violation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba. I have come here solely to present the viewpoints of the other side and to explore the options of finding a peaceful solution.

As well, the forty-five countries that asked me to come know which position is legal and which one is not.

But in the name of world peace—and for a period of only one or two weeks, perhaps three—they have asked me to come and try to find a possible solution.

Your Excellency, my conscience is clear on this issue—the United Nations can undertake an action of this kind only when it has the consent of the government involved. This is not the first time this has happened. In Laos, when a situation arose that threatened international peace, the United Nations went into that country only after obtaining the consent of the government of Laos. In 1956 a situation arose in Egypt, in the United Arab Republic, and the United Nations went into Egypt—and is still in Egypt—always with the consent of the government. Similarly in 1958, another situation that threatened world peace arose in Lebanon, and the United Nations went in there after obtaining

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### Background to 1962 'missile' crisis in Cuba

After Cuban workers and farmers overthrew a U.S.-backed dictatorship and began a deep-going revolution in 1959, Washington took increasingly aggressive actions to try to overthrow the new revolutionary power. In April 1961, Cuba's revolutionary militias and armed forces crushed a U.S.-organized mercenary invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

In the spring and summer of 1962, in face of escalating preparations by Washington for a full-scale invasion of Cuba, the revolutionary government signed a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. In October U.S. president John Kennedy demanded removal of Soviet nuclear missiles installed on the island. Washington imposed a naval blockade of Cuba, stepped up preparations for an armed assault, and placed its armed forces on nuclear alert.

In face of the mobilization of Cuban workers and farmers to defend their national sovereignty and revolutionary gains, the U.S. government backed off its invasion plans. Following an exchange of communications between Washington and Moscow, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, without consulting Cuba, announced his decision to remove the missiles on October 28.

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### October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba

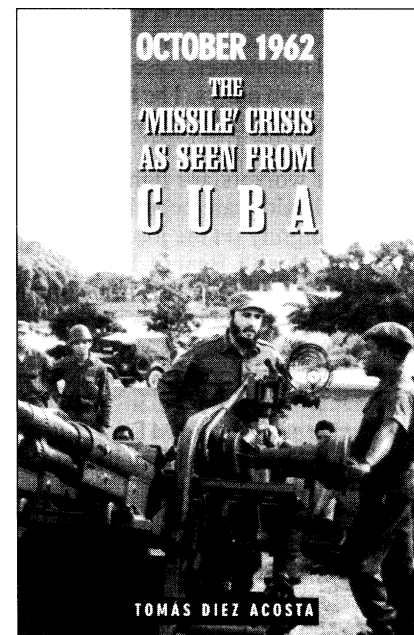
By Tomás Diez Acosta

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Fidel Castro, November 1, 1962

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# Opposing views heard at NY meeting on October 1962 Crisis

BY NAOMI CRAINE

NEWYORK—At a number of campuses across the country, events are taking place this month to mark the 40th anniversary of the so-called Cuban missile crisis. One of these, held October 1 at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center, drew about 200 people.

The featured speaker at the New York event was Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., former advisor to President John F. Kennedy. He and the other panelists put forward the official U.S. government version—presented from a liberal perspective—of the October 1962 events in which Washington brought the world to the brink of nuclear war.

As the speakers portrayed it, Kennedy saved the world from disaster, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was a sensible adversary, and the Cuban people were simply not part of the picture.

Schlesinger, a prominent U.S. historian, was a special assistant to Kennedy in 1962 and was intimately involved in the White House's propaganda efforts at the time. He was joined on the platform by Wayne Smith, who headed the U.S. Interests Section in Havana under the Carter administration.

Also speaking was Nina Khrushcheva, a professor at the New School, and Celestine Bohlen, a former *New York Times* correspondent who chaired the meeting. Publicity for the event had listed Carlos Alzugaray,



deputy director of Cuba's Institute for Higher International Studies, as a speaker, but U.S. officials denied him a visa, according to the event's organizers.

October 1962 was "the most dangerous moment in human history. It was the only time two contending powers had the capac-



Left: Verde Olivo  
Above, U.S. F-14 Tomcat takes off from aircraft carrier *USS Abraham Lincoln* deployed in Arabian Sea to enforce imperialist no-fly zone over Iraq. Left, Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro visits artillery units during October 1962 "missile" crisis. Current demands to deploy UN "weapons inspectors" in Iraq aid Washington's plans for war in the Middle East. In 1962, U.S. Kennedy administration made similar demands on Cuba as it sought a justification to launch a military assault on the island.

ity to blow up the world," Schlesinger began. "We were fortunate to have leaders as concerned as Kennedy and Khrushchev who avoided a nuclear war."

The former Kennedy advisor noted that the events leading up to the "missile" crisis were preceded by the U.S.-organized at-

tempt to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. This mercenary invasion "was a misguided effort inherited from [former president Dwight] Eisenhower," Schlesinger asserted, adding that "Kennedy would never have conceived something like that."

He mentioned Washington's secret campaign of counterrevolutionary terror and destabilization from late 1961 through 1962, code-named Operation Mongoose, as a program of sabotage. In fact, the operation was much broader in scope, including detailed scenarios of pretexts that could lead to a direct U.S. invasion of Cuba.

Schlesinger acknowledged that in signing a mutual defense agreement with the Soviet Union in 1962, the Cuban leadership had argued for making the pact—including the deployment of Soviet missiles on the island—public, in contrast with the Soviet officials' effort to keep it secret.

Schlesinger concluded his presentation by comparing discussions among U.S. officials in October 1962 to the current tactical differences among Democratic and Republican politicians over Washington's war moves in the Middle East. "Everyone agreed that the missiles had to be gotten out" of Cuba, Schlesinger said. While some officials simply wanted to get the Soviet missiles moved, "others campaigned for preemptive war. Fortunately they did not prevail."

The same day as the CUNY forum, Schlesinger appeared as one of the signers of a full-page ad in the *New York Times*, sponsored by the liberal group Common Cause, opposing a Congressional resolution that, it explained, would give U.S. president George Bush "a blank check to make war on Iraq." The ad argued instead that "we must encourage the United Nations to make every effort to carry out effective inspections to ascertain the danger from Iraqi weapons" before launching a full-scale war against Iraq.

Smith and Khrushcheva spoke in the same vein as Schlesinger. "Thank God Khrushchev accepted Kennedy's proposal that the Soviets withdraw the missiles and the U.S. end its naval blockade against Cuba," Smith said.

Khrushcheva cited approvingly a speech by Sen. Edward Kennedy on Iraq the previous week in which he cited President Kennedy's actions in October 1962 as an example of restraint in contrast to those who sought a "preemptive" attack.

## 'About the revolution, not missiles'

During the question period, Schlesinger and Smith both expressed their view that Washington's four-decade-long economic embargo against Cuba does not advance its interests today. Criticizing the Bush administration's Cuba policy, Schlesinger argued, "The embargo protects Castro and enables him to play the nationalist card." It would be better, he stated, to lift the embargo and "drown him with American tourists."

Speaking from the floor, Martin Koppel, who is the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New York, expressed a different view. The October 1962 crisis, he said,

Continued on Page 15

## Castro: 'Anyone who tries to inspect Cuba had better arrive in full combat gear!'

BY PAUL PEDERSON

As Washington and London step up their bombings of Iraqi air defenses, capitalist politicians—from President George Bush to Sen. Edward Kennedy—are using the demand for "United Nations inspections" of weapons sites as part of justifying a full-scale invasion of Iraq.

Washington demands the "right" of teams of armed foreign "inspectors" to go anyplace and anytime throughout the Middle Eastern country. They insist on their "right" to carve out sections of Iraq's territory where Iraqi planes and vehicles cannot go without being bombed. After staging these provocations, the imperialist powers will declare that Iraq did not comply with every one of their demands and then claim the "right" to unleash an invasion aimed at establishing a protectorate. And this aggression will be carried out under the cover of the United Nations.

The demand of "weapons inspections" and the use of the United Nations to justify an imperialist assault is not new.

Forty years ago, in October 1962, U.S. president John F. Kennedy demanded UN "inspections" of Cuba during what is widely known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, which was the culmination of plans by the U.S. rulers to invade that Caribbean nation and crush the socialist revolution there. Cuban working people and their revolutionary government effectively stood down Washington's threats and set a powerful example—one the imperialists cannot forget even today.

The story is told in Pathfinder's new book, *October 1962: The 'Missile Crisis' as Seen from Cuba*, by Cuban author Tomás Díez Acosta. In it, readers will find an accurate record of the U.S. rulers' efforts to undermine and overthrow the Cuban Revolution from its triumph in 1959 through the events of the final months of 1962.

After April 1961, when the revolutionary militias and armed forces of Cuba crushed a U.S.-organized mercenary invasion at Playa Girón, near the Bay of Pigs, the Kennedy administration stepped up its preparations for an invasion using U.S. troops. It launched "Operation Mongoose" and other campaigns of counterrevolutionary terror and sabotage to prepare the ground for such an assault.

In light of this aggression, Cuba signed a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union, including the deployment of Soviet missiles on the island. In October 1962, Kennedy demanded the removal of the missiles, im-

posed a naval blockade—an act of war he called a "quarantine"—and accelerated a course toward invasion.

In face of the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of Cuban workers and farmers in defense of their national sovereignty and revolutionary gains, the Kennedy administration backed off its invasion plans. After an exchange of communications between Washington and Moscow, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, without consulting Cuba, publicly announced his decision to withdraw the missiles.

## 'Imperialists are the aggressors'

In an Oct. 23, 1962, speech reprinted in Díez Acosta's book, Fidel Castro quoted a U.S. Congressional resolution giving the Kennedy administration a green light to use armed force "to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States." Castro stated, "There is nothing more ridiculous than to attribute to us aggressive intentions against the United States. After four years of *them* attacking *us*, it now turns out, according to them, that *we* are the ones with aggressive intentions against these gentlemen."

In the same speech Castro answered Washington's demand that UN "observers" be sent to Cuba to dictate which types of weapons Cuba could and could not have and to "supervise" their removal.

