INSIDE

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**APRIL 3, 2006** 

## **Utah daily** attacks Spanish weekly for use of pen names

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

A Spanish-language newsweekly published in Salt Lake City, Mundo Hispano, has been the target of an unfounded attack by the Salt Lake Tribune, one of Utah's two main dailies, because of its use of pen names in author bylines, said Mundo Hispano editor Patricia Quijano in a March 20 phone interview.

"We stand by our editorial decision of using a pen name to protect a reporter," Quijano said.

## **Defend 'Mundo Hispano'!** Letter from 'Militant' editor —page 4

The March 17 *Tribune* ran a prominent article by Jennifer Sanchez in its Utah section under the banner headline "Spanish-language journal uses fake bylines." It focused on a seven-paragraph news item in the March 10 Mundo Hispano reporting that Utah's first Latina cabinet member had left her government post to return to her legal career.

The *Tribune* reporter said the *Mundo* Hispano piece "carries the reporter's byline 'Elena Montalbo.' The problem? She doesn't exist." It argued that in a country like Colombia journalists sometimes use pseudonyms because their lives may be at risk, adding that there is no basis to do so "in a democratic society, with guaranteed freedom of the press."

The *Tribune* article suggested that in the United States such a practice is "un-Continued on page 4

## Fired for joining Chicago protest, 33 immigrant workers win back their jobs

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

CHICAGO—After being fired en masse for missing work March 10 to join a 100,000-strong rally here against proposed anti-immigrant legislation, 33 workers at Universal Form Clamp Co. in Bellwood, Illinois, have won their jobs back. The manufacturing company agreed to rehire the workers after they filed a retaliation claim with the National Labor Relations Board and a discrimination charge with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The workers held a public news conference protesting the firings, and marched together to the company office to demand their jobs back.

The March 10 rally was called to protest the Sensenbrenner bill passed by the House of Representatives in December. This legislation makes it a felony for immigrants to live in the United States without proper documents and also applies to anyone "aiding, abetting, counseling" an undocumented immigrant. Organizers also used the rally to build support for the Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act, sponsored by senators John McCain and Edward Kennedy.

The workers filed the claims on March 16 and held a news conference that day. They described how management at first had said they would allow workers to attend the rally, and then, once they had a list of 50 workers who were planning to

Continued on page 7

## U.S. troops to stay in Iraq beyond 2008

Offensive in Samarra boosts Iraqi military



U.S. Navy/Getty Images/Shawn Hussong

U.S and Iraqi army troops exit a Chinook helicopter March 16 during Operation Swarmer, largest air assault by U.S.-led forces in Iraq since 2003 imperialist invasion.

#### BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—U.S. troops will stay in Iraq beyond the end of his term, President George Bush said March 21 at a White House press conference. As he spoke, U.S. and Iraqi forces were in their sixth day of "Operation Swarmer." According to press accounts, this is the largest air assault against armed groups organized and financed by supporters of the former ruling Baath party-regime of Saddam Hussein since the U.S.-led invasion three years ago.

## **Antiwar rallies: 'U.S. Troops Out Now!'**

A majority of the nearly 1,500 troops involved in the assault are Iraqi, reported the Associated Press. The U.S. military has praised the operation as an important step toward consolidating a new Iraqi military.

The attack is also part of pushing Continued on page 3

## "A practical lesson for the working class on how to fight and win" Our History Is Still Being Written

"Why is this book important outside Cuba, and in the U.S. above all? The simplest answer is the most accurate. Because it is needed by those on the front lines of the class struggle, wherever they may be."



— Mary-Alice Waters,

editor of Our History Is Still Being Written, at February 2006 Havana International Book Fair

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Young Socialists meetings: March 26 Atlanta; April 2 L.A.; April 9 St. Paul, April 23 NYC

Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists For more information, contact listings on page 10

## May 20 march against U.S. threats to Cuba, Venezuela gains support

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

WASHINGTON—More than 400 people attended a conference here March 4-6 to form a nationwide Venezuela Solidarity Network with the aim

## Washington targets Iran in report on 'nat'l security'

**BY BRIAN WILLIAMS** 

"We may face no greater challenge from a single country than from Iran," states the National Security Strategy report released by the White House March 16. While proclaiming the U.S. government is "confronting nuclear proliferation" in countries like Iran, the document calls for a new system of providing fuel for civilian nuclear power reactors to those Washington would deem to be friendly countries. The report also promotes greater use of military spying under the Pentagon's direction, displacing some of the operations conducted for decades by agencies like the CIA.

The 49-page report, which the presi-**Continued on page 3** 

of expanding opposition in the United States to Washington's confrontationist course against Venezuela. About 50 organizations sponsored and took part in the event, including student groups from across the country. One of the main activities delegates endorsed and discussed building over the next two months is a May 20 national march here to demand "Hands off Venezuela and Cuba."

"What is occurring in Latin America is an historical moment, not the result of an accident," said Bernardo Alvarez Herrera, Venezuela's ambassador to the Continued on page 7

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National chauvinism marks union-led actions in Europe

# Transformation of U.S. military hasn't failed, it has advanced

(Last of three articles)

#### BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—In recent editorials on the Pentagon's 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) and the related military budget proposals for next year, two leading capitalist dailies, the *Washington Post* and the *Financial Times*, asserted that the "transformation" of the military that U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld has promoted has "melted away."

Nothing can be further from the truth. The first article in this series showed how the current defense review proposals build and expand on what the Department of Defense dubbed the transformation of the military in 2001. (See "Pentagon: Washington faces 'long war," in March 13 Militant.) The second article described how the U.S. rulers are using this historic change in the global deployment, military strategy, and order of battle of their armed forces to renew military attention to Africa, Latin America, and China, in addition to their ongoing military operations in the Middle East and Central Asia. (See "Pentagon renews focus on Africa, Latin America, China" in March 20 Militant.)

This week we take up the arguments of liberal politicians and pundits, voiced most clearly by the two dailies mentioned above, that the transformation of the U.S. military is at best stalled.

"Even before the attacks of 9/11, Donald Rumsfeld had the foresight to realise that the US military had to change from the lumbering behemoth it became during the cold war to a nimbler machine capable of using stealth, skill, and technology to fight terrorist groups," began the editorial in the February 13 *Finan-*

cial Times. "But he has failed to carry this revolution much further in his latest Ouadrennial Defense Review."

A Washington Post editorial the same day sounded a similar note. "Mr. Rumsfeld's Quadrennial Defense Review...is a disappointment," it said. "While it envisions a partial adjustment of the armed forces to what it calls 'the long war,' it dodges almost all the hard decisions that Mr. Rumsfeld should have made."

Both papers applauded the Pentagon's plans to increase Special Operations Forces by 15 percent, acquire more "smart bombs" and unmanned aerial vehicles, and improve military spying. But they argued that Rumsfeld flinched from tackling "bloated weapons programs" and from increasing the number of troops, which is needed, they said.

#### No alternative in ruling class

In the first article in this series we quoted the following passage from "Their Transformation and Ours," a resolution adopted by the 2005 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which is published in issue 12 of the Marxist magazine New International: "Championed by the White House and pushed forward by the Defense Department, this transformation aims at preparing for the character of wars the imperialist rulers know they need to fight—at home as well as abroad," it said. "No substantial wing of either the Democratic or Republican parties has a strategic alternative to this course. And it is already too far advanced to be reversed."

This statement has been corroborated by the facts—bipartisan support for the military appropriations the White House has requested for the U.S.-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for antidemocratic laws like the Patriot Act, to name a few.

On March 13, the U.S. Senate approved the Pentagon's budget request for \$439 billion—a 7 percent increase over 2006. That does not include \$67 billion to fund the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that is expected to easily get

expected to easily get congressional approval.

What is the beef then that the *Post* and *Financial Times* editors have with the Pentagon? Their arguments reflect the increasing factionalism within the ruling class and its dominant parties. The source of this factionalism is the frustration born of a vague but growing awareness of the vulnerability of the capitalist system headed toward economic depression and war and "the inability to find a self-confident course to decisively surmount it," as the 2005 SWP resolution put it.

#### Conventional war

"Four years of war against a highly unconventional enemy have persuaded him [Rumsfeld] to maintain every conventional weapons system in the pipeline," said an article in the February 12 Washington Post. "Some hoped that he would decisively push the American military out of the outdated conventional war posture it was in on Sept. 11, 2001," but that was not the case, complained the Post's editorial the next day.

At the same time, the *Post* expressed agreement with the QDR's assessment that China has the "greatest potential to compete militarily" with the United States. "The review sensibly proposes a fleet of long-range bombers and more attack submarines to hedge against a possible threat from China," it said, casting doubt on some fighter jets. "Yet the plan also proposes spending tens of billions of dollars on three advanced short-range warplanes, including the Air Force's gold-plated F/A-22, even though there is no threat to U.S. air superiority from China or anyone else," the *Post* said.

The 2006 QDR calls for a wider range of "conventional and non-kinetic deterrent options while maintaining a robust nuclear deterrent" as a "hedge against

J.S. military has deployed light armored Stryker vehicle as

U.S. military has deployed light armored Stryker vehicle as part of its transformation into a faster, more flexible force.

future strategic uncertainty." It states that "the pace and scope of China's military build-up already puts regional military balances at risk."

#### **Demand for more troops**

"Even worse, Mr. Rumsfeld postpones the day of reckoning in part by sticking to a stubborn refusal to increase the size of the Army," the *Post* said. The Pentagon is "unwilling to sacrifice any big conventional weapons programmes, but at the same time proposes to reduce overall army strength by 30,000," over the next five years, the *Financial Times* complained.

The restructuring of the Army into Brigade Combat Teams as a central part of its transformation away from the standing divisions of the Cold War era represents a 46 percent increase in readily available combat power, says the QDR. It shifts the emphasis from having the bulk of soldiers in the institutional army, the so-called tail, to more powerful operational forces that deploy and fight, the "teeth." This includes eliminating the gap between the combat-readiness of active-duty soldiers and members of the National Guard and Reserves, who were once considered a strategic reserve to be called once in a lifetime for a major war.

Before considering any increase in the size of the military, the Pentagon is expanding the number of "war fighters," including through the transfer of noncombat tasks and replacing them with civilians under Pentagon supervision.

The way Washington conducted the invasion of Iraq three years ago, and the restructuring of its military bases around the world and redeployment of forces to serve smaller and more agile units that can move faster to theaters of conflict, has convinced most in the ruling class of the advisability of this course.

