

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Cubans, Russians, Americans
relive October 'Missile' Crisis

— PAGE 11

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 66/NO. 40 OCTOBER 28, 2002

West Coast dockworkers defend safety and jobs

Unionists protest gov't use of Taft-Hartley against labor fight

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

LOS ANGELES—Hundreds of dockworkers rallied at the Port of Los Angeles October 9 to protest the government's intervention in their struggle for a contract. The previous day President George Bush had invoked the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act in a show of force on the side of the longshore bosses.

The 10,500 dockworkers returned to work without a contract at 29 ports along the West Coast. After months of contentious negotiations, followed by a 10-day company lockout against the workers, the White House used the argument of protecting "national security" as justification for its antilabor move. Many of the unionists, members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), expressed anger with the Bush administration's action in support of the bosses.

Under Taft-Hartley, the president obtained an injunction imposing an 80-day "cooling-off" period that bars unions from

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Longshore union members rally early October during 10-day lockout by shipping bosses. Workers explain that safety issues are central to their contract fight.

Militant/Bill Hovland

Washington builds up troop command in Gulf

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The Pentagon has ordered its Army's V Corps and 1st Marine Expeditionary Force to deploy hundreds of headquarters staff to Kuwait. Announced October 11, the action was one more step in Washington's accelerating march toward a large-scale air assault and ground invasion of Iraq.

The *Washington Post* reported that "the move will bring to the Gulf hundreds of Army and Marine planners who would coordinate any thrust by land forces into Iraq."

With headquarters elements of the Navy and Air Force already in place and a U.S. Central Command contingent due to arrive in the region next month, "the addition of the ground force groups will complete the command structure that would manage any invasion," the *Post* noted.

In recent weeks U.S. and British forces have continued to build up their military equipment in the region, carried out training exercises by U.S. troops likely to take part in an invasion, and stepped up fitting of aircraft carriers that can be sent from U.S. ports. Washington's and London's warplanes have also been increasing the frequency of their bombing raids in northern and southern Iraq.

Arabic-language propaganda leaflets, dropped by U.S. planes in the tens of thousands near the Tallil Air Base in southern Iraq October 3, warned Iraqi air defense crews that "the destruction experienced by your colleagues in other air defense locations is a response to your continuing aggression toward planes of the coalition forces. No [radar] tracking or firing on these aircraft will be tolerated. You could be next."

After carrying out their provocation, the intruding forces acted on their threat on the spot. When Iraqi forces responded in self-defense, the warplanes bombed Iraqi air defense facilities and an integrated defense operations center.

U.S. and British planes have attacked the Tallil Air Base at least seven times since mid-September. Located about 160 miles southeast of Baghdad, near the country's border with Kuwait, Tallil is an "air defense sector headquarters," with runways for fighter aircraft and "surface-to-air missiles," Associated Press military correspondent Robert Burns reported October 15.

Al Kut, Al Amarah, and Basra airport are other major air defense sites that have been frequent targets. All told, imperialist forces have carried out 23 bombing raids in southern Iraq since August 27.

Many such attacks are launched by U.S. and British planes taking off from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Other aircraft are stationed at the al Udeid air base in Qatar and elsewhere in the Arab-Persian Gulf, as

well as on the aircraft carriers of the U.S. and British fleets.

Four such carriers and their battle groups—including destroyers, cruisers and submarines—are intended to be "within striking distance of Iraq by the end of December," Reuters news service reported October 3. Two are already stationed in the region on six-month tours of duty that are expected to

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Muslim leader faces 'terror' frame-up in Chicago

BY CAPPY KIDD

CHICAGO—Several dozen protesters rallied outside a federal building here October 9 to protest the detention and frame-up of Enaam Arnaout by the federal government. At a press conference inside the building, Attorney General John Ashcroft announced a seven-count indictment against Arnaout, head of Benevolence International Foundation (BIF), a Muslim charity organization, accusing him of sending money to "terrorist" organizations.

Arnaout, a Syrian-born U.S. citizen, has been imprisoned since April on federal perjury charges. He faces 90 years in prison if convicted.

Under the pretext of shutting down "money-laundering for al Qaeda's network," FBI and other government agents have raided Muslim charities and local money-transfer offices around the country. The cops have been taking advantage of a provision in the "antiterrorist" law passed by Congress last year, the so-called USA Patriot Act, which

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Venezuela: massive protest counters coup plans

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MIAMI—Hundreds of thousands of working people took to the streets of Caracas, Venezuela's capital, October 13 in one of the largest mobilizations in years. The action marked six months since President Hugo Chávez returned to office after a U.S.-backed military coup ousted him for two days in early April. Protesters also denounced an ultimatum by the pro-imperialist opposition that Chávez resign or call

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New York City, Saturday, November 2

Communists and the World Struggle against Imperialism Today

Speakers

Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Jason Alessio

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

Arrin Hawkins

Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of New York

Olympia Newton

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

Mary-Alice Waters

Editor of *New International*

Martín Koppel

Editor of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*

Ma'mud Shirvani

Farsi editor, Pathfinder Press

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

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Washington builds up Gulf troop command