U.S. officials, he said, "ask the United Nations that we disarm ourselves—with the sending of observers, of course." But "we have not the slightest intention of rendering accounts or of consulting with the illustrious members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives about the weapons we find it advisable to acquire, nor the measures to be taken to defend our country...just as we did not consult or request authorization about the type of weapons and the measures we took when we destroyed the invaders at Playa Girón."

A week later, following the Soviet government's announcement that it was withdrawing the missiles, UN secretary-general U Thant was sent by Washington to demand that UN "inspectors" be allowed to "supervise" their removal. In the exchange between Castro and U Thant that is reprinted in *October 1962* and is excerpted on the facing page, the Cuban leader asked pointedly, "What right does the United States have to ask this?" He added, "This demand for in-

spection aims to validate the U.S. presumption that it can violate our right to freely act within our borders." Rejecting the argument that imperialist calls for "inspections" were in the name of peace, Castro pointed out, "Violating the rights of the peoples is not the road to peace; that is precisely the road that leads to war. The road to peace is to guarantee the rights of the peoples, and the willingness of the peoples to resist and defend those rights."

In the Oct. 23, 1962, speech, Castro exposed the role of the United Nations in covering up for imperialist military assaults. He pointed to the example of the Congo, where U.S. and allied troops intervened in 1960-61 to disarm the newly independent government of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, who was arrested and assassinated by pro-imperialist forces.

"Imperialist forces went into the Congo flying the banner of the United Nations," the Cuban revolutionary leader said. "They assassinated the leader of the Congo. They divided it, they muzzled it, and they killed the independent spirit of that nation."

"Cuba is not the Congo. No one can come under that banner or any other banner to inspect our country. We know what we are doing, and we know how we must defend our integrity and our sovereignty."

"Any one who tries to come and inspect Cuba should know that he'd better come in full combat gear! That is our definitive answer to the illusions and to the proposals for carrying out inspections in our territory"

Today, Castro's words remain true. Washington, an aggressor power that is armed to the teeth with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, has no right to tell Iraq or any other country what weapons it can or cannot have. The demand for "UN inspectors" is an outright violation of Iraq's sovereign rights. It is a road not to "peace" but to imperialist war.

It's also worth noting that revolutionary Cuba is not Iraq. While the Iraqi people today are the target of a brutal imperialist assault, working people in Cuba have a powerful advantage—they have made a revolution, taken governmental power, and overthrown capitalist rule. As in 1962, Cuban workers and farmers are organized to defend the deep-going political and social rights they have won through their revolution, and they are able to take the moral high ground in face of U.S. threats and aggression.

# 'U.S. has no right to demand inspections'

Continued from Page 8

the consent of the government of Lebanon.<sup>1</sup>

One condition is absolutely necessary in order to undertake this kind of action: the consent of the government involved....

**CASTRO:** In the case of the Congo...

**U THANT:** There was also the case of Somalia.<sup>2</sup>

**CASTRO:** In the case of the Congo, my understanding is that they requested the United Nations come in.<sup>3</sup>

**U THANT:** In the Congo the request was made by the government of the Congo.

**CASTRO:** In the Congo, the government that made that request is now dead and buried!

Our government has not the slightest doubt that the present secretary-general of the United Nations is acting with good intentions, impartiality, and honesty. We have no doubt about your intentions, your good faith, and your extraordinary interest in finding a solution to the problem. We all have a high regard for your mission and for you personally. I say this with all sincerity.

I understand that we must all take an interest in peace. But sacrificing the rights of the peoples, violating the rights of the peoples, is not the road to peace; that is precisely the road that leads to war. The road to peace is to guarantee the rights of the peoples, and the willingness of the peoples to resist and defend those rights.

In all the cases cited by Mr. Secretary—Laos, Egypt, Lebanon, the Congo, which I mentioned—in all those cases, what has been seen is nothing but a chain of aggressions against the rights of the peoples. It all has been caused by the same thing.

The road to the last world war was the road that included toleration of German imperialism's annexation of Austria and its dissolution of Czechoslovakia—that is what led to war. These dangers are a warning to us. We know the course that aggressors like to follow. In our own case, we can foresee the course that the United States wants to follow.

That is why it is really difficult to understand how one can speak about immediate solutions without speaking of future solutions. What interests us most is not paying whatever price to achieve peace today. Rather, we are interested in definitive guarantees of peace. What interests us is not having to pay every day the price of an ephemeral peace.

Of course Cuba is not Austria, or Czechoslovakia, or the Congo. We have the firmest intention to defend our rights and surmount all the difficulties, all the risks. In order for your mission to be successful, Mr. Secretary-General, you must be aware of our determination, so that you can work fully informed of these circumstances.

**U THANT:** I am fully aware of the sentiments and the points of view that Your Excellency has expressed.

Concerning the point of immediate and long-term solutions, I wish to say that the Security Council has authorized me to look for the means by which peace can be obtained for this region.

I understand that immediate and long-term solutions are closely linked; and we must explore the possibilities for long-term solutions in light of the situation as it is now. That is what the Security Council has authorized me to do. In practice it is very difficult to separate these things.

I believe that if we can find an immediate solution, doing so would lead us toward a permanent solution, not only for the United Nations but for all interested parties.

In citing Laos and the other cases where the United Nations has gone in, I agree with you, but I also wish to say that in those places the United Nations has been able to avoid or prevent outside aggression.

Please consider this: the presence of the United Nations in Cuba for a period of three weeks, perhaps more, would also be able to eliminate or make more remote the danger of aggression.

I am of the opinion that now and in the coming period, the presence of the United Nations in some countries will especially serve to push back and prevent aggression.

**DORTICÓS:** I would like to say something. I share the view expressed by our prime minister concerning our full appreciation for the mission that Mr. Secretary-General is undertaking with great nobility. That mission, of course, is none other than seeking ways to guarantee peace in this crisis situation.

It seems there is a question to be answered: Wherein lies the danger of war? Is it perhaps in the weapons of one kind or another that Cuba possesses, or is it in the aggressive intentions of the United States against Cuba?

We believe it is aggression that can lead to war. The weapons that exist in Cuba, no matter what they may be, will never initiate aggression. Therefore we ask ourselves this question: Why is inspection and our agreement to inspection a requirement to guarantee peace? In order to guarantee peace, it would be enough for the United States to pledge, with all necessary assurances through



the United Nations, not to attack Cuba....

**U THANT:** In the first place I wish to thank Your Excellencies, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, for your words regarding me personally and the position I occupy. I fully agree with both of you that the solution we find for short-term agreements must also include negotiations for long-term agreements. But in terms of the United Nations, I believe that the best solution—and I think that the 110 member nations will agree on this—is that through the Security Council UN representatives should be provided to set about looking for and finding a long-term solution. But for now, at this moment, I do not think that the United Nations, its Security Council, can reach a positive and acceptable long-term solution that is in the best interests of the whole world and of world peace. If a long-term solution is found, that will be in the best interests of the whole world and of world peace, but I believe it is difficult to achieve that in the United Nations at this time.

**CASTRO:** As I see it, if the short-term solution that Mr. Secretary talks about is not achieved, it will simply be because the United States does not want it, because the U.S. persists in demanding inspection as an act of humiliation against Cuba. To achieve the unilateral security that the U.S. requires, it ought to have been enough for them that the Soviet government decided to withdraw the strategic weapons that it had brought here for the defense of the Republic of Cuba.

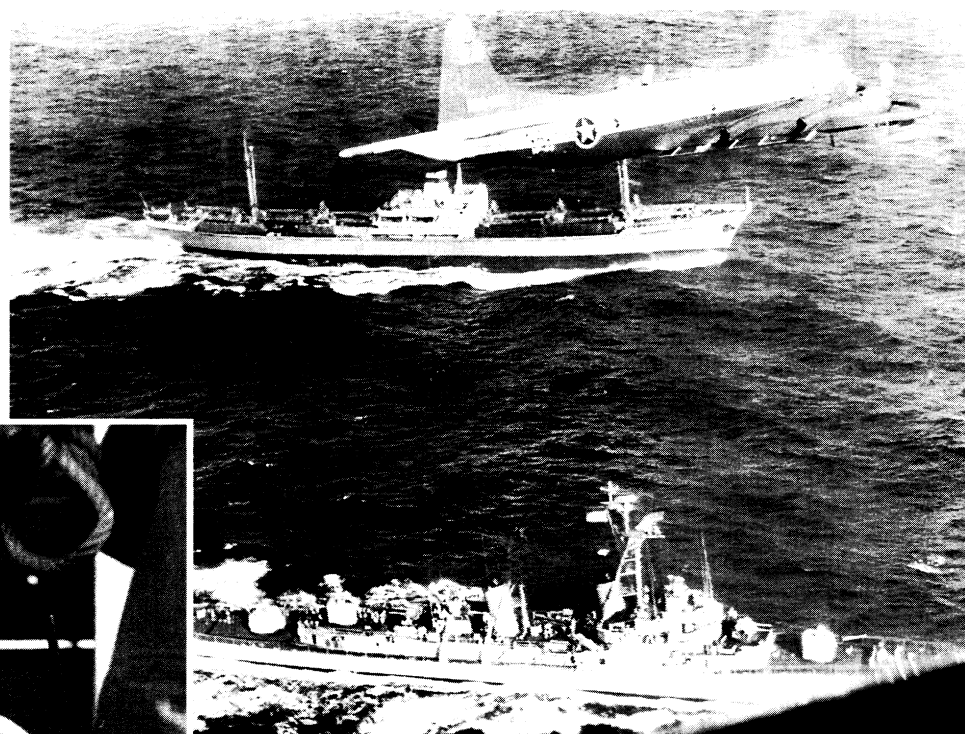
The Cuban government has placed no obstacles in the way of the withdrawal of those weapons. The decision by the Soviet government inherently involves a public decision; and the mere fact of being adopted in that way in front of everyone has had repercussions on world opinion. The United States knows that this decision was adopted by the Soviet Union seriously and that the strategic weapons really are being withdrawn.

But if, in addition to this, what the United States is actually seeking is to humiliate our country, it will not succeed!