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—Adam Abdullahi Truck driver Norfolk, Nebraska



Adam Abdullahi worked at Tyson's meatpacking plant in Norfolk, Nebraska, where he was a member of UFCW Local 271. Tyson shut down the plant in February.

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## U.S. troops to stay in Iraq

#### Continued from front page

ahead to scuttle the old strategy that marked the 2003 invasion. That consisted of deploying an occupation force that reached Baghdad rapidly without engaging Hussein's military, which melted away with elite units reorganizing later and launching guerrilla-type attacks.

The secretary of defense then as now was Donald Rumsfeld, who favored an even leaner expeditionary force to engage the Iraqi army, divide it, and win over some of its units to fight alongside U.S. troops, instead of having to face much later the war they avoided in 2003. However, the general who headed the 2003 invasion, Thomas Franks, who is now retired, was among the last remaining top military officers who clung to much of the outdated Cold War era methods.

The March 21 press conference was sandwiched between several speeches on Iraq by Bush on the third anniversary of the invasion. Asked whether U.S. troops will leave Iraq one day, Bush replied, "That'll be decided by future presidents and future governments in Iraq."

Bush also discounted remarks by Iyad Allawi, prime minister in the former U.S.-backed interim Iraqi regime, that Iraq has fallen into civil war following the recent bombing of a Shiite mosque. Among indicators to the contrary, Bush said, the U.S.-trained Iraqi army didn't "bust up into sectarian divisions."

U.S. and Iraqi officials said 50 suspected Baathists have been detained during Operation Swarmer, in which the Iraqi military was responsible for much of the planning and led house searches.

The operation was aimed in part at capturing those responsible for the February 22 bombing of the Golden Mosque, a Shiite shrine in Samarra, a key city in Salahuddin province. That province is a major part of the "Sunni Triangle," where many of the Baathist-led attacks on U.S. and Iraqi security forces, suicide bombings, and kidnappings have occurred.

"By this summer, about 75 percent of Iraq will be...owned by Iraqi units," said Lt. Gen. Peter Chiarelli in Baghdad. Building up Iraqi army and police units so that they can play a leading role in fighting Baathists and their allies is a key part of the White House "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq."

Dexter Filkins, a *New York Times* reporter based in Baghdad, was embedded with U.S. troops during the assault on Baathist strongholds in Fallujah in November 2004. Karl Zinsmeister, the editor of *American Enterprise*, has made several reporting trips to the

country. Both said in recent articles that the U.S. military is making progress in accomplishing its goals.

"In nearly every military and diplomatic realm, the American effort in Iraq is finally beginning to show the careful planning and concentrated thinking that seemed to vanish the moment American troops entered Baghdad," Filkins wrote in the February 19 New York Times Magazine. "The two top American commanders, Gen. George Casey and Lt. Gen. Peter Chiarelli, are proponents of placing far less emphasis on killing guerillas and much more on working with the locals. In Baghdad, General Casey has set up a local counterinsurgency school." This approach includes building a "new national army, a police force for every city and the logistical and educational apparatus to support them." Citing a decline in Baathist and al-Qaeda attacks from their peak in October, Filkins said, "So far, there are signs that the new strategy may be working."

Zinsmeister accompanied Iraqi security forces on operations in late December. "Iraqi soldiers, police, and guards were much more in evidence and much more competent" than during earlier visits, he wrote in the March issue of *American Enterprise*. In December, one-quarter of all combat operations were carried out exclusively by Iraqi troops, and another half jointly with U.S. forces.

These steps by the U.S. military are necessitated by the way the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq was carried out in 2003. The force headed by Gen. Franks was smaller than the divisions assembled during the first war on Iraq but maintained much of the conventional "overwhelming force" character of the 1991 assault organized by then Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell. Franks,

#### Protesters call for end to U.S. war on Iraq



Militant/Chris Pennoc

MINNEAPOLIS—Protests calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq were held March 18 in cities around the world to mark the third anniversary of the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of that country. Among the largest protests—drawing thousands—were those in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Marches also took place in other countries, from the United Kingdom to Turkey. Pictured above is a rally held here that day.

—CHRÍS PENNOCK

who headed the U.S. Central Command, in charge of Washington's assaults on Afghanistan and Iraq, would later take early retirement rather than promotion. Powell became secretary of state under Bush's first term and resigned that position following Bush's reelection in 2004.

Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam by Lt. Col. John Nagl has become required reading for top U.S. military officers in Iraq, reported the March 20 Wall Street Journal. General Casey reportedly gave a copy of the book to Rumsfeld when the defense secretary visited Baghdad in December.

Nagl took the title for the book, released in 2002, from the statement by World War I-era British officer T.E. Lawrence, known as Lawrence of Arabia, "To make war upon rebellion is messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife." The book harshly criticizes the U.S. Army's failure to learn from its mistakes during the war against Vietnam and its ineffective attempt to fight a guerilla insurgency with the same conventional methods used in World War II. It sharply attacks the view held by U.S. military leaders for most of the 1980s and '90s that the army failed in Vietnam because it fought a limited war instead of conducting an all-out conventional assault, according to the *Journal*.

Nagl is among four authors of a 120-page draft of the military's new counterinsurgency doctrine. Among the lessons it draws is the importance and difficulty of building local security forces that can carry on independently after U.S. troops depart, said the *Journal*.

## U.S. Nat'l Security Strategy targets Iran

### **Continued from front page**

dent is required to present to Congress, is the fullest presentation of U.S. strategic goals on "national security" since the last report issued four years ago.

The harshest threats are directed against the Iranian government. Washington claims Tehran "sponsors terrorism," "disrupts democracy in Iraq," and "refuses to provide objective guarantees that its nuclear program is solely for peaceful purposes." The government of north Korea is also singled out by the report as posing "a serious nuclear proliferation challenge."

In another threat aimed at Iran, the

document goes on to say that Washington "makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they are equally guilty of murder. Any government that chooses to be an ally of terror...has chosen to be an enemy of freedom, justice, and peace. The world must hold those regimes to account." Elaborating upon its approach of halting the development of a nuclear industry in Iran, the document states, "The best way to block aspiring nuclear states or nuclear terrorists is to deny them access to the essential ingredient of fissile material." This includes steps "to deter, interdict, or prevent any transfer of that material from states that have this capability to rogue states or to terrorists."

At the same time the report calls for "closing a loophole in the Non-Proliferation Treaty that permits regimes to produce fissile material that can be used to make nuclear weapons under cover of a civilian nuclear power program." And it proposes that "the world's leading nuclear exporters create a safe, orderly system that spreads nuclear energy without spreading nuclear weapons. Under this system, all states would have reliable access at reasonable cost to fuel for civilian nuclear power reactors. In return, those states would remain transparent and renounce the enrichment and reprocessing capabilities that can produce fissile material for nuclear weapons."

This new approach was reflected in the recent nuclear deal Washington signed with the government of India to provide

nuclear technology for the 14 of its 22 nuclear plants that are classified as for civilian nuclear energy production.

Military spying operations are taking on a more prominent role as part of the U.S. rulers' transformation of their armed forces into more lethal and agile units ready to move quickly into theaters of conflict around the world. The media reported in early March that Special Operations Forces are functioning out of U.S. embassies in Africa, Southeast Asia, and South America as part of government spying operations. The 2007 U.S. military budget proposals project double the funding for these elite forces. The National Security Strategy document points to their expanded use as a means to "dissuade any hostile military competitor from challenging the United States."

Spying operations under the Pentagon's control receive about 80 percent of the \$40 billion annual budget for Washington's overall intelligence gathering. Tensions between the Department of Defense and the CIA—founded in 1946 under the Democratic administration of Harry Truman and run for decades by liberals—became public last year over the Pentagon's growing control over spying operations during congressional debate over "intelligence reform."

Under the banner of promoting "democracy," the new National Security Strategy report makes a point of targeting seven states as "tyrannies" with "despotic systems." These are the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iran, Syria, Cuba, Belarus, Burma, and Zimbabwe.

## Denmark enforces anti-immigrant laws

## BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The Danish government, which tried to portray itself as a defender of free speech during the recent cartoon controversy, has passed a series of anti-immigrant measures. In 2002 a coalition government headed by the Liberal Party took office with the support of the rightist Danish People's Party. The provisions in the laws passed that year by the government of Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen include: Danish citizens could not bring a foreign-born spouse into the country unless both are at least 24 years old, have not collected welfare for the last 12 months, and must post a bond of \$9,300. Once having passed all these requirements, the spouse seeking permanent resident status must wait seven years to receive it.

Fewer than half the number of people requesting such permits were granted in Denmark the year following passage of the new laws. In addition, refugees seeking residency had to wait seven years, rather than the previous three, to be eligible for full social welfare benefits.

The head of the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration in 2003, Bertel Haarder, made the racist character of the new laws clear when he said: "It is people from the poor countries, those from third world countries, from non-western countries who are the problem. They have a low productivity, low degree of education, bad language skills, and they arrive in a country with the world's highest minimum wage, which they have difficulties deserving."

## Attack on Utah Spanish-language weekly

**Continued from front page** 

ethical" and that Mundo Hispano's "motivation" is unprincipled. It criticized the way the paper covered the news story, but offered no proof for its insinuation.

The *Tribune*'s charges are "ridiculous," Quijano told the Militant. "Elena Montalbo is a real name. Montalbo is the maiden name of our only full-time reporter," Claudia Elena Redd Montalbo.

"What happened is that we made a last-minute switch in our lead article but accidentally did not change the byline. It was a simple mistake for which I took responsibility," Quijano said. "The Tribune article failed to report that fact."

The article's author is a freelance journalist who often writes for Mundo Hispano, Quijano explained. The *Tribune* was critical of the fact that the writer normally uses a pen name, Margarita Hortúa.

"She's not a full-time journalist—she is a housewife, and would like to keep her name out of the press for reasons of privacy. That's her right. But if necessary she would come forward," Quijano said. "Our journalists do stand by every article we write," she added, and have sources to back up their stories.

In a March 17 letter to the editor of the Salt Lake Tribune, as yet unpublished, Quijano pointed out that the use of pseudonyms is not uncommon for journalists in many countries, including the United States. "Even the New York Times journalist handbook discusses a newspaper's responsibilities when using a pseudonym, which we followed," the letter noted.

"Benjamin Franklin used a pen name. Mark Twain was a pen name," Quijano said. Abigail Van Buren "is not the real name of the 'Dear Abby' columnist" whose articles appear in many papers. And the *Tribune* for years ran the advice columns of "Ann Landers," another wellknown writer using a pen name.