Continued from front page
be extended, and the other two will sail from U.S. ports in November and December. Together, the battle groups will include up to 250 strike aircraft and more than 2,000 Tomahawk cruise missiles. A fifth carrier could also be in the region by the end of the year.
Since the 1990-91 Gulf War, the Pentagon has stationed tens of thousands of U.S. military personnel in its bases in the Middle East, positioned for a renewed attack on Iraq and other military interventions. The pace of military maneuvers in Oman—where British ground forces are concentrated—Kuwait, and elsewhere has picked up in recent months, at the same time as the cycle of rotation of troops out of the area has slowed down or come to a halt.
After an October 8 incident in which two men shot at U.S. marines involved in “urban assault” training on the Kuwaiti island of Failaka, Kuwaiti police detained some 50

people for questioning. Kuwait’s authorities have since charged a total of 15 people with aiding the attack.
The two Kuwaiti men, Anas Ahmad Ibrahim al-Kandari, 21, and Jassem Mubarak al-Hajri, 26, killed one U.S. soldier and wounded another before themselves being killed. One friend said that earlier this year Kuwaiti security forces had interrogated and tortured them.
On October 10 Bush administration officials told reporters from major newspapers that the White House is developing detailed plans to install “an American-led military government” following an invasion and occupation of Iraq. Under this blueprint, the *New York Times* reported, a U.S. military commander “would assume the role that Gen. Douglas MacArthur served in Japan after its surrender in 1945.”
One unnamed “senior official” told *Times* reporters that even if dissident Iraqi mili-

tary officers mounted a successful coup against the present government, “the American military might enter and secure the country anyway.”
Meanwhile, the Bush administration has had “extensive informal discussions” with the Australian government, reported the October 4 *Australian Financial Review*, about assigning “Australian special forces to fight in the early phase of a military campaign against Iraq.” U.S. officials, the Sydney-based daily said, “were impressed with the performance of Australia’s special forces in Afghanistan.”
Following a car bombing on the Indonesian island of Bali that killed almost 200 people, John Howard, the prime minister of the Liberal-National Party coalition government, ordered the dispatch of four Royal Australian Airforce Hercules transport aircraft to bring injured Australian citizens back to hospitals in Darwin.
Inside Australia, Howard instructed officials to review security at airports and other “potential targets” of “terrorism.” Robert

Carr, the Labor Party state premier of New South Wales, proposed on October 14 that “military units” should work with police to “protect” Sydney, the country largest city.
The government of Indonesia itself announced that police and soldiers would increase their patrols around U.S.-owned properties in the country’s substantial energy industry, including an Exxon Mobil liquefied natural gas plant and a Caltex refinery on the island of Sumatra.
U.S. and Australian police investigators have been sent to Indonesia to join the investigation around the bombing incident, and the British and German governments said they might send agents as well.
U.S. officials, attributing the explosion to Al-Qaeda, have been pressing the Indonesian government to take measures acceptable to Washington to “crack down on terrorism.” Indonesian president Megawati Sukarnoputri is preparing to issue an executive decree to bypass parliament and enact an “antiterrorism” law giving police wider powers to conduct arrests and other repressive measures.

Cuba and Africa: 1959 to Today

Víctor Dreke and Ana Morales, two veteran Cuban revolutionaries, are beginning a six-city tour to speak about the Cuban Revolution and its record of support for liberation struggles in Africa. Below is the schedule for the first two stops of the tour. Later they will travel to Birmingham, Alabama; Charlotte, North Carolina; and Boston. The speaking series is hosted by the Africa-Cuba Speakers Committee.

First week of tour:

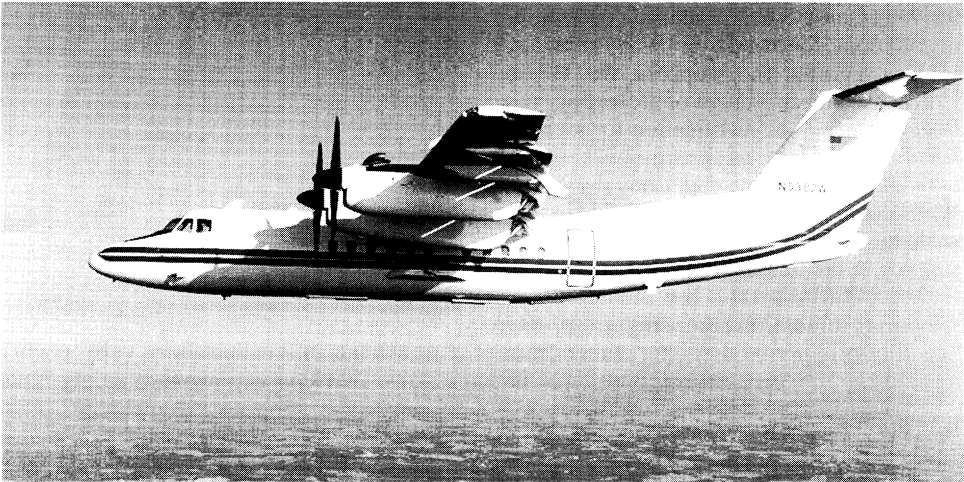
Washington, D.C.