We have not vacillated for even one minute in our determination to defend our rights. We cannot accept conditions of the kind imposed only on a defeated country. We have not relinquished our decision to defend ourselves. Our determination is such that they will never be able to impose conditions on us, because first they would have to destroy us and annihilate all our people. And in that case they will find nobody here upon whom to impose humiliating conditions.

**U THANT:** Concerning the subject of the U.S. declaration, the United States has said that it will make a public statement of non-aggression and of respect for the territorial integrity of Cuba, once the missiles have been dismantled and withdrawn.

In my opinion there is no disagreement. I fully agree with Mr. Prime Minister that action by the United Nations involves an invasion of the rights of a member state. And in this case, speaking about Cuba, if you do



Above: UPI Telephoto; left: Granma  
Above, U.S. warship (in foreground) and plane monitor a Soviet ship transporting missiles withdrawn from Cuba in October 1962. At left, Patrice Lumumba, first prime minister of newly independent Congo, after being arrested by pro-imperialist forces in 1960. UN troops disarmed Lumumba's forces and paved the way for a U.S.-backed military coup and Lumumba's assassination. "Cuba is not the Congo," Fidel Castro said in rejecting UN "observers."

not agree to accept UN action, then my duty, what I must do, is to report this back to those who made the proposal.

It is not my intention here to impose anything. My duty is solely to explain the possibilities of finding ways, means, or forms in which we could find a peaceful solution, without making specific proposals. I will take into account everything that has been said here this afternoon, and I will return to present my report to the interested parties.

I believe this meeting has been very useful, and if the prime minister agrees, we will meet again in the morning before I leave. Meanwhile, I will ponder what has been expressed on these matters by Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister.

**CASTRO:** To conclude, I would like to respond on the matter of inspection by the Red Cross. We are equally opposed to such inspection in our ports. I ask myself: If the Soviet Union authorizes inspection of its ships on the high seas, then why would it be necessary to inspect them again in Cuban ports?

Secondly, I see that Mr. Secretary is focusing his attention on getting the United States to make a public statement, a pledge before the United Nations that it will not invade Cuba.

Let me say, first of all, that the United States has no right to invade Cuba. One cannot negotiate over a promise not to commit a crime, over the mere promise not to commit a crime. Faced with the threat of this danger, we have more confidence in our determination to defend ourselves than we do in words from the U.S. government.

But furthermore, if the United Nations puts such a high value on a public pledge made before it by the United States—the pledge not to invade—why does it not put

the same value on the public pledge the Soviet Union made before the United Nations to withdraw the strategic weapons that the USSR sent to defend the Republic of Cuba? These would be two equally public commitments. If one of the two pledges—the U.S. pledge not to invade Cuba—does not need any additional guarantee, why then does the pledge by the Soviet Union to withdraw its strategic weapons require the additional guarantee of inspecting us?

We will meet again, with pleasure, as often as you wish and at any time you wish.

**U THANT:** Thank you very much, Your Excellency.

On the first point I just want to say that when the Soviet government declared its willingness to accept inspection by the Red Cross on the high seas, we reported this to the Red Cross. Initially they said yes, even though they had to submit the issue to their governing body; they had to vote on this and accept it. But they indicated to us that it would be simpler to do this at the ports of disembarkation rather than on the high seas. That is, it's not a question of inspecting again, it's only once.

Also, I am very pleased to have your response on this matter and to have talked about this.

**DORTICÓS:** We could reach some arrangement on the hour to meet tomorrow.

**U THANT:** I have some consultations to make here, particularly with the ambassador of Brazil.

**CASTRO:** As far as we're concerned, we can meet at any hour you wish. It is not necessary to set the time now. Simply contact our foreign ministry and say what time you wish to see us.

**U THANT:** Tomorrow, not today.

**CASTRO:** Whenever you wish.

<sup>1</sup> In Laos, a civil war pitted liberation forces against the pro-imperialist monarchy backed by Washington. In July 1962 an agreement was reached in Geneva, calling for creation of a coalition government. The agreement rapidly fell apart and the civil war resumed.

Egypt was invaded in October 1956 by British, French, and Israeli troops in response to that country's nationalization of the Suez Canal in July. In November the United Nations sent a "peacekeeping" force, which remained until Egypt asked them to leave in 1967.

In Lebanon, a popular rebellion broke out in early 1958 against the pro-imperialist government. In June the United Nations sent troops to protect the regime under the guise of preventing "illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms" from Syria. In July the U.S. government too sent in 10,000 troops, ostensibly to "protect U.S. citizens."

<sup>2</sup> In 1949 the United Nations established a trusteeship over Somalia to be administered by Italy, its former colonial master. The country did not become independent until 1960.

<sup>3</sup> After the Congo won its independence from Belgium in June 1960, Washington and its allies moved quickly to destabilize the new government headed by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, who had been the leader of the inde-

pendence struggle. In July 1960, Moise Tshombe began a war against the new regime by declaring the secession of the southern province of Katanga (today Shaba), with himself as president. Lumumba's government appealed to the United Nations for help, and the UN sent "peacekeeping" troops. Washington and its allies moved swiftly to disarm Lumumba's forces, sending Belgian and UN troops into the capital, Léopoldville. They also backed Tshombe's proimperialist breakaway regime in Katanga.

The U.S.-led intervention succeeded by late 1960 in winning over a faction within the Congolese government, headed by army chief of staff Joseph Mobutu, and Lumumba was deposed in September. As UN troops stood watch, he was later arrested and handed over to Tshombe's forces, who murdered him in January 1961.

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# U.S. and British planes bomb northern Iraq

continued from front page  
resolution pitched in the framework of the “national interest.”

Bush administration figures emphasized that the White House was not depending on passage of the resolution to launch an offensive. One official said its “strategy is to use the Congress as leverage...to bring around the public, and leverage to make it clear to the UN that it’s not only George Bush who is prepared to draw a line in the sand.”

The House-Senate resolution states that Bush can “use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to...defend national security” against Iraq. On October 2 Bush applauded Republican and Democratic leaders for their “tremendous work in building bipartisan support” for a joint resolution.

In an October 7 speech, the president laid out a series of demands on Iraq, including “declaring and destroying all of its weapons of mass destruction” and an end to “all illicit trade outside the [UN-sponsored] oil-for-food program.”

“By taking these steps and only by taking these steps, the Iraqi regime has an opportunity to avoid conflict,” said Bush. But “we have little reason to expect it. And that’s why two administrations, mine and President Clinton’s, have stated that regime change in Iraq is the only certain means of removing a great danger to our nation.”

## UN ‘arms inspector’ backs Washington

A few days earlier, chief UN “arms inspector” Hans Blix, a Swedish official, declared support for Washington’s insistence that Baghdad be forced to make a rapid and full declaration of its alleged weapons programs.

There will be “very broad support” in the UN Security Council, Blix said, for a U.S.-

British resolution calling for military-backed “inspection” teams with the power to go anywhere and interrogate anyone in Iraq, and to set up their own no-fly, no-drive zones wherever they carry out operations. Any incident deemed an Iraqi violation would “trigger” military action, U.S. officials have explained.

“If the United Nations won’t make the decision,” Blix warned, “the United States will lead a campaign to disarm this man before he harms America.”

## Imperialist rivals press own interests

Blix’s assurances notwithstanding, the governments of France and Germany, the two largest imperialist powers in continental Europe, have restated their opposition to the U.S.-British draft resolution.

Taking an anti-American posture, French president Jacques Chirac said on October 2 that both governments remain “totally hostile” to any resolution giving “an automatic character to military intervention” by Washington.

At the same time, Paris has indicated that it plans to deploy forces as part of any imperialist offensive, and Berlin has placed no restrictions on the Pentagon’s use of U.S. bases on German soil for the unfolding steps toward war.

The conflict between Washington and its European rivals over Turkey’s membership in the European Union (EU) has become sharper in the context of the imperialist war drive. “Hardly a week goes by without Washington telling the European Commission and member states to offer Turkey the perspective of eventual EU membership,” one European diplomat told the *Financial Times*.

“The U.S. is exerting maximum pressure now,” noted the London-based daily, “partly because of Turkey’s strategic and geographic importance if Washington decides to launch military strikes against Iraq.” The EU powers granted Turkey candidate-member status in 1999 after some vigorous arm-twisting by the Clinton administration.

The member states of the EU, among which the German and French governments play dominant and frequently conflicting roles, have so far resisted U.S. pressure to unfreeze the Turkish government’s application. European diplomats have cloaked the snub to Washington in professed concerns about human rights violations in Turkey and the fact that the country, while secular, has a majority-Muslim population.

Meanwhile, the buildup in the Middle East continues apace. While U.S. marines land in Kuwait for exercises, the *National Journal* reported, “covert [CIA] teams slip into Iraq, ...army tanks rehearse crossing the Euphrates river” that divides Saudi Arabia from Iraq, and “transport vessels laden with supplies steam unheralded toward the Persian Gulf.”

## Israeli regime opens Gaza offensive

As these war moves accelerate, the Israeli military has expanded its operations in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. On October 7 an Israeli helicopter gunship launched a missile into a crowd of Palestinians in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis. The death toll from the missile attack stood at 13 by the next day. Israeli soldiers fired machine guns and semiautomatic weapons at the many wounded who tried to make their way to a nearby hospital. More than 100 people were injured, some critically.

While admitting that “some civilians” had been hit, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon described the assault, which also involved tanks, as “successful” and said, “There will be more operations” of this kind. Israeli commanders said the attack targeted the Palestinian organization Hamas as part of a new tactic.

U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher issued a routine statement saying that Washington was “troubled” by the “deaths and wounding of many Palestinian civilians.”

Responding to “alarm” in Washington at public speculation by Israeli politicians about the possible timing of a U.S.-led in-

vasion of Iraq and Israel’s response to aerial attacks from Baghdad, Sharon has told members of the government to stop “blabbering” about such matters.

“The U.S. administration,” observed the October 7 *Financial Times*, “is eager to avoid anything that could inflame Arab opinion” in the lead-up to war, which will be waged from the many U.S. bases and platforms in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula.

At the same time, the White House has told Tel Aviv that it will be given advance warning of any U.S.-led invasion.