"Journalists use pen names for different reasons, including for work-related or

security reasons," said Quijano, referring to individuals who fear being fired for exposing a company's poor job conditions.

In her letter to the Tribune, Quijano said the daily criticized Mundo Hispano's use of a pen name and "spent considerable time critiquing the manner in which we chose to cover a particular issue. I find it quite curious that the Tribune, who has never written a story about Mundo Hispano before, chooses to publish this article three weeks before it launches its own Spanish-language newspaper that will compete directly with ours."

Quijano concluded, "We firmly believe in our fundamental right, guaranteed to us by the First Amendment, to continue to cover issues in a manner we feel best serves our community." She told the Militant that Mundo Hispano had received numerous phone calls from readers defending it. Letters of support included one from *Militant* editor Argiris Malapanis (see below), which Quijano said will be published in the next issue.

"There is no basis for the claim in the Tribune article that a newspaper article does not meet the standards of accuracy if it's published under the author's pen name," Malapanis said. "All supporters of freedom of the press should defend Mundo Hispano in face of this attack."



Front page of March 24 Mundo Hispano

## 'Militant' defends 'Mundo Hispano' in using pen names

The following is a letter Militant editor Argiris Malapanis sent March 21 to Patricia Quijano, editor of the Mundo Hispano in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear Ms. Quijano,

The Militant newspaper joins Mundo Hispano in protesting the unfounded attack on your paper by the Salt Lake Tribune in its March 17 article, "Spanish-language journal uses fake bylines." We defend your "editorial decision of using a pen name in a byline to protect the reporter," as you put it in your March 17 letter (as yet unpublished) to the editors of the Tribune.

The Tribune article disregards reality in claiming that it is unjustified and "unethical" for authors of newspaper articles to use pen names in the United States, because the U.S. is "a democratic society, with guaranteed freedom of the press."

The use of pen names is not uncommon in the U.S. media. For a variety of legitimate reasons, those interviewed by newspapers sometimes ask that their names not be used, and for similar reasons the authors of articles may choose to use pen names. For example, workers

exposing the truth about brutal job conditions, whether quoted by a newspaper or writing articles themselves, can and do face victimization by their bosses.

In the midst of the spate of deaths in U.S. coal mines the first two months of this year, an Alabama daily, the Tuscaloosa News, published an article in its February 12 issue, headlined, "Miners say they fear reporting safety problems." The News reported that coal miners quoted in that article "agreed to be interviewed only if their names were not published. All said they would face certain punishment or possible termination if they spoke out publicly against their employers."

Is freedom of the press under assault only in countries like Colombia, as the *Tribune* claims? No, there are attacks on freedom of the press right here in the United States of America. Our newspaper, the *Militant*—together with the United Mine Workers of America and 16 individual coal miners—is itself the target of a harassment lawsuit by the C.W. Mining Co. The suit is part of an attempt by this Utah coal boss to defeat a two-year-long fight by coal miners to win representation by the UMWA at the company's Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, and to intimidate others seeking unionization or those reporting the truth about such efforts and editorially supporting them. To accomplish this goal, C.W. Mining has falsely accused the Militant of "defamation" for quoting miners and describing their side of the story in their fight for safe conditions, livable wages, dignity, and representation by the UMWA. The Salt Lake Tribune itself was a target of this same lawsuit.

Another coal company, Massey Energy, has filed, and re-filed, a similar defamation lawsuit against the West Virginia daily Charleston Gazette and the UMWA.

Such attacks, in fact, have a long history in the United States. During World War II, for example, the U.S. government sought to suppress newspapers based in the Black community, such as the Pittsburgh Courier, and the Militant for publishing articles on the fight against racist segregation, charging that such coverage provoked "discontent" in wartime. The U.S. Postmaster even suspended the *Militant*'s second-class mailing rights on that basis, until our paper—a socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people—won a yearlong public campaign to restore its rights.

The Tribune's attack on Mundo Hispano should be rejected. It can and will be used by those seeking to chill freedom of the press and other First Amendment rights.

We join you in defending your right to make editorial decisions to use pen names and we pledge our support in standing up to this attack on your publication.

Sincerely,

Argiris Malapanis, Editor, The Militant

## Labor defense case wins int'l support

BY PAUL MAILHOT

SALT LAKE CITY—Endorsements for the Militant Fighting Fund's defense of the Militant newspaper against a harassment lawsuit by C.W. Mining are building toward the goal of 500 new supporters by April 1. This campaign started on February 1 and has yielded 334 new endorsers as this issue goes to press.

The *Militant* is a central target of C.W. Mining, owner of the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, in its suit against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), 16 individual coal miners involved since 2003 in the fight to win UMWA representation at the mine, and supporters of the miners' struggle. The company claims it has been defamed by the union and the miners, and by the Militant, for statements by the embattled workers explaining why they were fighting for better safety conditions and pay, and for the UMWA.

At a February 17 hearing on the case before Federal Judge Dee Benson here, Salt Lake City's two main dailies—the Salt Lake Tribune and Deseret Morning News—were dismissed from the case. At the same time, the judge said he agreed with the company's attorney that the Militant's coverage of the Co-Op miners' struggle was "quantitatively and qualitatively different." He said he would issue a written ruling at a later date on motions to dismiss the case by the Militant, the UMWA, and the 16 miners.

"We just did a large mailout seeking

endorsements and fund-raising for the Militant Fighting Fund," wrote David Worthington, a retired union officer in Keizer, Oregon. Worthington, who was an early endorser and contributor to the fund, said he mailed information on the labor rights case to 171 union locals and is now doing follow up work.

More endorsements are also coming in from abroad. From Sweden, Militant supporters sent in six new endorsers last week. They include Ingegerd Granat, a prominent local leader of the Center Party in Gothenburg. Several workers at a local meatpacking plant also signed up.

Another six endorsers came in from New Zealand, as well. These included five members of the New Zealand Meat Workers Union from Christchurch, and a delegate for the National Distribution Union at a garment plant in Auckland.

"We urge all Militant readers to endorse, contribute, and help get others to support this fight to defeat a lawsuit by a coal boss aimed at stifling labor opposition to the employers' attacks on our wages, job conditions, safety, and human dignity and to shut up any paper that dares to tell the workers' side of the story," Militant editor Argiris Malapanis said in an interview.

Endorsements and much needed donations can be sent to the Militant Fighting Fund, P.O. Box 520994, Salt Lake City, UT 84152. For mo re materials on the case, including the transcript of the February 17 court hearing, go to www.themilitant.com and click on "Defend Labor Rights."

Women miners conference planned BY ALYSON KENNEDY

PRICE, Utah—On April 24, women miners and others will gather for the second annual Women's Conference in Farmington, New Mexico. The event is sponsored by International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) Local 953, which organizes three surface and one underground coal mine on the New Mexico side of the Four Corners area of the Navajo Nation. Ninety percent of the miners there are Navajo.

Last year the gathering drew about 50 people. It was stamped by the large turnout of women miners employed at coal mines in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah.

"IUOE Local 953 and the Ethics Committee have been proactive in addressing gender inequality, discrimination and harassment in the work place, and we are asking that you join us in sponsoring this very informative and important conference," said Local 953 president Wars Peterman, in a letter that is being circulated among unionists in the West.

The conference will begin with a dinner on Sunday evening, April 23, at the Courtyard Marriott Hotel in

Farmington, organizers said.

At last year's conference, participants exchanged experiences of working through their unions to fight against discrimination and sexual harassment on the job. Many of the miners who attended said the event was an important boost for them and they would work to make the next one even more successful.

This year the conference is being held at the San Juan College in Farmington. There have been several planning meetings. On March 10 a Navajo taco sale was organized at the Local 953 hall to raise funds for bringing in speakers.

Lois Jensen, a former iron ore miner who won a landmark sexual harassment lawsuit against the Eveleth mine in northern Minnesota will be a keynote speaker. Jensen's struggle was depicted in the recently released movie North Country.

For further information or to donate to the effort contact Rosie Kellywood at 2wrfoster@advantes.net or Wars Peterman at Wars953@yahoo.com. Those interested can also make inquiries or donations by mail to IUOE Local 953, P.O. Box 2127, Kirtland, NM 87417. Tel: (505) 330-6594.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

#### California: Angelica laundry workers end two-month strike

COLTON, California—After a twomonth strike, more than 300 members of UNITE HERE at the Angelica laundry here returned to work the last week of February under terms of their expired contract. They had walked out December 18 demanding a pay raise and pensions. "Some people didn't agree with going back without a contract, but I think it was right," said Damaris Hidalgo on her way in to work March 11. She said conditions inside are similar to before the strike.

"I don't have a regular position, because I've only been here three years," said Maria Marin. "But those with 10 vears' seniority had regular jobs, and now they're being moved all over as a form of pressure," including being put on the harder, dirtier jobs. In a phone interview, Lucia Lopez, a member of the union negotiating committee, said that contract talks are continuing. She said the company is harassing some workers, trying to get them to quit. "But we aren't giving up," she added.

—Naomi Craine

#### Minnesota Beef closes packing plant 'indefinitely'

BUFFALO LAKE, Minnesota— Workers at Minnesota Beef Industries

here went to pick up their paychecks on February 24 after a two-day layoff and discovered that production was to be suspended for four to five months. According to the union contract, the company is required to give at least 30 days notice before shutting the plant. The bosses' decision has left 125 workers jobless, most of them originally from Mexico, in a rural region where work is sparse. Workers at Minnesota Beef had gone through a long struggle to win union representation and then a contract with the company. In September 2004 they voted in United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789. A six-hour work stoppage helped to keep the pressure on the company to sign a contract, which was won in November 2005.

—David McConnell and Rebecca Williamson

### Two construction unions leave AFL-CIO Trades Department

The Laborers International Union and the Operating Engineers announced in mid-February that they are leaving the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. They plan to join the newly formed National Construction Alliance, which will also include the carpenters, bricklayers, iron workers, and Teamsters. With 1.5 million members, they've set their priority

## U.S. prison officials routinely shackle women inmates in labor

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

An article in the March 2 New York Times was titled "Prisons Often Shackle Pregnant Inmates in Labor."

It reported that Shawanna Nelson, 30, a prisoner at the McPherson Unit in Newport, Arkansas, had been in labor for more than 12 hours when she arrived at the Newport Hospital, on Sept. 20, 2003. Nelson, who was serving time for writing bad checks, had her legs shackled together and had been given nothing stronger than Tylenol all day. She "begged, according to court papers, to have the shackles removed," the *Times* said. "Though her doctor and two nurses joined in the request, her lawsuit says, the guard in charge of her refused."