October 23
University of Maryland Baltimore County, Old Student Union, 7:00 p.m.
October 24
American University, School of International Services, 3:00 p.m.
October 25
Howard University, Blackburn Student Center, 7:00 p.m.

Atlanta and Valdosta, Georgia
October 27
People’s Tribunal of Valdosta, Church at Pine Hill, 7:00 p.m.
October 29
Clark/Atlanta University, Atlanta
Ana Morales, 1:30 p.m.
Víctor Dreke, 3:30 p.m.
October 30
Spelman College, Atlanta, Reception, 5:30 p.m., Program, 7:00 p.m.
October 31
“Cuba and Africa 1959 to Today” Atlanta event, 7:00 p.m.

For more information or to send a contribution to help defray travel expenses, contact the Africa-Cuba Speakers Committee; c/o Howard University NAACP, 2400 6th St., Suite 118, Washington, D.C. 20059. For local information on Washington, D.C., leg of tour, call Howard University Political Science Department at (202) 806-6848.

Military spy planes patrol Washington in sniper case



RC-7 spy planes like the one above are patrolling the skies over Washington, D.C.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

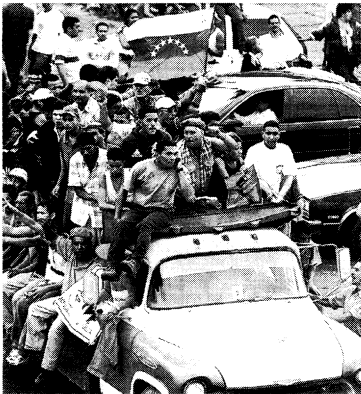
The U.S. military is now patrolling the skies over Washington, D.C., and nearby areas with secret surveillance planes as part of an expanded domestic criminal investigation aimed at finding the sniper who has randomly shot to death 11 people.
The planes are RC-7 Airborne Reconnaissance Low aircraft. They are reportedly being flown by military crews with FBI agents on board who forward the images they take to police on the ground.
This plane, which is equipped with sophisticated high-resolution sensors, has been deployed by Washington for spying operations over North Korea, Yugoslavia, and Colombia. Equipped with electrooptical and infrared sensors, the RC-7 will be able to conduct detailed surveillance over a large area of Washington day and night.
The Montgomery County police and the FBI requested assistance from the military. Under the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act, the U.S. military is barred from participating in

domestic police matters. According to a Pentagon official, however, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld agreed to this request, though many of the details of the arrangement are shrouded in secrecy.
This U.S. military operation comes just two weeks after the October 1 official activation of the North American Command, which marks the first time since the decade after the Civil War that a U.S. command is charged with carrying out military actions within the United States.
The Central Intelligence Agency is also participating in the manhunt, putting agents on the streets with bomb-sniffing dogs for use at traffic stops. Until last October, legal restrictions officially prohibited the CIA from conducting domestic spying. This provision was dropped, however, with the passage of the USA Patriot Act, which also greatly expanded the FBI’s authority to wiretap phones and electronic equipment, detain immigrants without charges, and sneak into people’s homes or offices without telling them.

THE MILITANT

Workers oppose coup plots in Venezuela

Hundreds of thousands demonstrated in Venezuela, October 13 to oppose the pro-imperialist forces who are plotting a coup against the Chávez government. Workers and peasants across Latin America are resisting assaults on their living conditions under the heavy boot of the U.S. empire. Read the ‘Militant’ to follow these struggles, waged from Brazil to Venezuela.



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U.S. intervention in Colombia targets oil wealth in region

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington is stepping up its military intervention in Colombia, with U.S. Special Forces troops scheduled to arrive there next month to begin training a "critical infrastructure brigade" of the Colombian army that will guard Occidental Petroleum's 500-mile pipeline in the northeastern part of the country.

According to reports in the capitalist media, from 20 to 60 soldiers from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, will be the first to be deployed. Over the next couple of years, U.S. troops will be involved in training some 4,000 Colombian soldiers to be part of a rapid-reaction force stationed at key spots along the pipeline. This move, which also includes providing the government with an additional 10 U.S. helicopters, is part of a \$94 million package approved by the Bush administration.

This military assistance comes on top of the \$1.3 billion deal, known as Plan Colombia, approved by the U.S. Congress in 2000 under the guise of stepping up the war against drug trafficking. Last July Washington shifted to what it describes as counterinsurgency operations, dropping the pretense that its military intervention into the country would be limited to uprooting drugs.

Behind these moves is the U.S. rulers' drive to gain more control over South America's vast natural resources, including oil.