Unlike earlier statements by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Bush’s October 7 speech did not call on the Israeli regime to “stay out of the conflict with Iraq, even if it is attacked.” The *New York Times* reported without comment that officers directing the U.S.-Israeli designed Arrow missile defense system—designed to shoot down the Iraqi Scuds shortly after their launch—have been trained to scramble Israeli fighter jets in order to attack Iraqi missile launch sites.

In a related development, the government of Jordan has stationed extra troops on its borders with Iraq and with the West Bank, from which it is separated by the Jordan River. The reinforcements anticipate a massive influx of people, both from a U.S. invasion of Iraq and an Israeli offensive to drive Palestinians across the river. In the past, Sharon has expressed support for such an enforced exodus.

In a visit to the United States in late September, Jordan’s foreign minister underlined his government’s support for the U.S.-led war effort. “If it comes down to war, we are not going to allow our strategic friendship with the United States to be jeopardized,” he said. In return for this pledge, Washington “is not asking Jordan for permission to deploy American troops from Jordanian territory,” an unnamed diplomat told the *New York Times*.

King Abdullah has pointed out the explosive impact such a move would have on the combative Palestinian population inside Jordan’s borders.

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Celebrate the publication of “October 1962 The ‘Missile’ Crisis as seen from Cuba.”** Meeting for the Pathfinder Fund. Speaker: James Harris, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 19, 6:00 p.m. buffet, 7:00 p.m. program. 3029-A Bessemer Road. Donation: \$5 buffet, \$5 program. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Oppose U.S. Intervention in Colombia. Working-Class Resistance in South America.** Speaker: Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel:(973) 481-0077.

### NEW YORK

#### Garment District

**Puerto Rico: the Fight for Independence from Washington’s Colonial Rule.** Speaker: Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of New York and participant in recent campaign and reporting trip to Puerto Rico. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

#### Upper Manhattan

**The Unfolding Economic Crisis and Imperialism’s March toward War.** Meeting for the Pathfinder Fund. Speakers: Ma’mud Shirvani, Pathfinder Farsi Editor, Seth Dellinger, Young Socialists. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**Malcolm X and the Fight Against Imperialist War.** Speaker: Kevin Doyle, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 3720 6th Avenue. Tel: (515) 288-2970.

## —CALENDAR—

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn and Manhattan

**“Fidel:” A Film by Estela Bravo.** Opens Fri., Oct. 18. Manhattan: Quad Cinema, 13th St. Bet. 5th and 6th Ave. Tel: (212) 255-8800. Brooklyn: Bam Rose Cinemas, 30 Lafayette Ave. Tel: (718) 636-4100.

## Chicago marchers: ‘No to Israeli occupation’

BY PATTIE THOMPSON

CHICAGO—About 500 people marched through downtown Chicago September 29 in the National Rally for Palestinian Right to Return. Chants such as “Free, free Palestine—democratic Palestine,” and “Hey Sharon, you should know—we will never leave our home,” along with a wide range of signs and Palestinian flags, expressed the protesters’ solidarity with those fighting Israeli occupation of Palestine.

“We have come to protest the atrocities being committed by the Israeli Zionists,” said Basim Ism Ail, who came with several dozen other high school students active in the Arab Youth Leadership Academy of the Southwest Youth Collaborative.

A flier distributed by the Chicago chapter of Al-Awda, the Palestine Right to Return Coalition, explained that the event had been organized “to commemorate the two-year anniversary of the start of the Al-Aqsa Intifada and to demonstrate our solidarity with the Palestinian people’s inalienable human right to return to all of Palestine, from which they were, and continue to be, forcibly expelled by Israel.”

Speakers represented Al Awda and other Palestinian and Islamic organizations from around the region, as well as groups acting in solidarity with Puerto Rican political prisoners and organizing against U.S. intervention in Colombia.

A small counterdemonstration, separated from the rally site by a cordon of Chicago cops, waved U.S. and Israeli flags and held signs in support of the Israeli government that accused Palestinians of “terrorism.”

The solidarity march was preceded by a daylong conference at DePaul University sponsored by Al-Awda and the Students for Justice in Palestine, which is part of a national network of organizations on campuses demanding that their colleges divest from companies doing business in Israel.

Activists in such groups will be part of a national conference on Palestine titled “The Struggle for Freedom and the Road to Truth,” to be held October 12-14 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The conference has come under attack by some op-



Militant/Pattie Thompson

**Hundreds demonstrate in Chicago September 29 against Israeli regime’s military occupation and murderous repression against Palestinian people fighting for their homeland.**

ponents of the Palestinian national struggle, including two students who have applied for a legal injunction against it.

At the September 29 rally a member of Students Allied for Freedom and Equality, a campus group that is helping to stage the

event, assured the *Militant* that organizers are not backing down. “They push you, you just push back,” she said.

Pattie Thompson is a sewing machine operator and member of UNITE.

### From Pathfinder

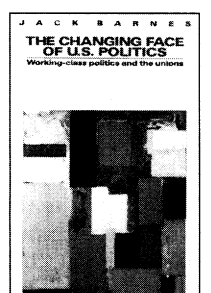
## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

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# Teachers in Iceland win victory over school privatization

BY ÖGMUNDUR JÓNSSON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland —The authorities of Hafnarfjörður, a town of 20,000 people just south of the capital, recently took over a privately run elementary school after the majority of the teachers threatened to resign because of disorganization and heavy workload.

Opened one year ago, the Áslandsskóli school was the first neighborhood school in the country to be run by a private organization—the Icelandic Educational Society (IMS). The May 2001 contract between municipal authorities and this “nonprofit” body stipulated that the town would pay the school’s running expenses, while IMS would finance its construction and be responsible for organizing teaching according to its so-called progressive ideology.

This contract was widely presented by capitalist politicians and the big-business media as a model for cost-cutting in the education system. An editorial that appeared in the January 31 issue of *Morgunblaðið*, the country’s main bourgeois daily, stated, “This method has been disputed, but there are strong arguments that show that in this way the advantages of private initiative can be utilized to find the most efficient way and keep down the cost of projects for which the public authorities are legally responsible.”

The school became one of the main is-

ssues in local elections held in May. In Hafnarfjörður the social democratic Socialist Alliance promised to buy out the company’s contract and take over the running of the school. For its part, the conservative Independence Party, the principal bourgeois party in Iceland for decades, held Áslandsskóli up as an example for other schools across Iceland.

Guðrún Pétursdóttir, an Independence Party member of the Reykjavik city council, wrote March 9 in *Morgunblaðið* that “the city of Reykjavik should follow its neighbors in Hafnarfjörður. They have shown the farsightedness of having a school built as a private venture, which has indisputable advantages.”

In spite of such appeals the Socialist Alliance won the Hafnarfjörður elections, while the Progressive Party, the IP’s coalition partner in the harbor town, lost their only seat in the town council.

On September 11, around 13 of the 16 teachers at Áslandsskóli presented a set of demands to IMS management, insisting on an answer by the following day. They demanded a clear definition of their tasks, that the schedule not change over the winter, that classes not have mixed ages and that resolutions of the school committee on maximum class sizes be adhered to.

Teacher Ástríður Einarsdóttir explained these demands in an interview with the *Mili-*

## Videotron workers fight union busting



Militant/Sylvie Charbin

Some 600 locked-out workers at the Videotron cable company and their supporters gathered in downtown Montreal October 5 for an enthusiastic send-off for 24 fellow union members (bottom left, in white T-shirts and caps). The 24 are walking almost 170 miles from Montreal to Quebec City, where they will hand-deliver a petition signed by 66,000 supporters. The petition asks that the Quebec provincial government force Videotron to negotiate in good faith. The lockout has entered its sixth month. “We’re not giving up, and our morale remains high,” said Martin Guerrette, a 28-year-old technician who attended the rally. The workers are members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

*tant*. “It takes more time and energy to prepare and teach classes with children of different ages, and often between 24 and 28 children in each class. Since the schedule wasn’t clear and we didn’t have the necessary teaching materials, we were doing a lot of running about and last-minute patch-ups. Having no support teachers for children with

learning or other disabilities only made things worse.”

The teachers demanded that support teaching be provided for, as it is in other schools in Iceland. “IMS management said there was no need for this, since Icelandic and math classes were divided according to ability,” Einarsdóttir said, “but support teaching is about more than that.”

After a September 12 meeting between the teachers and bosses produced no results, 11 teachers resigned. “We saw that there was no basis for negotiating,” said Einarsdóttir. “They either tried to make the problems seem small or to justify them.” After the company failed to give the teachers a formal reply, two more quit.

Two days later, the mayor of Hafnarfjörður announced that the town authorities would revoke their contract with the IMS and take over the school. At first the IMS protested, saying that the proposed action was illegal. After a week of negotiations, however, they reached an agreement that gave them 45 million Icelandic kronur (\$500,000) in exchange for the town authorities’ takeover of all school facilities, contracts, administration, and organization. IMS still runs a day-care center in the same area.

The failure of this experiment has been a blow to the efforts of the Icelandic rulers to find ways to implement cost-cutting and introduce variety—a code-word for greater inequality and differentiation along class lines in the education system. *Morgunblaðið* editorialized on September 20, “The experiment’s drawback was that it was done in a neighborhood school, where parents really don’t have a choice whether to send their children or not.... Those who are interested in strengthening private initiative and variety in Iceland’s schools by encouraging private concerns to run schools should not let the failure in Áslandsskóli get to them.”

## Workers oppose dumping of hazardous sludge

Continued from front page

ers more than 6,500 acres. In the first stage around 1,000 acres would be spread with the sludge. Minor revisions to the permit would allow the company to also use the remaining 5,500 acres for dumping.

This year the Philadelphia Water Department will pay WMPI \$37 per ton to dump their sludge. The one-year contract for dumping 40,000 tons would net the company \$1.5 million.

Opponents of the dump turned up the heat at a September 3 meeting at Mt. Carmel High School in Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania. Attended by 200 people, the hearing, which was organized by the Pennsylvania House Democratic Policy Committee, heard testimony by a range of officials and experts on why current rules governing the dumping of sewage sludge open up dangers to public health.