"She was shackled all through labor," Nelson's lawyer told the Times. "The doctor who was delivering the baby made them remove the shackles for the actual delivery at the very end."

The experience of giving birth without anesthesia while largely immobilized has left Nelson with lasting back pain and damage to her sciatic nerve, according to her lawsuit against prison officials and a private company, Correctional Medical Services.

The practice of shackling prisoners who are in labor is common, the *Times* said. Only two states, California and Illinois, have laws forbidding it.

Prison officials are quick to rationalize the brutal practice. "Though these are pregnant women," Dina Tyler, a spokeswoman for the Arkansas Department of Corrections, told the Times, "they are still convicted felons, and sometimes violent in nature. There have been instances when we've had a female inmate try to hurt hospital staff during delivery."

Other state officials claim such restraints are needed because the prisoners may try to escape during labor. "You

can't convince me that it's ever really happened," Dee Ann Newell, who has taught parental care classes for women prisoners in Arkansas, told the Times. 'You certainly wouldn't get far."

About 5 percent of women reportedly arrive pregnant in jail, and some 2,000 babies are born to U.S. prisoners annually.

## **Students, unionists march in France** against antilabor law that targets youth



PARIS—At the call of college and high school student organizations and all major union federations, more than 1 million youth and workers demonstrated in 160 towns across France March 18, including in Paris (shown above). They demanded the government withdraw the antilabor law just adopted that creates a "First Job Contract." The law establishes a two-year trial period in which bosses who hire workers below 26 years of age can fire them without giving any justification. The French government has so far refused to back down. Student organizations and union federations have called for a new national day of protest March 28, including work stoppages. Two-thirds of university campuses are on strike, and many have been shut down completely.

—JEAN-LOUIS SALFATI

at winning more construction workers to the unions. Currently 13 percent of these workers are unionized, down from 40 percent in 1973.

—Brian Williams

#### Peabody Coal closes Black Mesa mine in Arizona

KAYENTA, Arizona—Peabody Western Coal closed the Black Mesa mine here December 31 after Southern California Edison shut down the Mohave Generating Station in Laughlin, Nevada. The more than 200 Black Mesa workers, 95 of whom are Native-American, are members of United Mine Workers of America Local 1620. The coal was delivered by a 270-mile slurry

that used 3 million gallons of water a day taken from wells drilled deep into the Navajo Aquifer, the sole source of water for the Navajo and Hopi nations.

The Mohave Generating Station is under a 1999 consent decree stemming from a lawsuit brought by environmental groups. The decree allowed the power station to continue operating only if it installed scrubbers to reduce the amount of toxins released into the air. Edison will earn about \$20 million in pollution credits for shutting down Mohave. Environmental groups are demanding that the company turn over the funds to the Navajo and Hopi peoples.

—Jeff Powers

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

#### **April 3, 1981**

ATLANTA—Black residents here are determined to continue self-defense patrols despite arrests and harassment from city officials and the police.

The self-defense patrols were established by the Techwood Homes Tenant Association because of police failure to stop the murders and disappearances of Black children. As of March 24, twenty children have been killed and three more are missing. The cops have made no arrests.

On March 20 the association organized twenty-five people in patrols. Most were armed with baseball bats painted in the Black liberation colors, red, black, and green. The bats are also known as "Hank Aaron Crime Stoppers."

Mayor Maynard branded the patrols "vigilantes" and declared that if patrols did not work with the police "they will not be tolerated."

Tenants reacted angrily to the charges. Techwood Homes leader Marian Green said, "The Klan has armed camps and they don't get labeled vigilantes. We get labeled because we are Black and lower income."

#### **April 2, 1956**

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 22-This city tonight saw the climax of four turbulent days that shook the South. A vast, militant throng of Negro freedom fighters jammed the Holt Street Church to demonstrate their solidarity behind Rev. M. L. King, a leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association iust convicted in circuit court of "conspiring to hinder" the local bus operations.

I have seen nothing like the rank and file outpouring of grievances here since my days in the rising union movement of the Thirties [reported Farrell Dobbs]. Now as then, a deep well of resentment has been tapped. A burning desire to seek redress has arisen. A growing determination to get action has taken hold.

Evidence piled up showing that many Negroes had begun their own individual protests long before the mass protest action got under way. An elderly woman quit riding the bus in 1945 after she was put off for refusing to stoop down and pick up a penny from the floor.

How the Negro people of Montgomery reached the boiling point was put plainly and simply by one witness. "I was ordered to get up and give my seat

to a white man," she said. "I got off and walked. The farther I walked the madder I got. So I just kept on walking."



### **April 1, 1931**

The Lawrence strike ended suddenly in a compromise, but the twelve-day demonstration of the textile workers there had a nation-wide significance. It was heard from one end of the country to the other like a thunder-clap in a dead calm, warning of a coming storm. There is no doubt that it had a heartening influence on the conscious sections of the workers everywhere, stirring them with the thought that the signal for struggle had been sounded by an authoritative voice.

The masters of America, sitting uneasily on a volcano of working class misery in the crisis, were no less alarmed than the workers were inspired by the strike. This was shown by the feverish attempts to get it settled before it could consolidate its organization and extend its scope. The frenzied persecution of the strike leaders was prompted by their terror, as also were their concessions to the strikers, offered so soon after the strike began—a procedure quite unusual in the textile industry.

# National chauvinism marks union-led actions across Europe

## Answer: unionize all workers, native- and foreign-born

#### BY PETER CLIFFORD

EDINBURGH, Scotland—National chauvinism, targeting immigrant workers from eastern Europe, and protectionism have marked recent union-led actions in western Europe. The February 14 demonstration of 30,000 in Strasbourg, France, organized by the European Trade Union Confederation (TUC), for example, was a nationalist action opposing what protesters called "social dumping" of east European workers into other European Union (EU) member states.

Prominent among those supporting this chauvinist course was Jack O'Connor, president of the Services,

## **UNION TALK**

Industrial, Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU) of Ireland. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) organized a massive demonstration in Dublin last December when SIPTU members at Irish Ferries struck against threats to their jobs and working conditions, and the bosses sought to bring in replacement workers from Latvia and Estonia.

Protesters at the February 14 Strasbourg march opposed measures in the European Services Directive that allow companies from across Europe to compete for contracts in any EU-member state, with fewer restrictions on employment regulations. Organizers of the action called for protectionist measures that would stem the influx of labor, rather than leading a fight to unite working people of all nationalities to resist the bosses' attacks on wages and job conditions fueled by sharpening rivalry among capitalist powers worldwide over markets.

The Paris daily *L'Humanite*, which reflects the views of the French Communist Party, reports most marchers in Strasbourg were from France and Germany. The paper quoted Christophe Thomas, who led a union delegation from the French region of Lorraine, saying, "A social Europe can't be constructed on the basis of dumping."

According to the London *Guardian*, the defeat of the EU constitution in a referendum in France last year was partly due to chauvinism promoted by opponents of the directive, who stoked fear that "the stereotypical 'Polish plumber' would be at an advantage over his western European counterparts." So far only the governments of the UK, Ireland, and Sweden have not restricted the movement of workers from eastern Europe.

#### **Irish Ferries dispute**

SIPTU's response to the Irish Ferries dispute was marked from the outset by chauvinist opposition to the movement of workers from Baltic countries into Ireland. In that regard, the *Militant*'s coverage at the time (see Dec. 26, 2005, issue) failed to point to this contradictory aspect of the fight there and its outcome. Not pointing to the dangers for working people of the union officials' protectionist course was a disservice to the thousands who joined the Dublin action to defend union rights, and to other workers.

From the beginning SIPTU leaders promoted a reactionary nationalist response among workers fighting worsen-

ing job conditions. In early November O'Connor warned that moves by Irish Ferries to hire east European labor were "a glimpse of the neo-liberal nightmare" and called for maintaining the "social values at the heart of the European model." It should have been no surprise then that the agreement struck by SIPTU officials allowed the bosses to pay the new workers from eastern Europe substantially lower wages than workers born in Ireland. The employers use any two-tier agreement to divide the workforce and undermine wages and conditions of all.

It's true any massive influx of immigrants results in lower wages for all under capitalism. The bosses accomplish this through the law of supply and demand. They rationalize it through divide-and-conquer tactics. The job of workers is not to fall into the employers' trap by opposing the movement of labor, which is neither possible nor desirable, but by uniting all workers, native- and foreign-born, through organizing everyone in the same trade unions and demanding better wages and conditions for all.

Since the settlement of the Irish Ferries dispute, this anti-east-European-worker course has gotten momentum in Ireland. ICTU is demanding a wage supplement "to protect unskilled workers in sectors where foreign labour is threatening jobs," said the *Financial Times*. Irish Labour Party leader Patrick Rabbitte, who participated in the Dublin march, has called for a work permit scheme to restrict east European immigration and invoked the scare of hordes of workers coming from that part of Europe by saying, "There are 40 million or so Poles after all." Some

160,000 east European workers have moved to Ireland since May 2004, when eight east European states joined the EU.

The fact that Ireland is a country historically dominated by British imperialism doesn't make this course better for the exploited classes. The actions by SIPTU leaders tie working people to the chauvinist and reactionary course of Ireland's rulers as part of an imperialist alliance within the European Union.

The main Irish republican party, Sinn Fein, has also accepted the framework of how best to run the EU. The March 2 *An Phoblacht*, its paper, reported that Sinn Fein Member of European Parliament Bairbre de Brun joined the Strasbourg protest and met with SIPTU and European TUC leaders over the issue. An article by Brian Denny in the same issue protested the "brain drain" from eastern Europe and said western wages are being dragged down by "social dumping" as "vulnerable and cheaper foreign labour replaces the indigenous workforce."

#### Massive immigration from east

Government figures record that some 345,000 eastern Europeans have come to the UK to work from May 2004 to the end of 2005. These changes in the composition of the working class not only break down national divisions, provincialism, and prejudices that sap the power of the labor movement, but also enrich the political and union experiences of working people and broaden their historical and cultural horizons.

At my job at Grampian Country Pork Halls near Edinburgh, workers from



Reuters/ Vincent Kessier

February 14 union-led march in Strasbourg, France. "Europe, YES! Social dumping, NO!" says banner.

other countries were the exception until two years ago. About half of the 800 workers are now from eastern Europe. Initially the company hired these workers on the same terms as others, but more recently has moved to hire them through an agency at substantially lower pay. Nearly 140 workers are on this lowertier wage. Many take home only about £120 (US\$210) a week after the agency deducts from their wages expenses for a shared bedroom and travel. They can be laid off when production slows down and fired at will by the bosses.