Washington seeks to decrease its dependency on Mideast oil, shifting over to importing more oil from the Andean region—Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. According to administration estimates, the United States will by 2020 import 62 percent of the oil it uses, up from half today. Nearly half the oil imported by Washington now comes from the Americas, with the three Andean nations providing more than 2 million barrels a day, about 20 percent of U.S. imports.

Besides escalating its military intervention in Colombia, Washington has a military air base in Manta, Ecuador. And it has demonstrated its hostility to the government of President Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, seeking a more submissive regime in this oil-rich country.

In Colombia, the U.S. company Occidental Petroleum is now producing nearly twice as much oil as last year at its 212 wells. It has also signed contracts recently with the state oil company to explore an additional 9,000 square miles for oil. In the past two years, the Colombian government has signed 60 such contracts to expand the exploration for new oil reserves in the country.



Colombian soldiers guard drilling platform in Caño Limón oil field jointly owned by U.S.-based Occidental Petroleum and Colombian state-owned oil company Ecopetrol.

"You'll see more interest on the part of more companies," stated Larry Meriage, spokesman for Occidental. "Given the fact that here is a significant amount of oil there, and the sheer mass of oil that remains underexplored, there is considerable optimism."

The pipeline around which many of these troops are to be stationed transports crude oil from the Caño Limón fields in the northeast region of Arauca to the Coveñas Port in the Caribbean. The Caño Limón oil reserve is the second largest in the country, producing nearly 25 percent of Colombia's

oil exports. It is jointly operated by Occidental Petroleum and Ecopetrol, Colombia's state-owned oil company.

Colombia's new president, Alvaro Uribe, has already declared Arauca to be a security zone where military commanders can conduct searches without warrants and impose curfews on the civilian population living in region. Uribe has also announced plans for the deployment of Colombian troops dressed in blue helmets with the approval of the United Nations to ostensibly escort 30,000 displaced families to their place of origin.

Steelworkers in Quebec strike for better pensions

BY SYLVIE CHARBIN

CONTRECOEUR, Quebec—Some 330 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 6951 are on strike at Stelco's McMaster plant, about 33 miles southeast of Montreal. They are demanding pension benefits on the same level as 4,000 fellow unionists at Stelco's largest steel plant, Hilton Works, in Hamilton, Ontario. The strike began August 1 after workers voted by a 98 percent margin to reject the company's contract offer.

The plant here, which produces steel billets as well as finished products for the auto industry, is among the most productive mills owned by Stelco, the largest steel producer in Canada.

Serge Gailloux, plant chairman of USWA Local 6951, said in an interview that negotiations began at the end of a six-year contract, over the course of which union members in Quebec, while keeping up in wages, lost ground on pensions and other benefits.

"After some 40 negotiating sessions that began in March," he said, "Stelco waited until the very end of the contract to make an offer on pensions, which fell well below the plan that had just been granted to the Hamilton workers. What they offered us was only a 'window,' that is, a plan that would apply only for the proposed four-year contract, after which negotiations on pensions would go back to square one, with no increase."

In 1990 the company succeeded in break-

ing its minimills away from the central bargaining unit that had existed up until then. Stelco argues that minimills should be treated differently from integrated mills such as Hilton Works.

"I don't agree," said Raymond Projean, a refiner who has worked at McMaster for 29 years. "We do the same work, in the same dangerous conditions. Why can't we get the same offer? Is it because we're Quebecois?"

One month before the strike, as workers began an overtime boycott campaign to pressure the company to negotiate, the company hired security agents armed with video cameras who attempted to provoke workers both inside and outside the plant. The company also threatened to suspend or fire any worker caught putting up union stickers on company property. The first night of the walkout, these security guards tried to cross the picket line, but were pushed back by strikers.

On August 23, Stelco obtained an injunction limiting pickets to eight strikers. The same day the company issued a notice to the union, demanding it pay \$65,000 in property damages. A bright yellow line painted on the pavement at the entrance to the plant defined the "border" that strikers are not allowed to cross.

Several workers expressed frustration over the fact that for the last four years, union officials have collaborated with the employer to improve the "performance" of



USWA Local 6951

Members of USWA Local 6951 on strike against Stelco steel plant near Montreal

the plant, including acceptance of a major reorganization of production that eliminated certain jobs.

According to Réal Simard, a welder who has worked at MacMaster for 22 years, "The production re-engineering goals were met, often ahead of deadlines. We delivered the merchandise in the partnership, even breaking production records."

"The way I see it, after everything we did for the company, it has a debt to pay," said Alain Mawn, a bricklayer with 23 years on the job. "I feel betrayed. That's why I'm out here."

This is the union local's fourth strike since 1978. Their contract fights have often set the pattern for those of several other steel plants in the area. Drivers honking horns as they drive by the picket line on the highway in front of the plant attest to support for the walkout. Union members remain confident, with picket lines kept up seven days a week, 24 hours a day.

Sylvie Charbin is a sewing machine operator and a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 2581 in Montreal.