Jim Lamont, the international safety representative for the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); Joseph Cocalis, a retired officer of the U.S. Public Health Service; Lawrence Breech, president of the Pennsylvania Farmers Union; and David Lewis, a research microbiologist who works for the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), testified at the session.

### Pathogens remain after treatment

Class B biosolids are made up of the wastes from water and sewage treatment plants that have been treated to kill about 95 percent of their pathogens, or disease-causing agents. After this treatment they can still contain arsenic, lead, mercury, and other heavy metals, as well as pathogens such as salmonella and campylobacter. There is also evidence that typhoid, dysentery, tapeworms, and other menaces to health are present in sludge when it is dumped.

The miners union became involved in the fight in 1999 when eight miners working at the Powers strip mine in Centre County suffered diarrhea, bloody vomiting, and other symptoms following the dumping of sludge near the mine—a practice that had been followed since September 1994.

In October that same year 11-year-old Tony Behun came home covered with dirt after riding his bike through fresh sludge at Osceola Mills in the same area. Within two days he had come down with a headache and sore throat, followed by an outbreak of boils. In a week he was dead from a massive bacterial infection. Pennsylvania’s Department of Environmental Protection

(DEP) has consistently denied any connection between the sludge and the boy’s death. EPA officials have gone even further, claiming that there is no evidence linking exposure to sewage sludge to any illness or death.

Breech pointed to the weakness of the “503 rules”—guidelines adopted by the EPA in 1993 to govern the spreading of sludge. He described results from other countries where sludge has been subjected to further treatment before being dumped. “Sewage sludge can and should be recycled, rather than incinerated or buried in landfills,” he said. “But it should not be used in the way it is now.”

The 503 rules remain controversial across the spectrum of the debate. After conducting a review, the EPA’s Office of Research and Development refused to endorse them. A former EPA research director testified that the agency had received no scientific documents confirming the safety of their proposed levels of heavy metals or supporting their procedures for eliminating bacterial pathogens.

The rules were issued provisionally when the EPA agreed to conduct further research to establish the impact of sludge on plant and animal life as well as on rivers and the water table. These studies have never been conducted. Last April the EPA inspector

general criticized the agency for this failure, and in particular for its lack of “a formal process to track health-related complaints.” The official’s report concluded that “the EPA cannot assure the public that current land application practices are protective of human health and the environment.” The EPA has left to state agencies the job of monitoring the use of sludge and the study of its effect on human health and the environment.

Representatives of WMPI and the Philadelphia water treatment department have not been well received at hearings held over the last eight months. During a meeting in Aristes, Pennsylvania, Chico, a member of the audience bluntly asked them, “What will you do if it goes into the ground water? Can you take it out?” Another stated, “We don’t think we’re getting straight answers. Send us some industry for jobs, not your sludge.”

At the September 3 hearing in Mt. Carmel, a trucker driver said, “Not one truck is going to bring sewage sludge here. I’ll park my semi to block the road if I have to.”

Sharon Chiao and others in the Mahanoy Creek Watershed Association plan to keep up their fight. At their July meeting they discussed a membership drive, fund-raising projects, and other plans.

## — LETTERS —

### Takes issue with article on bonds

As a long-time reader and supporter of the *Militant*, I would like to comment on your article, “NY rulers use bonds to reap profits while they slash wages, services,” in the September 23 issue. I am not a “NY ruler,” but a retired schoolteacher who comes from a working-class family—all of whom were lifelong union members, like myself. I have chosen, however, to invest my savings in tax-free municipal and state bonds, rather than the stock of companies whose profits come from exploiting workers at home and abroad. In addition, I thereby avoid paying income taxes to finance various wars and other horrors sponsored by the federal government.

By investing in tax-exempt bonds, I also know, like many other working people, that my savings are being used for the operations of local and state education, housing, highways, etc., in the interests of the public. As a matter of simple fact, I have not become a millionaire from my municipal bond earnings or from any other source. If

your philosophy calls for wiping me out, I hope you can understand why I cannot accede to it.

Would it not be better to advocate increased income taxes for high-income people and to attack even such people as the union leader, Dennis Rivera, who worked so hard to have taxes on cigarettes greatly increased—which mostly affects working people? Wouldn’t it be wiser to urge increased taxes for the rich and on corporations instead?

Beatrice Einhorn  
New York, New York

### Disagree on Basque protest

I totally disagree with the article titled “Basques protest banning by Madrid.” I understand that signed articles by contributors do not have to represent the *Militant*’s views, but I totally disagree with it. ETA & Batasuna = Terrorism. I will not keep my subscription for longer.

María Concepción Garbajosa Moreno  
Spain

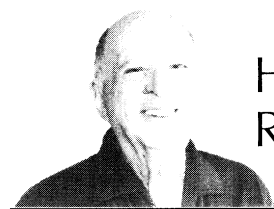
### Workers killed in desert

The death penalty for workers plays itself out daily in the desert of southern Arizona. One hundred sixty-three crossed the border this last year only to die in the Tucson sector. Most came from states in central and southern Mexico. The deaths are due to U.S. immigration policy. The Southwest Border Initiative of 1994 concentrated Border Patrol agents in the busiest, largest urban corridors for border crossings. In Arizona those corridors were Nogales, then Douglas, then Naco. The areas left less guarded are the treacherous desert areas of the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and the Tohono O’odham Indian Reservation, where temperatures are in the hundreds, there are no sources of water, and entrants must travel hundreds of miles to find a road. Almost half the deaths occurred on the reservation. Since 1995, 2,000 entrants have died trying to cross the southern border.

Betsy McDonald  
Tucson, Arizona



**Meanwhile, enjoy your flights**—"British Airways said that it has begun checks on its 117 Boeing aircraft which are believed



Harry Ring

to have faulty fuel pumps capable of causing a mid-air explosion. Boeing has admitted that 3,284 passenger jets around the world are affected. Checks and replacements are expected to take three years."—The Times of London.

**Cramped like a coach seat**—Don't ask us the model number of the Boeing planes with the "faulty" fuel pumps cited above. Apparently the Times lacked space to include it.

**Right they are**—"More than 200 Israelis called up for national service refused to serve in an 'army of occupation' and accused Israel of 'committing war crimes and violating human rights' in Palestinian territories."—Agence France Presse.

**Like him: racist tongue, limp brain**—David Blunkett, British home secretary, declared that people from other lands should learn English and, particularly im-

portant, speak it to their children at home. This, he opined, will keep the children from getting "schizophrenic."

**Tip for seniors**—If you've noticed that as the years roll by, you tend to shrink, you may want to check out the hi-tech toilet on display in Tokyo. Its motorized seat adjusts automatically to your height. It's also said to analyze urine and send suspicious results to your doctor (Price and availability not yet posted).

**Also**—To avoid a second trip to the grocery and if you junk the fridge periodically, you can set up a small revolving camcorder that can be triggered from the market

by a cell phone, providing an immediate picture of what's there and what's not.

**Too rich to take?**—Bush's 15-member cabinet includes 10 millionaires, which doesn't sound like much these days. The biggest money bag is Paul O'Neill, former top dog at Alcoa aluminum. Currently secretary of the treasury and, according to "disclosure" requirements, he's "worth" somewhere between \$67 million and \$253 million.

**Sure, and shafting employees and public**—In his how-I-did-it book, Rudolph Giuliani, ex-mayor of the New York says his "success" in running the city stemmed from treating it like a business.

**Whatever turns him on**—Price, Waterhouse, etc., is now under federal scrutiny for sloppy auditing of Tyco Int'l, the cooked books specialist. However, we can easily understand the \$30 million Florida home for deposed top dog Dennis Kozlowski, but we are smitten by the trinkets and trifles. For instance: A \$17,200 traveling toilet box [?]; a \$15,000 [top?] dog umbrella stand; \$5,960 for two sets of bed sheets; \$2,900 for a set of coat hangers; a \$1,650 for a notebook, and finally, \$445 for a pin cushion.

**We're still perplexed**—Where in hell do you buy a \$2,900 set of coat hangers, even with someone else's money?

## Pathfinder titles well received at Houston book fair

BY STEVE WARSHALL

HOUSTON—A Pathfinder booth set up at the September 28-29 Latino Book and Family Festival here was well received by fair participants. The booth featured a display of Pathfinder's newest release, *October 1962: The "Missile" Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, 15 of which were sold there. More than 100 other Pathfinder titles were sold during the two-day event, including four copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and 12 copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* in English and Spanish. Among the other popular titles were *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, and *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. In all, over \$1,200 in books, six subscriptions to the *Militant*, and four subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold.

The festival attracted a broad cross section of the Latino population in Houston. Most of those present were Chicanos or immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Working people, as well as those from middle-class layers in the area, and a significant number of high-school and college-age youth also attended the book fair.

Many of those who stopped by the Pathfinder booth expressed opposition to the

U.S. war drive in the Middle East. They said the looming war against Iraq reflected the desire of Washington to take control of the oil in the region.

A woman from Panama, who has lived in Houston for more than a decade, recalled the 1989 U.S. invasion of her country saying, "The only thing American presidents seem to do well is lie. They killed thousands during the invasion, but you'd think they were on a humanitarian mission if you believed them. The same thing is going on today."

Festival participants also expressed a wide range of views on other political questions such as Cuba, terrorism, and the forthcoming U.S. elections.

Several people who expressed interest in the Cuban Revolution bought Pathfinder titles by Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and other revolutionary leaders. They purchased 68 books and pamphlets dealing with the history, politics, and lessons of the Cuban Revolution—40 in English and 28 Spanish titles.

A high school student originally from Mexico City, who spent nearly an hour poring over different books about the Cuban Revolution, eventually bought the Spanish edition of *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*. He also asked to receive notices of newly arrived Pathfinder books and the



Militant/Pat Warshell

**Participants at September 28-29 Latino Book Festival in Houston look over Pathfinder books and pamphlets. Titles on Cuban Revolution were big sellers at the booth.**

Militant Labor Forums in the area.

One woman who purchased a copy of *October 1962: The "Missile" Crisis as Seen from Cuba* had read the book's introduction by Mary-Alice Waters that explained the international effort by supporters of the

communist movement to produce Pathfinder titles. She came back to the booth and asked to be part of the publishing house's translation effort.