All eastern European workers may legally work in the UK. But the bosses play on restrictions on their rights—such as not being eligible for unemployment and housing benefits until they have worked one year continuously and have registered with the government—to weaken resistance to their antilabor attacks.

These workers are labor's allies, not enemies. Restrictions on their rights strengthen the employers. Rather than joining with the bosses, labor needs to demand full access to benefits for all foreign-born workers, removal of restrictions on movement across borders, and an end to all two-tier wages and conditions: the same pay for the same job. Let's reject the chauvinism of the bosses and the union officialdom, and instead see every worker as a fellow toiler and reach out to organize all into the ranks of labor.

## Canada: Bloc Quebecois backs Conservative gov't

BY JOE YOUNG

TORONTO—The Bloc Quebecois has announced that it will keep the newly elected minority Conservative government in office. In Canada's January 23 federal election, the Conservative Party won 124 of 308 seats in the House of Commons, defeating the Liberal Party. The Conservatives campaigned on giving more power to the provinces and repairing strained relations with Washington.

According to the February 20 *Globe* and Mail, Bloc Quebecois leader Michel Gauthier said, "We want to help the government function for a while." He added that his party would be happy with an end to Liberal centralization and the Conservative pledge to respect the constitutional division of power between the federal and provincial governments.

The Bloc Quebecois is a bourgeois nationalist party that runs in federal elections only in Quebec, one of Canada's 10 provinces, with a quarter of the country's population. Some 80 percent of Quebec's inhabitants are French-speaking and face discrimination based on their language.

At the center of the Bloc's program is the demand for sovereignty for Quebec. The Bloc defends the interests of Quebecois capitalists and upper middle-class layers, and seeks greater powers for Quebec to advance these interests.

The Bloc supports Ottawa's imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. In a statement in the February 27 *Globe and Mail*, Claude Bachand, the Bloc's defense

critic, praised Ottawa's role there. "The Canadian forces did very good work," he said. "In Kabul, they were able to restore and maintain the semblance of order that the Afghan government needed to begin functioning. With the flight of the Taliban from Kabul, international intervention has become necessary in southern Afghanistan." A Canadian now commands the NATO forces in southern Afghanistan, which include 2,200 Canadian troops.

During the recent election campaign, the Conservatives promised to give Quebec greater representation internationally and more financial powers. Such promises succeeded in winning votes away from Bloc Quebecois. Its share of the popular vote fell from 49 to 42 percent and its parliamentary seats from 54 to 51. The Conservatives, who had no seats in Quebec, won 10, and they took nearly 25 percent of the vote, up from 9 percent.

Echoing the Conservatives' proposal for greater fiscal powers for Quebec and the other provinces, the Canadian Council of Chief Executives called for abolishing the federal goods and services tax and ending federal transfer to the provinces of funds for medical care and other programs. The CEOs proposed that taxation powers be shifted to the provinces.

Since the elections, Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper has met three times with Jean Charest, the Liberal premier of Quebec. In the last meeting, held on March 8, the two parties indi-

cated they were close to an agreement to give Quebec representation at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Quebec, however, would only be able to address the body with the permission of Ottawa.

While accepting the Bloc's support in federal parliament, Harper is promoting the Liberal government of Quebec as an alternative to the Parti Quebecois (PQ), a bourgeois nationalist party that runs candidates in elections in Quebec and is closely allied to the Bloc. The PQ has organized two votes on sovereignty and has promised to do so again if reelected. In the last referendum in 1995 sovereignty got 49.4 percent of the vote.

The Conservative government has also endorsed moves by the Quebec government that weaken the public health-care system. This includes providing services based on one's ability to pay and expanding use of private clinics to perform operations funded by the government. Certain operations like hip replacements can now be performed at private clinics and be paid for with private insurance, purchased by those who can afford it.

Figures from 2003 show that Quebec is the province that spends the least for its health-care network. Medical expenditures per person was \$2,247 last year, \$213 less than the Canadian average. This is a reflection of inroads made by successive Parti Quebecois and Liberal governments over the last quarter century against socialized medicine.

## Venezuela solidarity conference

#### **Continued from front page**

United States, at the opening session. "For the past seven years, there have been threats of all kinds of interventions, the U.S. has a policy of 'regime change,' and we have been accused of hosting international terrorists. But what you see in this hemisphere is a new debate on an alternative road."

The U.S. government has repeatedly backed efforts by sections of the local capitalist class to topple the Venezuelan government headed by President Hugo Chávez. Washington supported an April 2002 military coup attempt against the Chávez administration, a boss lockout spearheaded by the management of the country's state-owned oil company at the end of that year, and a presidential recall referendum in August 2004. All failed due to massive resistance by working people, who, encouraged by laws passed by the government, have fought for land, jobs, decent living conditions, and democratic rights.

Venezuelan capitalists and their U.S. allies are also incensed by the growing alliance between Caracas and Havana. The recently released U.S. National Security Strategy (see front-page article) says Cuba is led by "an anti-American dictator" who "seeks to subvert freedom in the region." It also labels Chávez as a "demagogue awash in oil money [who] is undermining democracy and seeking to destabilize the region."

Jorge Alonso Velos of the Afro-Venezuelan Network spoke at the conference here on increased efforts by Venezuelans of African descent to fight against historic anti-Black discrimination in that country. "We have made visible our problems and placed them on the table and have achieved a presidential declaration against racial discrimination," Velos said. "What we are demanding is amending the constitution to outlaw discrimination in employment, housing, and education."

Other conference workshops took up U.S. military moves in the region, collaboration between the governments of Venezuela and Cuba, and opportunities for organizing solidarity actions on high school and college campuses in defense of Venezuela.

"The Cuban people did not hesitate to offer solidarity to the government of Hugo Chávez," said Dagoberto Rodríguez, the head of the Cuban Interests Section here, at a March 4 conference public event held at a nearby church. "We know very well what solidarity means and the defense of the sovereignty of other cultures and peoples. More than 20,000 Cubans are in Venezuela serving 60 percent of the population," he said. Cuban volunteers in Venezuela include some 15,000 doctors, 3,000 dentists, 1,500 optometrists, and 1,500 technicians and other medical personnel.

At the closing session, the Venezuela Solidarity Network endorsed the May 20 march called to oppose U.S. aggression against Venezuela and Cuba and defend the sovereignty of both nations. The action will also demand that Washington normalize relations with Havana, and immediately release the five Cuban

## Marchers nationwide say no to bill in Congress that criminalizes undocumented workers



Militant/Scott Breen

SEATTLE—Some 700 people rallied here March 18 against the Sensenbrenner bill, which makes it a felony to live in the country without proper documents, or to assist those who do. Thousands more protested across the United States in mid-March in Trenton, New Jersey; Portland, Oregon; and other cities. Protest organizers often back the McCain-Kennedy "immigration reform" bill, which creates a guest worker—type program to maintain a pool of superexploited labor and lays the groundwork for a national identity card.

—CECELÍA MORIARITY

revolutionaries held in U.S. prisons on frame-up charges.

More than 40 groups have endorsed the May 20 demonstration. They include Bolivarian Circles in about 10 U.S. cities, Communist Party USA, Cuba Solidarity New York, IFCO-Pastors for Peace, National Network on Cuba, Service Employees International Union Local 1199, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Front of Puerto Rico, Workers World Party, U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, and the Young Socialists. For more information contact the May 20 Hands Off Venezuela and Cuba Coalition at may20coalition@mindspring.com

## Sago Mine reopens; company absolves itself of blame

#### **BY PAUL PEDERSON**

Two and a half months after 12 miners were killed following a methane gas explosion, production resumed March 15 at International Coal Group's (ICG) Sago Mine in Upshur County, West Virginia.

The day before, the company published the results of its internal investigation into the January 2 blast. In its report, ICG claims the cause of the explosion was a lightning strike. In a company statement released along with the report, ICG president Ben Hatfield called the explosion "an unpredictable and highly unusual accident."

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) denounced the company for releasing results of its investigation before the federal and state inspectors. "There is a reason companies aren't allowed to investigate themselves in these kinds of instances, which is that they will do or say anything to limit their liability," said UMWA president Cecil Roberts in a March 15 statement. "ICG is essentially saying it was an Act of God, and we all know you can't sue God."

The union pointed to holes in ICG's "findings." "ICG even acknowledges that it doesn't know how an electrical charge could have traveled from the surface to the mine and ignited an explosion," Roberts said. "To publicize their unfounded conclusion now, well before the official investigation by federal and state experts is finished, is extremely reckless."

A focus of the investigation has been the use of a foam compound called Omega Block, introduced in the 1990s, which was used to seal off the unworked section of the Sago Mine where the explosion occurred. The mine bosses prefer to use this foam block because it is quicker to install and cheaper than concrete block that was the standard before the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) approved the use of Omega.

All 10 of these seals in the Sago Mine were blown out by the explosion, spreading the fire, smoke, and gas into the working sections of the mine. The blast instantly killed one mine worker. Twelve others were trapped deeper inside the mine and slowly suffocated. Rescue teams did not begin entering the mine until 11 hours after the blast and found the trapped men, all but one dead, 42 hours after the explosion. The lone miner who survived, Randy McCloy Jr., was in a coma for three weeks. He is still in rehabilitation for a speech impediment and receives nutrition through a feeding tube, which is likely to remain for weeks ahead, reported the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

A series in the *Post-Gazette* shows that Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) approved the use of foam seals knowing they were far less effective in containing blasts than concrete.

The paper reported on a July 2001 test conducted by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH). "To determine the ultimate failure pressure of various seal designs... researchers pumped a methane-oxygen mixture into the chamber and triggered explosions," the daily said in its March 12 issue. "While eight of the 11 traditional concrete block walls withstood blasts ranging from 66 psi [pounds per square inch] to 86 psi, three to four times the standard, the unhitched, 40-inch-thick Omega Block wall, the design cleared for use at Sago, failed at 17.9 psi."

According to ICG's own inquiry, the concrete seals tested by NIOSH would likely have withstood the force of the

blast. "The forces of the explosion were as high as 30 psi at roofline at all the seals and physical evidence at some locations near the seals within the sealed area indicate pressures of 60 psi or higher," ICG said. MSHA, however, requires that seals only be able to withstand 20 psi—less than half the requirement for coal mines in Australia, Canada, and the UK.