Pentagon exposed thousands to lethal chemical, biological agents in 1960s

BY PAUL PEDERSON

The U.S. military exposed thousands of U.S. soldiers and civilians to highly lethal nerve and biological agents in the 1960s, the Department of Defense admitted October 9. The series of secret "tests" took place in Maryland, Alaska, Florida, Utah, and Hawaii, as well as Canada and the United Kingdom.

In one case army vehicles were used to trigger mines loaded with VX nerve agent, a chemical that is designed to cause death within 15 minutes of exposure. In another example, civilians in Hawaii, and possibly Alaska and Florida, were exposed to bio-

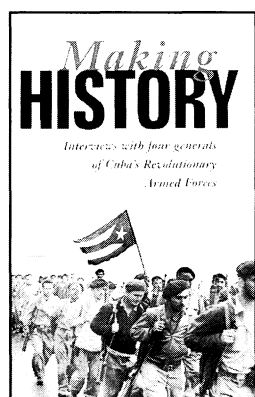
logical agents, including *E. coli* bacteria.

According to the Pentagon's report, as many as 5,500 GIs and thousands of civilians were exposed, some without their knowledge. More than 50 veterans have filed claims of health problems due to exposure to the lethal chemical and biological weapons.

Jack Alderson, a retired Navy officer who was involved in the testing told the *Washington Post* that illnesses related to the tests have caused the death of several shipmates in recent years. "I'm relieved it's coming out," Alderson said. "I'm angry that so many of my guys have died."

Making History

Interviews with four generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces



On January 1, 1959, men and women of Cuba in their millions ceased being simply the objects of history. They became its makers as well. By their actions they opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

The human beings who fought to accomplish that feat were ordinary working people. Most were still in their teens or early twenties when they began. Who they were, where they came from, and the experiences that transformed them are the subject of these interviews with Néstor López Cuba, Enrique Carreras, José Ramón Fernández, and Harry Villegas. Edited and with introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. \$15.95

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London is sending 30,000 troops for assault on Iraq

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON—Advance parties of the British armed forces are in Kuwait preparing for tens of thousands of soldiers to join a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Government sources cited in the British media put the planned troop strength at some 30,000 soldiers.

As these ground forces begin to gather in the Middle East, U.S. and British warplanes have sharply stepped up their attacks on Iraqi anti-aircraft defense in the UN-imposed "no-fly zones" in the north and south of the country. Large-scale attacks that have often received little media coverage have included 19 sorties on October 1 and 61 sorties two days later. The latter raids, which overflowed some 22 Iraqi towns, were backed by an AWACS spy plane in Saudi airspace.

Through such major commitments of their armed forces, the British rulers, while collaborating as a junior partner of Washington, are promoting their own imperialist interests in the oil-rich Middle East.

"British and U.S. forces are already on the ground in the region," reported the *Daily Telegraph* in mid-September. Commanders have ordered every army unit to provide a full accounting of its readiness for deployment. According to media reports, the army forces in the Gulf will include two armored brigades, an armored division, and their logistical backup—forces that by themselves would total 20,000 troops, or about one-fifth of the total regular army.

These forces would be equipped with Challenger tanks, Warrior armored vehicles, and self-propelled artillery and multiple rocket launch systems suitable for a push into Iraq from Kuwait.

A marine commando brigade has been prepared for an amphibious assault on the south. One blueprint that has received a public airing says that a British air assault brigade will back up an occupation of northern Iraq by U.S. airborne troops.

Current plans would supplement these troop deployments with 4,000 Navy personnel on 20 warships, including the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* and the amphibious assault carrier *Ocean*. Five thousand Royal Air Force (RAF) troops assigned to 110 combat aircraft would also be deployed. The British planes are currently being upgraded with new long-range missiles. U.S. Air Force engineers have relaid three large air bases to be used by U.S. and British combat planes. Meanwhile, leave for RAF pilots and other personnel has been canceled.

The government's decision to send troops has received strong backing from Conservative Party leader Iain Duncan Smith.

As the military preparations march forward, London and Washington on October 3 acted to suspend 1,936 contracts worth \$7.8 billion that Iraq had concluded with foreign companies as part of the UN-sanctioned "oil-for-food" program.

According to Iraqi trade minister Muhammad Salih, 182 contracts for food supplies, 189 for medicine and medical supplies, 167 for water and sewerage, and 245

for agriculture and irrigation were affected.

The government of Prime Minister Anthony Blair has played a leading part in campaigning to build domestic and international support for the imperialist military action. In late September British diplomats traveled to Beijing, Moscow, and Paris. Foreign Secretary Jack Straw visited Paris, Cairo, Kuwait City, and Tehran, and Blair himself went to Moscow. The immediate goal of the trips is to win the backing of member states of the UN Security Council for resolutions setting up "coercive" inspections of alleged Iraqi weapons sites.

This diplomatic activity notwithstanding, Blair told delegates at the annual conference of the governing Labour Party that unilateral action by London and Washington may be necessary.

In his televised speech, Blair said that the Security Council should "lay down [an] ultimatum" to Baghdad; if the council fails to act, he said, "we will destroy not the authority of America or Britain but of the United Nations itself."