Brad Downs contributed to this article.

## Protesters demand: no secret hearings, free Rabih Haddad

BY ILONA GERSH

DETROIT—Some 75 protesters demanding freedom for Rabih Haddad picketed outside the Federal Building October 1, where his bond hearing was held in a crowded courtroom. Haddad, a 42-year-old Lebanese citizen, is a local Muslim leader, and teacher in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

He was arrested at his home last December 14 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on the same day that the FBI, U.S. Treasury, CIA, and NATO agents raided the suburban Chicago offices of the Global Relief Foundation. Haddad was a cofounder of the foundation, which has given emergency relief and aid to people in 22 countries.

The government seized the assets of the charity group—more than \$5 million—claiming that it funds terrorists. FBI agents also took more than 500,000 pages of records. But no active foundation member, including Haddad, was charged with any crime.

Nearly 10 months later, Haddad is still in jail. His attorneys presented a motion that he be released on his own recognizance. The only charge against him is allegedly overstaying a tourist visa. The government also wants to deport his wife and three of their four children, also for expired visas.

Protesters carried signs that said, "Finally,

an open hearing!" His first bond hearing was held in secret to comply with the September 21 directive by chief U.S. Immigration Judge Michael Creppy, who at the behest of Attorney General John Ashcroft instructed all immigration hearings related to so-called terror investigations be closed to the public.

Protests against the closed hearing were held in Detroit and Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Chicago. The *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press*, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union, and U.S. Congressman John Conyers, filed lawsuits against the court for holding a closed hearing.

In response, U.S. District Judge Nancy Edmunds ruled that future hearings on Haddad's case should be open. A three-judge panel of the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati affirmed the ruling in August.

As Rabih Haddad continued to be incarcerated at the Monroe County Jail in Monroe, Michigan, Judge Edmunds on September 17 ordered that Haddad should be freed in 10 days or have a new hearing open to the news media and the public with a different immigration judge.

"The Justice Department has not tied Haddad to any specific terrorist actions, and it has not said how any specific funds administered by Global Relief supported terrorist groups. It hasn't said how any of his trips to Pakistan or Afghanistan were improper. Much of the evidence it has gathered against Haddad still has not been released to the public," noted a recent *Detroit News* article.

A continuance of the bond hearing was scheduled for October 22. Another deportation hearing is scheduled for the following day.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



October 21, 1977

"Don't cry. If one is dying for his country there is no need to cry."

These were Andrés Figueroa Cordero's first words to his brother as the ailing member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was carried from a plane at the San Juan airport October 7. Andrés's brother had broken out in tears when he saw the pallid, frail figure of Andrés in a wheelchair, a Puerto Rican flag draped across his shoulders.

"My release is a victory for the Puerto Rican and North American people, which should be dedicated to work for the release of other political prisoners, especially he other four Nationalist political prisoners, Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda," Figueroa Cordero said.

The five were imprisoned in the early 1950s for armed actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence.

After twenty-three years in U.S. prisons, Andrés Figueroa Cordero is free at last. But he will have only a few weeks to enjoy the homeland he dedicated his life to liberating. Doctors say he has less than two months to live.

It has been known for several years that Figueroa Cordero has terminal cancer. Carter waited until the prisoner was *liquidado*—finished, to use Figueroa Cordero's word—before releasing him.

The fifty-two-year-old Nationalist is dying today instead of ten or twenty years from now because prison authorities turned a deaf ear to pleas for adequate medical treatment from a man totally at their mercy.

And yet the White House said Carter had released the prisoner on "humanitarian grounds."



October 20, 1952

By Farrell Dobbs

American mothers and fathers who believe they may save their draft-age or GI sons from the horrors of Korea by voting for Stevenson or Eisenhower are being cruelly deceived. Stevenson is trying to give the impression that he would continue only a "limited war" in Korea. Eisenhower is spreading the illusion that he would reduce U.S. losses by replacing American troops with South Koreans.

"American casualties that were running 250 a week have jumped to about 1,000 a week," reveals the Oct. 17 U.S. News and World Report. Bigger sacrifices of American boys in Korea—that's the real prospect offered by the candidates of the Democratic and Republican twin parties of Big Business.

Stevenson flatly acknowledges that he has no idea of ending the Korean War and withdrawing U.S. troops. "I assume he (Eisenhower) does not mean to promise an early return of our forces from Korea, regardless of consequences," said Stevenson on Oct. 9. "If he does, I shall not match him.... I shall make no promises in this election I know I cannot keep."

But Stevenson does try to suggest he will keep the war within its present "limited" scope. Yet the "limited war" against the Koreans has spread into a bigger conflict with the 450 millions of China. And in the 15 months of truce negotiations, the U.S. has suffered over 40,000 battle casualties.

If elected, I would exercise the powers Truman used when he ordered the troops to Korea in the first place, except that as President and Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. armed forces I would order their immediate withdrawal from Korea.

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# 1867-77 Reconstruction posed alliance of toilers

Printed below is an excerpt from *Racism, Revolution, and Reaction, 1861-1877: The Rise and Fall of Radical Reconstruction*, by Peter Camejo. The title is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for October. It tells the history of the period known as Radical Reconstruction, following the U.S. civil war of 1861-65 through which the Southern slavocracy was crushed and millions of slaves were freed.

Immediately after the war most ex-slaves were forced into contract labor gangs. They organized resistance, winning support among layers of the labor movement in the North

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

and, initially, sections of the industrial capitalists who were alarmed at the attempts by the former slaveholders to reassert their political influence. Out of these struggles, Radical Reconstruction regimes were established throughout the South, backed by the Union Army. The most advanced regimes adopted legislation barring racist discrimination, expanding suffrage and public education, and other progressive measures. The proletarianized ex-slaves fought for a radical land reform.

The defeat of Radical Reconstruction was engineered by the industrial ruling class, which feared the rise of a united working class in which Black and white artisans and industrial workers could come together as a powerful oppositional force, allied with the free working farmers. Copyright © 1976 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY PETER CAMEJO

The most "radical" aspect of Radical

Reconstruction was the opening it provided for Black labor to wage struggles in its own behalf. Blacks, who had been slaves only a few years earlier and who had not even had the right to vote the day before, were now registering, voting, and sitting as delegates to write their state constitutions. Later they would take seats as legislators in their state capitals and even in Washington, D.C.

In all, fourteen Blacks would go to Washington as congressmen from six different Southern states, and two from Mississippi would enter the Senate. Several others were elected to Congress but were refused their seats on one pretext or another. Most of these representatives were ex-slaves. On the other hand, there was not a single Black from the North in the House until the 1920s and none in the Senate until 1966.

It is difficult to grasp the full revolutionary implications of this Black representation. No parallel exists in the United States today, there not being a single worker, much less a socialist, in the House or Senate. The election of Black legislators was testimony to the depth of the revolutionary changes unleashed by the Civil War. Even though some of them maintained moderate political positions they were, regardless of the rhetoric used, above all representatives of the oppressed nationality of Afro-Americans, a nationality composed almost entirely of laboring people.

The voice they raised in the halls of Congress was anomalous among the paid representatives of the Robber Barons. They spoke up for the Cherokees and other dispossessed Indians and for the hounded Chinese laborers in the West. They sought to increase the rights of women and argued for federal support to education, a concept that would not be accepted for another generation.

In the South the pressure and influence of Black officeholders resulted in a series of progressive reforms. Most important, of course, was the elimination of the Black Codes and the guaranteeing of juridical rights for Afro-Americans, including the right to serve on juries, hold office, speak, organize, and serve in the police and militias. Other important reforms were also achieved. An enormous demand went up from the Afro-American people for schools. There was more interest in education among the ex-slaves than among the poor whites, who were not caught up in such a profound social transformation as was the Black population.



Drawing depicts majority-Black South Carolina legislature, 1873. Many Radical Reconstruction governments in South barred racist discrimination, expanded suffrage, and took other progressive measures. By 1877 Reconstruction had been violently overthrown.

General Pope, referring to his military district, which included Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, wrote in 1867: "It may be safely said that the marvelous progress made in the education of these people, aided by the noble charitable contributions of Northern societies and individuals, finds no parallel in the history of mankind. If continued, it must be by the same means, and if the masses of the white people exhibit the same indisposition to be educated that they do now, five years will have transferred intelligence and education, so far as the masses are concerned, to the colored people of this District."

By 1869 there were 9,000 teachers in the South instructing the children of ex-slaves. By the next year there were 4,300 schools with close to 250,000 Black children in attendance....

The first statewide free public schools in the South were established during Radical Reconstruction. The Black lawmakers sought schools for both Blacks and whites and preferred integrated schools. Integration for all schools was established by law in Louisiana and at the university level in other states. In most cases separate schools were established because most whites insisted on all-white schools before they would allow their children to attend. When schools of higher learning were integrated many whites withdrew.

New rights were granted to women during Reconstruction. The first divorce and property rights laws for women were passed. Better facilities for the care of the sick, blind, and insane were established. The judicial system and penitentiaries were modernized.

Albion W. Tourgee, a Union soldier who settled in North Carolina after the war and wrote *A Fool's Errand*, the best-known historical novel in defense of Radical Reconstruction, summarized the achievements of those governments as follows: "They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule in the South. They abolished the whipping post, and branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of laws."

The governments under Radical Reconstruction were in many ways the most democratic the South has ever had up to the present day.

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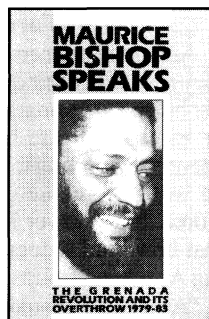
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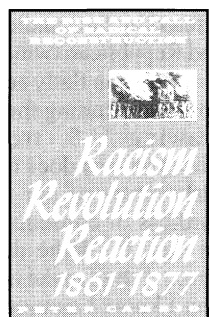
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#### Racism, Revolution, and Reaction, 1861-1877

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PETER CAMEJO  
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# Back West Coast dockworkers

The federal government's decision to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act against the West Coast dockworkers—under the banner of “national security”—is a serious attack on the entire labor movement that must be loudly condemned. The U.S. rulers are trying to use their drive toward a war of plunder in the Middle East to step up their war on working people at home as well. They hope to deal a blow to the International Longshore and Warehouse Union and to send a warning to any other workers who stand up and fight in their interests.