ICG claims that the Sago explosion was "unpredictable" and "highly unusual." But a 2001 NIOSH report cited in the *Post-Gazette* shows there had been seven such explosions in sealed off areas of mines in the previous six years.

Two weeks prior to the reopening of Sago, a blast erupted in Drummond Co.'s Shoal Creek Mine in Alabama. Miners say that three Omega Blocks in a ventilation wall, or "brattice," inside the mine were sucked out of the wall by the force of the ventilation fan. This may have interfered with the ventilation and led to the build up of methane that caused the explosion, the *Post-Gazette* reported.

Meanwhile, the stock of ICG, which was founded by billionaire Wilbur Ross, rose more than 3 percent the day the Sago Mine reopened. The company released its fourth-quarter earnings report the same day, noting that revenue increased 27 percent to nearly \$650 million in 2005 and coal production is up 4.5 percent from last year. Ross told the Wall Street Journal in January that the company's goal is to become the "top low-cost producer" in the industry. He also bragged in Fortune magazine nine days after the Sago explosion that the company had planned to expand production there from 350,000 tons of coal to 900,000 tons this year. In spite of the explosion, Ross said, "Our fundamental position is unchanged."

## **Immigrant workers**

#### **Continued from front page**

go, began threatening them individually with termination. About half of those on the list went anyway.

The following day, the fired workers gathered in the parking lot outside the factory and marched across the street to the company offices to demand their jobs back. They were reportedly directed to a conference room where they met with company officials.

By the end of the day the company backed down and said that the firings were a mistake. "There is a misunderstanding between the employees and their supervisor," company official Gene Lasker, told the press. "We ask the employees to return to work on Monday, which they will, and as far as we're concerned, the issue is settled." Lasker didn't say if the workers would be compensated for the week of missed work.

José Oliva, director of the Interfaith Workers' Rights Center, which assisted the workers in filing the claims, told the press that he believes many other Chicago workers have been victimized by their employers for having taken the day off to demonstrate on March 10.

"The march was exactly for what we are here today, for our rights to be respected," said Jesús Hernández, one of the 33 fired workers. He said he didn't regret making the decision to go to the march.

Martin Unzueta from the Chicago Workers Collaborative said that he is planning to also file a complaint with the EEOC for 10 workers fired from a Schiller Park automobile parts company for participating in the rally.

Rollande Girard contributed to this

## 'Tools to arm and be used by working people

## Speakers at Havana event discuss two newest issues of Marxist magazine 'N

The following are remarks by Mary-Alice Waters, Eliades Acosta, and Mario Rodríguez Martínez at a February 12 meeting to present issues 6 and 7 of the magazine *Nueva Internacional*, which took place as part of the Havana International Book Fair. An article reporting on the meeting appeared in the March 13 issue of the *Militant*.

Waters, editor of the *New International*, which is also published in Spanish as *Nueva Internacional*, chaired the event, opening with the remarks below.

Eliades Acosta is the director of the José Martí National Library. Mario Rodríguez is a member of the national leadership of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution. Between 1994 and 2001 Rodríguez served as Cuba's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Mexico.

The Combatants Association is made up of Cubans who have taken part in revolutionary struggles and internationalist missions over more than half a century.

The translation of the remarks by Acosta and Rodríguez, major excerpts of which are published here, is by the *Militant*. The translations and remarks by Waters are copyright © 2006 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

#### BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

On behalf of Pathfinder Press and *Nueva Internacional*, I want to thank all of you who are here with us this afternoon. My name is Mary-Alice Waters, and I'm the editor of the magazine we are presenting, a magazine published in several languages, including English, Spanish, and French, that is distributed by Pathfinder Press.

I want to begin by welcoming and introducing the other members of the panel.

- Carlos Rodríguez Almaguer, president of the José Martí National Youth Movement.
- Mario Rodríguez Martínez, speaking on behalf of the national



SWP leader James Harris sells *New International* with "Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun" at August 6 voting rights march of 13,000 in Atlanta. The Marxist magazine explains "that we are today living through a great historic shift in the international class struggle, which we must absorb and start acting on its logic," Mary-Alice Waters said.

leadership of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution. Mayito, as he is known to his *compañeros*, was involved in the clandestine struggle here in Havana against the Batista dictatorship in the 1950s, and has served as Cuba's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Mexico.

- Fernando Rojas, vice president of the Federation of University Students (FEU) in the city of Havana.
- Darío Machado, member of the editorial board of *Cuba Socialista*, and of the executive leadership of the Ministry of Science, Technology, and the Environment.
- Eliades Acosta, director of the José Martí National Library. Eliades also is a member of the Combatants Association, having served in Cuba's internationalist mission in Angola.

And we are especially honored to have with us Armando Hart, director

of the Office of the José Martí Program and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba—a compañero whose distinguished place in the history of the Cuban Revolution is well known to all.

To initiate our discussion, let me say a few words about *Nueva Internacional* and the character of today's presentation.

As our masthead says, *Nueva Internacional* is "A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory." It is not the organ of a party, but the members of the editorial board are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, all formerly leaders of the Young Socialists. They include SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, who is the author of the lead articles in these two issues of the magazine. We also benefit from the collaboration of supporters in other countries.

Nueva Internacional is not a magazine written by or for philosophers, economists, or academics. Its purpose is not abstract debate. It is a tool to arm and to be used by workers and youth actively involved in the practical work of building a communist party and youth organization, in the United States above all.

We believe that building such a proletarian movement is a historical necessity, and, in all modesty, we think that success or failure in reaching that objective will play no small role in the future of humanity. It is an objective that is inseparable from the tasks of proletarian internationalism and can only be reached working together with others fighting for the same objectives around the world. That is one of the reasons we value so greatly our collaboration and opportunities to discuss these questions with communists here in Cuba, as we are doing today.

This is the face of *Nueva Internacional* that we want to present this afternoon. The magazine is above all directed to the new generations coming to political consciousness and entering into struggles along this working-class line of march. It is they who must absorb and internalize the communist way of doing politics. And we know

from experience that there is a real hunger among young people—students, workers, and others—for the kind of political depth the material in *Nueva Internacional* allows them to reach for and debate. They are not afraid of the political *work* it requires or the revolutionary consequences it implies.

The single largest sales of *Nueva Internacional* in its various languages have been to young people from around the world at events such as last August's World Festival of Youth and Students in Caracas, and at the previous one held in Algiers, or during the recently concluded World Social Forum in Caracas. That is one reason we are so pleased to welcome comrades representing the leaderships of the Union of Young Communists and the Federation of University Students here today.

We also know that without continuity, without the braiding of experiences among generations of revolutionary fighters, without each new generation making the lessons of the modern working-class movement its own, victory is much less certain, and will come at a much higher price than necessary, if at all. Those lessons have been paid for in blood by those who have gone before us. That's why having compañeros like Armando Hart and Mayito with us today as well is so important.

These two issues of the magazine are complementary. A number of compañeros on our panel who were working on presentations jokingly objected, "These are not magazines, these are books!"—and asked how frequently the "magazine" is published. The answer is, "whenever possible."

The SWP has always worked to help publish a political/theoretical magazine. The first magazine called *New International* was published in 1934, and it has come out under different names and in different formats ever since.

The first issue in its current format was published in 1983. Since then 13 issues have been published in English, 7 in Spanish, 8 in French, 3 in Swedish, and 1 in Icelandic. Many of the major articles have been published in Greek and in Farsi as well. On the stand behind us you can see a representative display of this political treasure chest.

Despite the number of pages, the *magazine* character of the publication is real. Each issue brings together articles and documents that enrich each other by coming at similar questions from different directions, from different experiences, sometimes even from different historical periods.

Issue no. 6 of *Nueva Internacional*, for example, which features "Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun" and "Their Transformation and Ours," also includes reports given to the 1921 congress of the Communist International by Lenin and by Trotsky, the reasons for which are explained in the magazine's introductory column, "In This Issue."

Issue no. 7 in Spanish, whose lead article is "Our Politics Start With the

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## 'NEW INTERNATIONAL' NOS. 12 & 13 -

From 'New International' no. 12

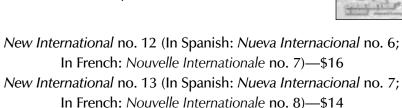


"One of capitalism's infrequent long winters has begun. Accompanied by imperialism's accelerating drive toward war, it's going to be a long, hot winter." —Jack Barnes

TODAY'S sharpening interimperialist conflicts are fueled both by the opening stages of a world depression—what will be decades of economic, financial, and social convulsions and class battles—and by the most far-reaching shift in Washington's

military policy and organization since the late 1930s, when the U.S. rulers prepared to join the expanding Asian and European wars, transforming them into World War II.

CLASS-STRUGGLE-MINDED working people must face this historic turning point for imperialism, this cataclysmic crisis for "the West" and for "Christendom." And draw satisfaction and enjoyment from being "in their face" as we chart a revolutionary course to confront it.





## and youth'

lueva Internacional'

## 'Out of great crises come great solutions'

BY ELIADES ACOSTA

Good afternoon, compañeras and compañeros. The very word "compañero," used by Americans and Cubans alike, defines well the significance of this ongoing dialogue that Nueva Internacional and Pathfinder are engaged in concerning the course of communist activity and the need to struggle for a better world.

I'm also pleased that we're presenting these issues of Nueva Internacional here today in the midst of the book fair, in what was once Che's command post at La Cabaña—where he met with his compañeros and left his mark.1

This is a magazine written and promoted, without a doubt, by communists. And I'm glad they say it loud and clear. They are entitled to do so, because of all the struggles they have come out of. In one part of the excellent essay entitled "Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun," Jack Barnes correctly says: We have absolutely no fear of the U.S. ruling class. We're communists and we're here to do away with capitalism, to do away with imperialism. We know that capitalism is by definition the enemy of humanity.

To be a communist in the United States, in the most complicated part of the world, is clearly not the same thing as being a communist in Cuba, although being a communist in Cuba also requires having a heart in one's chest. But their problems are different from those confronting us as Cuban communists.

So I think the international communist movement owes special recognition to the American communists who have come here and, as is natural, have met with their Cuban communist compañeros, just as in other parts of the world, to engage in these dialogues. Because they have not allowed themselves to be bought off or diverted, they have not lowered the banners of struggle, despite adverse conditions.

In issue no. 6 of Nueva Internacional, the report and summary by Jack Barnes, discussed and adopted by the delegates to the 41st Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in 2002 in Ohio, presents the situation in the country in the wake of September 11. And it is an accurate assessment, as real life several years later demonstrates, of the deep structural—not conjunctural—crisis of capitalism and imperialism, both in the United States and worldwide.