"The U.S. is the only superpower," Blair said. "It's easy to be anti-American," he added in reply to Labour figures who have criticized his open alliance with Washington.

Special guest William Clinton urged the conference to back Blair and U.S. president George Bush on Iraq. While speaking in favor of Blair's diplomatic efforts, the former U.S. president reminded the delegates that London and Washington had gone to war against Serbia without UN backing. Both politicians received standing ovations.

Government minister Clare Short, who had been critical of Blair's stance, said she "completely" agreed with the prime minister's speech.

Senior trade union officials have also declared their support for Blair's war moves. Speaking at a conference of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), General Secretary John Monks said that while the union leadership opposed unilateral action "by the United States or any other country...this Congress has an honorable record in promoting peace but it has never been pacifist in the face of dictators."

Catherine Sutherland of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union told the TUC delegates, "We are entitled to defend our civilized societies. We want to maintain law and order in world affairs as well as at home. We have shown in Kuwait and Iraq in 1991, in Yugoslavia and Kosovo in 1999, and in Afghanistan in 2002, that ultimately we are prepared to defend human rights by meeting force with force."

Anti-American nationalism

Robert Crow, general secretary of the rail workers union, spoke against this position. He backed a resolution that opposed Washington's proposed national missile defense in the name of "British security," and called for support for a motion against "the proposed military attack by the USA on Iraq."

Prominent speakers at the large antiwar

15,000 march during general strike in Italy to protest job cuts



More than 15,000 workers march in the streets of the Sicilian town of Termini Imerese on October 9. The action coincided with a one-day general strike to protest massive cuts in manufacturing jobs announced by the bosses of Fiat. The company, which is Italy's largest private employer, produces cars, construction equipment, and has major investments in the financial sector. Fiat announced that it will eliminate more than 8,100 jobs—more than a fifth of its workforce in Italy—and shut down production lines. Unemployment in some parts of the south of the country is already as high as 20 percent.

demonstration held September 28 in London voiced similar nationalist and anti-American sentiments.

One speaker, Labour member of Parliament (MP) George Galloway declared that "Britons do not want war." Former MP Anthony Benn, a prominent voice of Labour's left wing, said, "Nothing can take the British people into a war that they do not accept and do not want."

Police estimated that more than 150,000 people attended the action, while organizers put the turnout much higher. Participants carried placards saying "Don't attack Iraq" and "Not in my name." Many who turned out were young.

London's current march toward war in the Middle East stands in continuity with its history of military intervention in pursuance of its imperial objectives.

The region's economic and strategic value have been of prime importance to the capitalists in Britain, both when it was the dominant imperialist power, and since Washington asserted its supremacy in the course of two world wars.

The British army sent troops to Iraq in the 19th century: to crush an insurgency against British rule in 1920; and to put down Iraqi government opposition to Britain's

domination of the country's oil in 1941.

British imperialism continues to have substantial interests in the region. London played a prominent role in the last imperialist assault on Iraq in 1990–1991 and in the brutal economic sanctions and air attacks that have marked the following decade.

Military strikebreakers

Meanwhile, as the British armed forces gear up for an air assault and ground invasion of Iraq, 15,000 to 20,000 troops from the army, navy, and air force are being trained as potential strikebreakers in a looming national confrontation with the Fire Brigades Union.

Firefighters have been taking part in ballots for industrial action to back their fight for a pay raise. In June 12,000 unionists rallied in London to press their claim, while a further 5,000 rallied a month later in Glasgow.

A three-star general will command the military units being prepared to step into the firefighters' place in the event of a strike. The forces include a paratroop regiment earmarked for Essex—known as one of the more militant sectors of the union. Military chiefs have told Defense Secretary Geoffrey Hoon that this deployment will affect commitments to the war against Iraq.

Nebraska socialist candidate: road forward is working people taking political power

BY MARY MARTIN AND KEVIN DOYLE

DAKOTA CITY, Nebraska—Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Nebraska Lisa Rottach took her campaign to meat packers, truckers, and other working people in northern Nebraska and Sioux City, Iowa, in early October.

Rottach, a packinghouse worker at a Swift plant in Omaha, and a participant in the union organizing drive there, met a number of workers who were interested in learning more about her campaign's opposition to U.S. imperialism and its moves toward war in the Middle East as well as the importance of labor resistance to the bosses' attacks at home on workers' job conditions and dignity.

Going door-to-door in a trailer park near the IBP meatpacking plant here, Rottach met a former meat packer who now works as a trucker. When she explained why workers should oppose Washington's war drive in the Mideast, he responded that the U.S. government "thinks it is the only country that can have weapons. And who knows," he added, "they could use them in the future against anyone they want." Another worker employed at IBP who read the campaign leaflet said, "Yes, I believe this war is only for oil."

An 18-year-old who recently graduated high school and started work at IBP subscribed to the *Militant*. He said he opposed Washington's war drive, but the main reason he decided to get the paper was to fol-

low more closely labor struggles across the country and internationally.