This intervention by the U.S. government in a union struggle for a contract is part of the broader escalation of assaults by the U.S. rulers on workers' rights. While the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against the dockworkers is an overtly antiunion action, it is of a piece with a range of other assaults on the ability of working people to organize and fight: efforts to increase FBI spying and harassment, the spreading use of secret detentions and trials, and the establishment of the North American Command. This latter measure—the establishment of the U.S. military command to deploy troops on U.S. soil—is an indication that the U.S. rulers are anticipating and preparing to crack down on bigger working-class struggles as the resistance to the employers' offensive grows.

The bosses and their government aim to convince working people that in the name of “national unity” we must subordinate our class interests to those of the exploiters. “Now is not the time to strike—it's time to unite behind the flag,” say the Democrats and Republicans. They want us to set aside our struggles and instead rally behind their patriotic campaign to shore up the profits of big business through bloody wars to redivide the natural resources of the world to their advantage. The “national unity” argument will be used again to further chop at our wages, working conditions, and rights on the job. This is a good example of how the bosses' nationalist rhetoric about “we

Americans” is a deadly trap—there is no such “we.” There is the working class with common interests around the world, whether we were born in the United States or Yemen or Mexico. And there is the employers' class—they. The U.S. government, White House and Congress alike, represents *them*, not *us*.

The big-business press spilled pages of ink warning about the national repercussions of a 10-day lockout on a fragile U.S. economy. This was presented as another justification for invoking the antilabor law. Workers, however, can never start with the profit needs of the exploiters. Our starting point must be: how we can strengthen our class to resist more effectively the conditions imposed on us by the ruling rich. An ILWU victory would be a victory for all working people.

The last time the federal government tried to use the Taft-Hartley Act was in 1978, when Democratic president James Carter invoked it during the 110-day coal miners strike. But the miners simply refused to recognize the strike-breaking law and stayed on the picket lines until they won a contract. They called Carter's bluff and came out stronger. In fact, the U.S. rulers felt they could not use this measure again for another 25 years.

This kind of government intervention in the unions is not an exception. It will happen more and more as working-class resistance grows. And it underscores the fact that working people need to be organized not only on the shop floor but in the political arena, charting a political road independently from the bosses' parties, the Democrats and Republicans. This is a road that leads to working people taking political power and establishing a government of workers and farmers.

Today, as the capitalist government uses its power to back the shipping bosses, working people need to rally behind the dockworkers, who are fighting for safety, for jobs, and for the right to organize free from government intervention. It is our fight too.

# Against Canadian imperialism

**The following statement was released October 8 by Beverly Bernardo, Communist League candidate for mayor in Vancouver, British Columbia. Bernardo, 57, is a meat packer at Britco Pork in Langley.**

Workers, farmer, and youth across Canada have a vital stake in opposing Canadian imperialism's stepped-up march to war in the Mideast.

The escalating aggression against Iraq is not about Saddam Hussein. It is an imperialist grab for oil and a drive to redivide the world among those who pillage it—a direct product of the accelerating crisis of world capitalism as it drags humanity into an economic depression of catastrophic proportions.

The Canadian government has postured as a force committed to “peace” and negotiations in the Mideast, supposedly in contrast to Washington and the “U.S.” war against Iraq. But this is nationalist demagoguery. As a smaller imperialist power, this is how Canada's ruling class has acted since World War II to try to convince working people to support every single one of its wars—from the imperialist assault on Korea 50 years ago to the war on the Yugoslav workers state less than a decade ago.

Canada's imperialist rulers are driven to war by the same lawful motions of capitalism as Washington and the rest of their imperialist allies and rivals. Two years ago, at Can\$124 a share, Nortel's stocks reined supreme on the Toronto stock market, comprising some 30 percent of its overall prices. Today these pieces of paper are worth less than a dollar. Bleak reports are published almost daily about other major big Canadian corporations. These facts are representative of the depression that Canada and the capitalist world as a whole have entered—long-term con-

ditions that Canada's rulers can only be reverse by expanding their control of markets and territories abroad, and assaulting the jobs, wages, and social conditions of workers and farmers at home.

In this sense, the wars that Canada's employer class are carrying out against working people abroad are an extension of the escalating war they are waging against our class at home. Among the recent examples of these attacks, and of the working-class resistance they generate, are: the government's slashing of basic social services such as health and education, Bombardier's layoff of 2,000 workers, the lockout of 600 grain handlers in Vancouver, the five-month strike by 2,200 workers at Videotron in Quebec to defend their jobs and union, and the fight by hundreds of Algerian refugees against the threat of deportation.

The Communist League campaign urges you to join with us in linking up with other working people who are part of this resistance to the employer offensive, as well as meeting youth who are repelled by the brutality of capitalism. Ours is a working-class campaign against imperialism and its inherent march to war and economic catastrophe. We urge you to read and help circulate the socialist press—the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*—as well as books that explain how working people can chart a course to put an end to the very system of oppression and exploitation that produces these wars and social devastation.

This course of action is part of the historic fight to build a revolutionary leadership that can lead working people in this country to take power out of the hands of the capitalist warmakers, establish a government of workers and farmers, and join the international struggle for a socialist future.

# City bonds are not a ‘public service’

BY JACK WILLEY

The letter from reader Beatrice Einhorn taking issue with an article in the September 23 issue on municipal bonds (see page 12) provides a useful opportunity to discuss a few points about this subject. The article describes how the wealthy bondholders in New York reap profits while the city government slashes wages and services.

The big-business media promotes the myth that bonds offer a public service to help finance schools, public transportation, and other things that benefit working people. It also tries to foster the illusion that some workers and those in the middle class can assure themselves a measure of stable income through investing in bonds.

Bonds, however, are designed primarily to enrich the superwealthy, taking a little more of the surplus value that workers produce. Municipal governments run on deficit budgets and float bonds—which serve as loans—to make up for the shortfall. The overwhelming majority of these coupons are bought up by multimillionaire and billionaire families who have enough money capital to purchase coupons and skim off interest until the principal is paid back in

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## REPLY TO A READER

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full years later. As a bonus, it's usually all tax-free.

In times of economic crisis, the government uses the “budget deficit” argument to justify slashing social services and city and state jobs. Capitalist bondholders are protected by the “full faith and credit” of the government coupons they hold, however, and continue to receive payments on interest and principal. In the “budget debate,” their profits come first, while the burden for the financial crisis is placed on the backs of working people. In other words, to ensure interest payments to the rich coupon-clippers, workers are told we must accept cutbacks.

A prime example is the current New York budget. This year Mayor Michael Bloomberg has tried to drive through the slashing of funds to the Administration for Children's Services, pension and health benefits owed to city workers, and the building of new schools, among other services.

Today, some workers in the Bronx who have been pushed out of their homes have the blessing of staying in an abandoned prison, with lead paint on the walls, that serves as a city shelter. Meanwhile, in 2002 the city will spend 20 percent of its budget to pay debt service straight into the hands of the billionaire coupon clippers.

### Nest egg for workers?

The rulers try to convince the middle class and layers of the working class that they can ensure a stable source of income, and even get ahead, by investing in stocks, bonds, or 401 (k) retirement schemes. The labor bureaucracy ties billions of dollars earmarked for workers' pensions into these paper values. They feed into the myth fostered by the rulers that “we”—exploited and exploiters alike—have a stake as “stockholders” or “bondholders” in maintaining the capitalist system.

These illusions can be rapidly shattered, however, not only by a collapse in stock and bond markets—as we are seeing today—but by mass layoffs that often leave working people with no protection.

Einhorn asks what kind of program socialists put forward. As the U.S. economy spirals deeper into a depression, it is easier to see the need for workers and farmers to fight around a program that defends the interests of all working people against the ravages of the capitalist system. Such a program should begin with the demand of jobs for all at union-scale wages, a demand that helps cut across the biggest division in the working class—that between the employed and unemployed. This includes calling for a public works program to build schools, housing, day-care centers, parks, and recreation centers, and other services that benefit workers.

The starting point of labor's demands cannot be what is profitable for the ruling rich, but what working people need to protect ourselves against attacks on our social wage. As part of that, the demand for a steeply graduated income tax on the wealthy, excluding workers and working farmers, also strengthens the hand of the exploited.

# Opposing views in meeting on October 1962 Crisis

**Continued from page 9**

“was not primarily about missiles but about the Cuban Revolution, which the U.S. government was determined to overthrow because of the example it set for workers and farmers around the world, including in the United States.” He encouraged those attending the meeting to read the newly published Pathfinder book *October 1962: The ‘Missile’ Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Diez Acosta. This book, Koppel said, details how the Kennedy administration began planning for a direct U.S. invasion of Cuba following Washington's defeat at the Bay of Pigs, and describes the mobilization and determination of the Cuban people to defend themselves that stayed the U.S. rulers' hand.

“There were no plans to invade Cuba,” said Smith in response. “There were no troop movements to the south” or other evidence of such plans, he added. Schlesinger

said, “If we had wanted to invade, we would have smashed Cuba,” alleging that it was thanks to Kennedy that an invasion did not take place.

Disputing that view, Koppel had pointed out that on Oct. 26, 1962, Kennedy was informed by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff that a U.S. invasion of Cuba would cost more than 18,000 U.S. casualties in the first 10 days, more than the U.S. casualties in the first five years of the Vietnam war—a political price Washington was not willing to pay.

Another member of the audience pointed to a Pentagon memo dated September 25 of that year laying out contingency plans to carry out an invasion of Cuba on as little as two days' notice.

Another participant in the meeting questioned the seriousness of Kennedy's professed attempts to make peace with the Cuban government after the “missile” crisis, given

the numerous continued U.S. attempts to assassinate the Cuban leader.