It is an accurate assessment of the opportunities a crisis of this kind offers the international communist movement. It states accurately that imperialism cannot resolve the crisis by creating a worldwide superimperialism, or a hegemonic center that imposes agreement on the various local imperialist powers, or by trying to conjure away the crisis through the countless ploys the system uses.

It presents the assessment that the system has exhausted its final kind







Speaking at February 12 presentation of Nueva Internacional, from left: Eliades Acosta, director of José Martí National Library; Mario Rodríguez, of the national leadership of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution; Mary-Alice Waters, New International editor. To her right is Carlos Rodríguez of the Martí Youth Movement, who also spoke at event during Havana International Book Fair.

and gentle, glamorous, deceitful mask. Since September 11 the true, festering, and horrible face of capital has been out in the open for all to see.

The fashionable labels are gone, the siesta is finished, the party is over. What we are living is capitalism as it really is. This is the real face of imperialism. That's what Abu Ghraib is, nothing more. That's what Fallujah is, what the tortures in Guantánamo are.

That's what Northcom is, the Northern Command of the U.S. armed forces. Communists in the United States are very correct to call this to our attention, and that it began under Clinton. The establishment of the Northern Command, which includes the United States, provides for the deployment of the U.S. military forces in cases of civil unrest, in violation of the Posse Comitatus Act, which bars the use of the federal armed forces in domestic police matters.

Recently the term "the long war" began to be used. It was coined by

Rumsfeld and appears in the Quadrennial Defense Review, the Pentagon's projection for the next four years and beyond.

What does "the long war" mean? They say it clearly in their guiding documents. The United States is in a war that will last no less than 20 years, waged against many countries, not only Iraq. It will continue until what they call "the definitive victory" of the Western capitalist way of life.

That long war will include air strikes, commando attacks, open warfare, military bases, naval action, covert action, and all types of operations all over the globe. As the Pentagon's guiding document states, the long war will be waged against many countries that are not enemies of the United States today, or not yet considered open enemies of the United States.

Before the term was in vogue, Barnes and the communists in the United States called attention to this, providing an accurate analysis. A long period is opening before us, they write, the final stage of decay and crisis of the system. Where politeness is gone and repression takes its place.

But out of great crises come great solutions.

I should say here that I was very happy to find in these pages a precise definition of Zionism by Trotsky. Because it's also worth mentioning that the neoconservative group has such close ties to Zionism that it makes you wonder whether this plan of universal expansion is really North American or Zionist. This is an important question for theoreticians and politicians to investigate. And here comes Trotsky in the 1930s, saying that the creation of the state of Israel by the Zionists is a bloody trap for the Jewish people. That has been proven in a most dramatic and terrible way.

I was also very happy to see that when the U.S. Socialist Workers Party assesses

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## 'Publications that enrich our political arsenal'

BY MARIO RODRÍGUEZ **MARTÍNEZ** 

I'm a regular reader of Nueva Internacional and of some of the books that have been published by Pathfinder Press, which are very important for us. I've tried to put down in writing some of my thoughts concerning these two issues of the magazine as well as the other books.

It's extremely important for us to touch on these current, tangible questions of our epoch, which is characterized by the voracity of imperialism, using all its economic, diplomatic, and military power to dominate the world. Likewise, the collapse of the meringue in the USSR and the socialist camp imposes on revolutionaries the challenge of defending and developing our ideas and programs, aimed at achieving the world of freedom and justice we have proclaimed—socialism—and for which we're prepared to give our lives.

For us Cubans, who find ourselves 90 miles from the empire, now led by the most aggressive and fascist-like of the 10 administrations we've had to confront, the defense of the first socialist state in the Americas constitutes the number-one duty in a world where many renegades from Marxism go around dejected.

It's important for us to be clear that defense of the socialist state as our number-one task is not a slogan. It's a reality that conditions have imposed on us; not the one we have chosen. And

our people face this task with dignity, renewed spirit, and intelligence.

As the last century began, we were defending the nation at a time when U.S. gunboats were in our waters and the U.S. army was on our soil, involved in the first imperialist war. This fact, which curtailed our independence, has marked our struggles up until today, the opening of the 21st century. We continue defending the sovereignty and freedoms that we won through blood and fire on January 1, 1959.1

A good part of this history is brought together and recounted with absolute truthfulness in the pages of Nueva Internacional, and in the dozens of titles containing accounts and writings by noted Cuban revolutionary combatants published by Pathfinder Press. What encourages us and deepens our commitment even more, however, is the demonstration of how revolutionaries in the United States are committed to and participate in this struggle from within the very belly of the beast, to use the words of the Apostle [José Martí]. They fight for Cuba. They fight for the Americas as a whole. They fight for their own people. They demonstrate to us that the patriotic and internationalist legacy of Henry Reeve is alive and becoming stronger.2

Imperialism's unbridled war drive was given new impetus by the events of September 11. The world, stunned by what people were seeing on TV screens in their living rooms, watched the criminal spectacle unfold. At the same time, however, it was demonstrated that imperialism was vulnerable, very vulnerable.

That event did no more than accelerate the plans for world domination that were already being carried out, exploiting the shock and pain of the people of the United States. In the article in Nueva Internacional, "Their Transformation and Ours," we see clearly the operational transformation of the U.S. army aimed at achieving a greater geographic reach and increasing its military operations, contributing to the profits of the military-industrial complex.

They are making good on their slogan that "peace will be the exception and war will be the norm for this army." We see how they are not only looking for new weapons but pursuing new political and military alliances in different parts of the world that they aim to attack. Based on each new conflict, they proclaim, "The mission will define the coalition."

In international language, new rhetoric abounds as well. By now we've become accustomed to the international press constantly referring to countries over which the bloodiest threats loom, from limited strikes all the way up to the use of nuclear weapons, as "rogue states" and "hostile regimes," or as part of the "axis of evil."

To all this we must add new fields of confrontation that are opening up. Fo-Continued on page 10

## 'Great crises, great solutions'

#### Continued from page 9

the political situation, it's not just on the basis of books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, however brilliant these thinkers may be. They also take the pulse of the street. They know that an anecdote can capture a greater reality.

In "Capitalism's Long Hot Winter," Barnes tells the story, for example, of going to a meeting a few days after September 11—I think it coincided with Mexico's independence day, September 16—and on a street corner a Mexican woman was selling little American flags. Suddenly a Mexican man passes, driving a truck decked out with some patriotic U.S. flags in support of "our boys" in the war—obviously these were placed by the driver's boss, not by him. As the truck passes the corner where the Mexican woman is selling U.S. flags, he leans out the window and shouts, "Viva Zapata!"

And Jack Barnes adds: I wasn't the only one who saw it, others did too.

Those are the signs of the street, which tell the truth, whether it's the streets of Cuba or the U.S. streets. And keeping your ear to the ground is a virtue in a political party, even more so if this party wants to transform the world.

"Capitalism's Long Hot Winter" talks about the left. And it says something that is very accurate: The only *left* is the one that aims to transform the world through revolution. That is the defining criterion. All the rest can be called many other things.

The document also has a very interesting criticism of Noam Chomsky. It makes one think because, in fact, Chomsky is the public intellectual most cited in the U.S. media, according to the book *Public Intellectuals* by Richard Posner.

Why are the ideas of Chomsky acceptable? Why are the ideas of other social fighters not considered acceptable? It's something to think about. Sometimes we're dazzled by names, labels, reputation

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party is very radical, very correct on this question: make alliances with everyone, but they must want to make a revolution. Alliances with anyone who wants to transform the world without concession, without cowardice.

Nueva Internacional talks about Cuba in relation to the United States: Cuba's importance for strengthening the struggle within the United States. This is something we really knew little about. The article tells a story about Ramón Labañino, one of our five heroes, who sent a letter to Mary-Alice. Ramón wrote: I read the Pathfinder book on Playa Girón, and learned something "I had never read in any other book on this subject." Cubans weren't aware that this victory and Cuba's resistance had such an influence inside the United States, especially among young revolutionaries and fighters.

The magazine talks about how a party needs disciplined, conscious, educated cadres—but fighters, who will not surrender or make concessions.

The magazine foresees that the economic crisis, fueled by the growing financial bubble, will be joined by a collapse of the housing market in the United States, which will perhaps be a detonator of the kind of world depression that, as the author says, those attending the convention in Ohio had no experience with, except for those older than 80.

The magazine talks about the coming

ground war in Iraq that, unfortunately, would inflict many casualties among U.S. forces. And it points out that many militants in the United States today have not known that kind of war either.

And the magazine talks about the need to make alliances with all the world's revolutionary forces to meet and take advantage of the opportunity of the system's decay and to deal the final blows against it.

I'll end by saying that when the German Democratic Republic fell, in the midst of tremendous demoralization and all else, someone wrote a statement on the wall. When everyone was tearing down walls that never should have been built, at a time when ideas, struggles, sacrifice, heroism, and politics were also falling, someone had the clear-sightedness to write on the wall: "The next time will be better."

That is, we will return and do it better, because we've been freed from the dead weight of Stalinism, dogmatism, and human misery. We've understood that there is a single struggle that is different in each place. We've learned from Marx that it's a necessary struggle. It's not the product of anyone's whim or conspiracy.

I've not had the pleasure to meet Jack Barnes, but reading this article I hope some day we'll have him here with us, and we can say to him:

Yes, capitalism's long hot winter has begun. But *their* winter is *our* spring.

1. The Havana International Book Fair takes place on the grounds of the historic fortress overlooking Havana Bay that is known as La Cabaña. After the 1959 revolutionary victory in Cuba, Ernesto Che Guevara was the commander of that military post. The room where the presentation of *Nueva Internacional* was held was the one Guevara used as his command post.



U.S. Marine Corps/Gunnery Sgt. Joseph Lomangino

U.S. Marines join troops from West African countries in joint exercises in Ghana last October. "In 'Their Tranformation and Ours' we see clearly the transformation of the U.S. armed forces aimed at achieving a greater geographic reach and increasing its military operations," said Mario Rodríguez, a member of the national leadership of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution.

## 'Enrich our political arsenal'

#### Continued from page 9

menting religious hatred, intolerance, and xenophobia becomes a method of war against the Arab peoples. The specter of fascism is haunting the world. The international system of the United Nations is being torn apart.

It's not unreasonable to wonder whether September 11 was a self-provocation. Why not, too, a new Reichstag fire?