A truck driver and his wife invited Rottach into their home to talk about the socialist campaign. The woman told the socialist candidate she had been denied disability and was facing enormous medical bills for an upcoming eye operation.

"My campaign calls for free cradle-to-grave health care for everyone; the labor movement will need to fight for a nationwide free public health system, not simply win medical programs plant by plant or industry by industry," Rottach pointed to the example of the Cuban Revolution, where workers and farmers took political power, through which they have been able to guarantee health care as a fundamental right for all.

The day before Rottach's campaign stop in the Sioux City area, a team of socialists met workers during the shift change at the IBP plant. Dozens of flyers were handed out and nine people picked up copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Rottach ran into several of the same workers while campaigning the following day.

The gubernatorial candidate was interviewed by the *Sioux City Journal* and WTV Channel 4 television while campaigning. Channel 4 ran her interview on the evening news.

Mary Martin is a garment worker in Des Moines, Iowa.

Special offers with subscription to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Sept. 7–Nov. 17 circulation drive

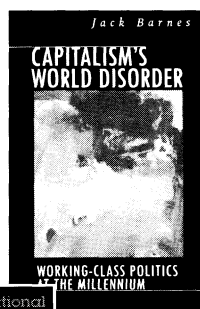
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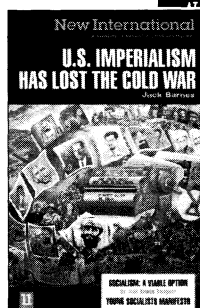
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Also in Spanish, French.



For new readers, 12-week *Militant* subscription is \$10, and 4-month *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription is \$6. For longer-term subs and overseas rates, see page 2.

Pathfinder titles are available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14, or from www.pathfinderpress.com

Sales efforts pick up steam as sub drive hits halfway mark

BY PAUL PEDERSON

In the midst of the October 12–20 target week, reports keep coming in to the business office of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* campaigners reaching out to campuses, workplaces, other cities and rural areas in the region to win new readers to the socialist press. At the halfway point of the 10-week subscription drive we are closing the gap between sales and the weekly targets we need to meet our goals.

Some of the sales efforts on the first weekend of the target week are good examples of the kind of socialist campaigning work that can set the pace everywhere.

Socialists visit home of ‘Lackawanna Six’

Over the October 12–13 weekend Arrin Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of New York, and five campaign supporters visited the Ward One area of Lackawanna, New York, located on the outskirts of Buffalo. Sitting in the shadow of the hulking remains of the now-closed Bethlehem steel mill, this ward is the home of the “Lackawanna Six,” U.S. citizens of Yemeni descent arrested by the federal government and charged with giving “material support” to al Qaeda. The socialist campaigners came to show their solidarity with the struggle to free the six framed-up workers.

Residents told the socialist campaigners that since the arrests there has been constant harassment by the FBI and local police of those living in this community. “The police are checking everything,” said Gwen Moore. “You can’t even breathe out here without looking at a policeman’s face. We’re sick of it.”

“They are not guilty,” said Riyadh Almadrahi, 25, who moved here from Yemen seven years ago as he signed up for a subscription to the *Militant*. “Just because you visit Pakistan does not mean you are a terrorist. I am against the FBI wiretapping.” Riyadh also took 100 campaign leaflets to post and distribute at the local community college where he works.

Although most people the team met spoke against the arrests and police harassment, some sharply disagreed with the stance of the socialist candidates. One commonly expressed view was, “If they arrested them, they must have done something wrong.”

Three people signed up for subscriptions and 34 others bought copies of the *Militant* during the socialist campaign visit to Lackawanna.

Socialists campaign on campuses

In Des Moines campaigners for Socialist Workers congressional candidate Edwin Fruit got off to an early start with a swing through four Iowa campuses the week prior to the target week. At the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls, Fruit participated in an hour-long radio debate, which included the candidates from the Republican and Libertarian parties.

Democratic incumbent Leonard Boswell also participated by telephone from the U.S. capital just before voting for a Congressional resolution authorizing Washington to conduct a military attack against Iraq. “The U.S. drive to war in the Mideast is a war so that U.S. and British corporations can exploit the resources of the region and politically and militarily control it,” Fruit explained in the radio discussion.

Afterward socialists set up a campaign table. A number of students who stopped by said they were happy to see the socialists’ literature display and told the candidates about a demonstration by 30 students against U.S. war plans that had occurred the day before. Four signed up for subscriptions to the *Militant*.

That evening campaigners for Edwin Fruit attended an antiwar teach-in at Drake University. The next day two students from Drake joined socialist campaigners in distributing campaign literature outside the UPS facility in Des Moines.