Schlesinger replied that the assassination attempts all issued from the CIA, and that Kennedy never knew what was happening. He did not mention that the president's brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, was a regular participant in meetings of top officials that discussed Washington's plans to try to overthrow the Cuban Revolution.

The majority of the audience appeared to be in agreement with the speakers. A number of people, however, stopped by a literature table outside the meeting that was staffed by supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign. They purchased \$120 worth of books, including three copies of *October 1962: The ‘Missile’ Crisis as Seen from Cuba* and several other titles on the Cuban Revolution.

## Scotland: textile strikers defend gains

BY PETE WILLSON

HAWICK, Scotland—"Our four-day contract is signed and sealed: We strike for the right to save this deal," read a colorful banner displayed on the picket line October 2 at Barrie Knitwear here. Made by women textile workers at the plant, whose 170-strong workforce struck solidly that day and the next, the banner captured the determination of the strikers not to hand over hard-fought-for conditions. Members of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union (GMB) at the plant had earlier voted 83 percent in favor of the action.

"I'm really pleased with the turnout here," commented Cammy Renwick, pointing to the nearly 80 workers who had turned out for picket duty early in the morning. Drivers of passing vehicles tooted their horns in response to an appeal on a placard, while any appearance by the plant bosses was appropriately jeered.

"They're trying to take our rights away," said Renwick, who has been at the plant for 17 years.

Union steward Gary Cook explained that while the dispute had begun in January over a wage claim, the parent company Dawson International "wants to change our conditions. There's no money on the table until we accept that. They want to 'harmonize' conditions here with their Innerleithen plant, so we sign away the guarantee to a four-day week."

Workers at most of Hawick's mills won a four-day working week through a five-week strike in 1972 that involved 5,500 union members. Other workers, including those 28 miles away at Innerleithen, were never granted the improved conditions.

With the seasonal nature of much of the work in the area, known for the production of high-price cashmere garments, workers see a guaranteed week as an important protection.

Rob Redhead, a veteran of the 1972 fight, said, "They want to be able to transfer workers at the drop of a hat to Innerleithen." Workers at the latter plant have only just secured an agreement to get a guaranteed four days' weekly work in the first month of lean times, followed by a three-day week.

On the day following the strike Dawson issued "90-day notices" giving workers until January 1 to sign up to the company's demands or be fired. The notices are "a gun at people's heads," said Cook.

Union fighters are "encouraging workers not to sign up for the deal," said Redhead, speaking after an October 5 meeting attended by 90 workers. "The mood's really militant now," he added. "We've had enough."

The meeting discussed plans for a further one-day strike on October 23, a march through the town involving workers from other mills, and a ballot to specifically reject the "harmonization" plans that give the go-ahead for further actions. "The only way to sort this out now is a longer strike," said Redhead.

Doreen Purves, who was an apprentice in 1972, recalled the strike of three decades ago. "The whole town turned out," she said. "Almost every mill won a four-day week." The proposed new agreement, she added, is "harder on women. Having to work in Innerleithen could mean another two hours' travel a day," she noted. "For women with children that's impossible, and a lot don't have a car." Other workers pointed out how there is no direct bus service to Innerleithen.

Workers in this town are keenly watching the fight at Barrie Knitwear. Of the population of just under 16,000, Redhead explained, there are still up to 3,000 working in the textile industry. "If they break the four-day week here," he said, "others will do the same."

That week's edition of the *Hawick News* reported rumors that Pringles, a textile company currently working only the guaranteed four days, is considering closing up shop in the town. Strikers at Barrie reported that GMB members at Lyle and Scotts mill have been on a longtime overtime ban over a pay claim. At Johnstone mill workers recently struck for a few days to secure a pay raise.

On the picket line strikers were unanimous in challenging the company's claim that it had problems as a result of September 11. "Every year they come up with a different excuse as to why they have problems," said Renwick. "Before September 11 it was an earthquake in Japan!"

Whatever the bosses' excuse, say workers, they have been on a drive to reorganize production at the company's plants, at the expense of long-established conditions. Several months after the company's January rejection of the union's pay claim, 39 workers were laid off, including two union stewards who are challenging this through a tribunal. The company then floated an annualized hours proposal under which hours could vary throughout the year. Most workers saw through this as another way to chip away at the four-day agreement.



Militant/Harry Laws

Striking textile workers picket outside Barrie Knitwear in Hawick, Scotland.

The proposal contained no guaranteed weekly wage. "It was all bone with no meat," commented Gary Cook. After workers rejected the annualization deal, then came the

companies' latest threats. But workers have mounted resistance that they hadn't expected to face. "We're not letting them get away with it," said Redhead.

*Pete Willson is a meat worker and member of the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers.*

## Farmers demand gov't drought relief

BY KAREN TYLER

CRAIG, Colorado—Like much of the west, Colorado has been experiencing the worst drought on record. Rivers that usually run white rapids are barely running at all. This is the third and worst year of the drought, made worse by a light snowfall last winter and virtually no rain the entire summer. Huge fires have burned throughout the Rockies this summer, consuming tens of thousands of acres of forest and pasture lands.

Those most affected by this crisis are farmers and ranchers throughout the area, a growing number of whom face mounting debts and loss of their land and livestock. Neither state nor federal government officials have offered much in the way of meaningful relief.

Some have likened this situation to the Dust Bowl of the 1930s. In areas of Nebraska and Wyoming a scant two inches of rain has fallen all year—30 percent less than the worst drought years of the '30s and 80 percent below normal.

In the North Platte River area of Nebraska, some 90 percent of farmers are in financial trouble. Wheat production in the United States is down 14 percent from last year, and corn, soybean and cotton have experienced similar losses, according to U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) figures. Many ranchers have been forced to sell off their herd, including their breeding stock and land, which will take years to recover. For thousands of ranchers this will be their last season farming.

Ron Gillen, 66, a small rancher in southwestern Colorado, has only 20 cows left from a herd of 450, after having been forced to sell off his livestock and land to cover his debts. Bank officials have advised him to find some other line of work, he noted. But after a lifetime of ranching, "where would I go to find work? Welcoming people at Wal-Mart?" Gillen stated. His story is being repeated throughout the region. Dry-land farmers, who either cannot afford the expensive irrigation water or are too far away to be able to use it, are most affected.

A jump in the number of livestock being brought to market has led to a decline in prices that farmers receive. According to a September USDA report, about 50 percent of cattle in the state were forced to market. Charles Klassen, a cattle producer from Crawford, Colorado, reported that in mid-

June slaughter cattle were selling for 64 cents a pound. "I figure I lost about \$100 per head on that bunch," he said. While cattle prices were up in September, hovering around 80 cents, the supply is smaller because of forced sales earlier in the summer. Hog prices have sunk to less than \$20 per hundred weight in August from a high of \$60 in 1997.

In states, such as North Dakota, the drought has caused \$845 million in damage so far. Estimates are that \$222 million was lost on crops and cattle and \$623 million in related costs. Duane Claymore, who raises cattle on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, said 30 of the reservation's 60 ranchers could be forced to sell off their herds and go out of business. "Some of those people still have debts from the last drought," he said.

With winter approaching and little hay available, prices for feed have soared. Hay, which is in short supply, is being sold for \$115 to \$175 per ton, up from \$80 to \$100 per ton just a year ago.

### Meager aid from government officials

With farmers and ranchers already facing billions of dollars in losses as a result of the drought, the state and federal governments have been slow to offer much in the way of assistance. President George Bush earlier this year said that any drought aid for farmers and ranchers would have to come out of the 2002 farm bill enacted in May. Finally, in September the Bush administration announced that \$752 million would be made available to western ranchers most affected by the drought. Maximum payouts will be no higher than \$40,000. Under this plan ranchers would receive up to \$18 per head of beef cattle, \$31.50 for dairy cows, and \$4.50 for sheep.

The National Farmers Union and the National Farmers Organization are backing a bill pending in Congress sponsored by South Dakota Senator Tom Daschle that would release \$6 billion in drought relief, separate from the federal budget.

At the end of September, Secretary of Agriculture Ann Veneman authorized the release of Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) acres for emergency grazing and haying. Much of the hay and grass on these lands, however, are already dried up. Genie Voloshin, a Moffat County rancher, told the local paper that she usually gets enough hay—about 850 bales—to feed the small

number of cattle she keeps from harvesting 12 acres. This year, out of 34 acres she pulled just 250 bales.

The CRP is a federal program that offers payments and assistance to remove cropland from production and plant acres in grass. Government officials have announced that CRP annual rental payments will be reduced 25 percent to account for the areas hayed or grazed. Only if a farmer donates the grass will previous payment levels be maintained.

This is in stark contrast to the solidarity shown by farmers around the country who have donated hay to the drought stricken areas.

### Farmers organize solidarity 'haylifts'

Several "haylifts" have been organized by farmers and others to try and ease the affects of the drought. Efforts have been organized in Oregon, Wisconsin, Iowa, Mississippi, and Indiana to ranchers in the west and southwest who need hay.

One effort was begun in July by the Janowiak family in Wisconsin. Matt Janowiak, who currently lives in Durango, Colorado, and works for the Bureau of Land Management, contacted his family in Merrill, Wisconsin. "This drought was just wiping people out in Colorado while Wisconsin was having a good year," said Barb Janowiak. Matt asked the family if they would help coordinate the donations and transportation. Jim and Barbara Janowiak said yes. As word started to get around, tons of hay were donated. "We've had over 80 farmers donate to the effort so far. Over 2,000 tons has been received and more trains are being lined up to take the hay," stated Barb Janowiak.

The Janowiaks are also appealing to Iowa farmers for help. An article in *The Iowa Farmer Today* described the "grass roots" efforts to provide needed aid. Eastern Colorado ranchers are willing to make weekend trips up to Iowa to pick up the hay to save on transportation costs, the journal reported.

A haylift has also been organized from the Klamath Basin in Oregon with farmers there donating in just one week 350 tons of hay and money to cover the cost of diesel to drive the loads. Independent truckers have donated their rigs to bring the hay to Trinidad, Colorado. Other solidarity efforts have been made from farmers in the Midwest and upper Midwest who have not been effected by the drought.

### From Pathfinder

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by Jack Barnes

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