Within the United States, the rights of citizens are being limited more and more. Foreigners are being persecuted. Backed, for example, by the Antiterrorist Law—which outdoes McCarthyism many times over—the U.S. Constitution and its Fifth Amendment are being ripped to shreds.

In face of these facts, we Cubans repeat Che's words: "you can't trust imperialism even this far" [indicating the very tip of his little finger].

We are strengthening our defenses, by becoming militarily invulnerable. Here there's no doubt that the people as a whole will fight for socialism. It will be one giant Playa Girón.<sup>3</sup>

We are working to guarantee that our economy moves forward. We are advancing the energy revolution; we are strengthening our currency.

But the most important thing is that we are unifying the nation more and more. We are strengthening moral values: honesty, solidarity, and courage, which are elements that characterize our people. We are breaking the back of the remnants of practices alien to our society, such as theft, misappropriation, and cowardice.

We repeat along with Fidel [Castro] that what took place in the Soviet Union

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## U.S. hands off Venezuela and Cuba!

All out to build the march on Washington May 20 to oppose the U.S. government's course of confrontation with Venezuela and Cuba! Get active in local solidarity committees. Spread the word. Organize educational forums to explain what's at stake. Ask your union local, student group, church, or other organizations to endorse the action and plan to send contingents to the U.S. capital.

In the name of combating terrorism, U.S. imperialism is girding for battle in a "long war"—at home and abroad—including against states it sees as obstacles to its long-term military, political, and economic interests. In this campaign the employers and their political representatives in Washington—Democrats and Republicans—have both Venezuela and Cuba in their crosshairs. This is the same class that's simultaneously attacking the wages, safety, dignity, and living conditions of working people at home.

The U.S. government once again singled out Havana and Caracas in its new National Security Strategy report.

Venezuela's government is accused of "undermining democracy" and seeking to "destabilize the region."

Having failed in three attempts over the last four years to topple the Hugo Chávez administration, weighty sections of Venezuela's capitalist class and their supporters in Washington remain committed to undermining and ultimately overthrowing it. Their aim is to shut down the

increased political space workers and farmers in Venezuela have today to act in their own interests—to press with more self-confidence for jobs, land, improved conditions, and rights needed in order to fight and win. This is the real source of the U.S. rulers' venom toward Caracas.

In the same "national security" document, Cuba is charged with seeking to "subvert freedom in the region."

The "freedom" U.S. officials are talking about is the freedom of capital to superexploit labor and plunder natural resources in Latin America and the rest of the semicolonial world, and keep these nations under imperialist domination to continue siphoning off their wealth. That is a freedom the Cuban people did subvert when they carried out the first socialist revolution in the Americas 47 years ago. Cuba's toilers drove the local capitalists and landlords from power and established their own government. They took control of land, industry, and natural wealth and they have used these conquests to advance the interests of the working class and its allies in Cuba and worldwide.

Washington and its imperialist allies won't forgive the Cuban people for setting such an infectious example for working people around the world.

Now is the time to stand with Cuba and Venezuela. Let's converge on Washington May 20 to demand, "Hands off Venezuela and Cuba!"

## 'Publications enrich our political arsenal'

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will never happen here. There will be no socialist camp dissolved or dispersed here. There will be no defeat here. We have always been very clear about the role of the masses as the main protagonists of the revolution.

By virtue of the invincible power of moral weapons, we possess arms as powerful as nuclear ones. Fidel tells us we have these today. We are fighting against death with thousands of doctors in all parts of the world. Confronting capitalist neoliberalism, which is suffocating the people, we seek forms of fair integration, equality, and development of our peoples.

The fundamental values of our nation are justice, equality, and freedom. With them our people have conquered the biggest victories of our nation.

*Nueva Internacional* takes up important theoretical questions with professionalism and accuracy. And the books published about the classics of the founders of Marxism and by revolutionaries who consistently applied these classics enrich the political-ideological arsenal not only of the working class, farmers, and youth of the United States, but of our country as well.

These questions have great importance today. When our ideas are attacked by those who point to the failure of the USSR, we must continue working tirelessly to awaken a knowledge of Marxism, to master its classics. We must fight scholasticism and the mindless following of others, evils that castrate the thirst for knowledge, inquisitiveness, and intellectual development—qualities that must characterize the revolutionary. Without these as our starting point we can contribute little to the work of transformation to which we have dedicated our lives.

In the forging of revolutionary cadres, this combination of theory and practice, of practice and theory, helps strengthen the party.

In our case there are important experiences that are specific to our history.

The first one leaps out immediately. It was José Martí,

the apostle of our independence, who, when analyzing the causes of the Zanjón Pact and all the conflicts that took place in the Great War of 1868, understood the need for a party to wage the war for Cuba's independence. The Cuban Revolutionary Party took root among tobacco workers in Tampa and *mambises* living abroad as well as here on Cuban territory—among those secretly making plans and remaining firm. Martí fell in Dos Ríos, but above all he fell as the leader of that party. And he passed on that historical legacy to all the generations that followed.<sup>4</sup>

These lessons, these experiences, lived on and defined Moncada.<sup>5</sup> During the war of liberation they were cornerstones of the Rebel Army and in the clandestine struggle. Our Communist Party today is the guardian and legitimate heir of that historical legacy. Only this party is capable of transcending us all and continuing to pass on the work to new generations, until the final victory. To achieve that, we must continue to work tirelessly.

We express our thanks to *compañera* Mary-Alice and to all the compañeros here.

- 1. Jan. 1, 1959, was the day the regime of U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista collapsed and he fled Cuba. As a general strike swept the country, the revolutionary forces led by the July 26 Movement and Rebel Army swiftly took control.
- 2. Henry Reeve was an American who fought in Cuba's first war of independence against Spain, reaching the rank of brigadier general. He died in battle in 1876.
- 3. The April 1961 Cuban victory over a U.S.-organized mercenary invasion at the Bay of Pigs was sealed at Playa Girón.
- 4. Cuba's first war of independence ended in defeat with the 1878 Zanjón Pact. José Martí, Cuba's national hero, organized the Cuban Revolutionary Party and fought in the second independence war, falling in the battle of Dos Ríos in 1895. The Cuban independence fighters were known as *mambises*.
- 5. On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro led a group of revolutionaries in an attack on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba. This was the opening of the revolutionary war, led by the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, that culminated on Jan. 1, 1959, with the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship.

## - MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

**ALABAMA** 

Birmingham Oppose Employers' Immigration 'Reform'! Unionize All Workers, Native- and Foreign-Born! Speaker: Karl Butts, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 3029A Bessemer Rd. Tel.: (205) 780-0021.

#### **ILLINOIS**

Chicago

Film Showing: 'The Untold Story of Emmett Till.' Fri., March 31. Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m.

South Dakota Abortion Ban: Defend and Extend Women's Right to Choose Abortion! Fri., April 7. Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m. Both events at: 3557 S. Archer St. Tel.: (773) 890-1190.

## **IOWA**

Des Moines

**Unionize All Workers!** Fri., March 31. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 3707 Douglas Ave. Tel.: (515) 255-1707.

#### **MINNESOTA**

St. Paul

Women in the Cuban Revolution: How We Fought and Won. A film interview with two Cuban women who participated in the making of the Cuban Revolution. Fri., March 31. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. 113 Bernard St. E. Tel.: (651) 644-6325.

### **NEW YORK**

Oppose Employers' Immigration Reform. Fri., March 31. Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Support Fight for Puerto Rican Independence. Fri., April 7. Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Both events at: 307 W. 36th St., 10th floor (near 8th Ave., use north set of elevators). Tel.: (212) 629-6649.

#### **NEW ZEALAND**

Auckland

The Crisis in the Health System. Fri., March 31, 7:00 p.m. Donation: \$3. 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu (upstairs above laundromat). Tel.: (09) 276-8885.

# Weapons for those in front ranks of class struggle

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World," also includes an exchange of views between Harvard professor Richard Levins and Steve Clark, a member of the editorial board of *Nueva Internacional*, on the questions addressed in Clark's article in that issue, "Farming, Science, and the Working Classes."

I want to emphasize only one political point about the content of these two issues of *Nueva Internacional*.

With conviction and with facts, they put forward the view that we are today living through a great turning point in the international class struggle. Communists and the broader vanguard forces they lead must fully absorb this historic shift and begin acting on its political logic.

The origins of the new world situation do not lie in any single mythic event such as September 11. They do not lie in specific policies pursued by one or another Congress or U.S. president, whoever his advisors may be. The roots are to be found in the downward turn in the curve of capitalist development that began almost three decades ago with the exhaustion of the economic expansion rooted in the preparations for World War II, the enormous destruction it wrought, and turbulent postwar reconstruction. What is unfolding now is the acceleration of that crisis. "One of capitalism's infrequent long winters has begun," Nueva Internacional explains. And for us it is going to be very long and very hot. That's why we need men and women who have no fear of the heat, men and women who have the stomach for the struggles that are coming.

Decades of economic, financial, and social convulsions, and deepening class battles are before us. In preparation for these coming battles at home and abroad, Washington is implementing a major shift in its military policy and organization. It is the most far-reaching change since the U.S. rulers established a massive, permanent military command and national security structure to "contain" the Soviet Union at the end of the 1940s.

Washington's just-released Quadrennial Defense Review stresses that the rulers are engaged in "a long war"—one they will wage "in many locations simultaneously and for some years to come." Africa and Latin America have been added to the Pentagon's list of "key geographic operational areas," with Venezuela singled out as a "source of political and economic instability." China, the Pentagon notes, "has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States," and the document warns of the "possibility that cooperative approaches by themselves may fail to preclude future conflict."

This is not the world we have known for the last sixty years. For communists this is not reason for despair, much less fear. Quite the opposite. What we see in this emerging world is another transformation beginning. Impelled by these momentous changes, by the increasing social and economic pressures on a growing majority of the toilers, including probes to restrict political and democratic rights even within the more stable bourgeois democracies, working people are responding. They are resisting. A small but expanding vanguard of militant workers are beginning to take the lead to reach for, organize, and use union power and other forms of popular power to defend themselves.

We know this is hard to see from afar. These changes are still visible in only partial, scattered, and often disguised ways. But this is what marks *our* lives as communists within the United States, every day. It is the political logic of these great shifts that we act on *now*.

These are the political lines developed in these two issues of *Nueva Internacional*. As issue no. 7 expresses it: Our politics start with the world and how to transform it. And that is what brings us together here today to discuss these questions that are of such great importance to us all.