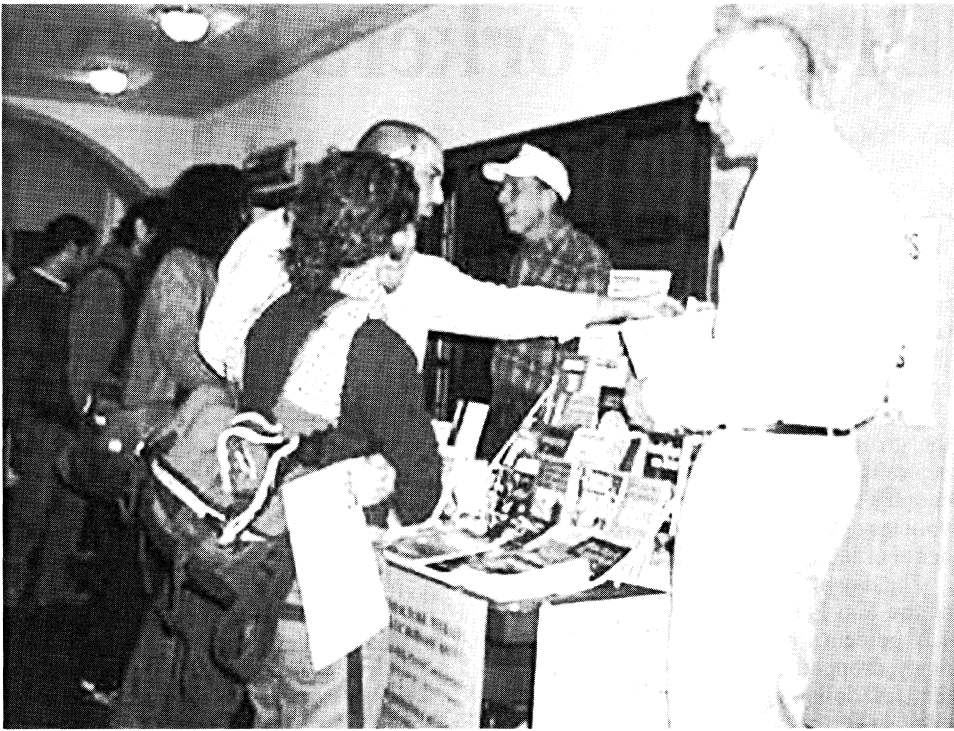
In all, 13 people signed up for their first subscriptions to the socialist press—9 for the *Militant* and 4 for *Perspectiva Mundial*—and three bought copies of *New Internationalist* magazine.

Socialist campaigners in Michigan and Ohio participated in the Second National Conference on the Palestine solidarity movement at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor October 12–14. They sold \$225 worth of Pathfinder books and seven subscriptions to the *Militant*.

During the conference proceedings, which was attended by about 400 students, a group called Michigan Student Zionists organized a demonstration outside. They smeared the gathering as anti-Semitic and claimed it promoted terrorism and violence.

Most of the speakers at the conference posed the solution to the Palestinian struggle as the formation of two states in the region, Israel and Palestine. “This doesn’t address the real character of the state of Israel,” said Don Mackle, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Michigan. “The only solution in the interests of working people is overturning the Israeli government through a revolutionary struggle that will open the door for working people—Palestinians and Jews alike—to forge a democratic, secular Palestine.”

Some of the students attending the Ann Arbor con-



Militant Ilona Gersh

Some 400 students attended the Second National Conference on the Palestine solidarity movement October 12–14 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Don Mackle (on right), Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Michigan, introduces conference participants to revolutionary literature being distributed by the campaign.

ference expressed interest in participating in the 13th congress of The Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students, a gathering of youth, many of them anti-imperialist-minded, from throughout the Americas. The congress that will take place in Guadalajara, Mexico, November 29–December 2.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive Sept. 7–Nov. 17: Week 5

Country	Militant			PM			Book		
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Australia	28	12	43%	6	0		15	8	
Canada									
Vancouver	30	19	63%	5	3		15	10	
Montreal	15	6	40%	10	2		20	9	
Toronto	30	13	43%	5	1		25	4	
Canada total	75	38	51%	20	6		60	23	
Iceland*	15	10	67%	1	1		25	4	
New Zealand									
Auckland	20	12	60%	1	0		7	6	
Christchurch	12	8	67%	1	0		7	6	
N.Z. total	32	20	63%	2	0		14	12	
Sweden									
Stockholm	12	9	75%	3	2		5	7	
Gothenburg	15	9	60%	3	2		10	6	
Sweden Total	27	18	67%	6	4		15	13	
United Kingdom									
London	45	16	36%	15	6		60	49	
Dundee	10	0	0%	0	0		8	4	
UK total	55	16	29%	15	6		68	53	
United States									
Washington	30	29	97%	12	11		25	18	
San Francisco	30	26	87%	20	22		20	24	
Tucson	5	4	80%	1	3		5	0	
Des Moines	25	19	76%	12	13		12	11	
Seattle	40	25	63%	12	5		30	8	
Atlanta	35	20	57%	15	2		25	7	
Cleveland	28	16	57%	7	6		15	2	
Western Colorado	30	17	57%	10	5		12	8	
Detroit	43	24	56%	12	8		25	12	
Charlotte	20	11	55%	8	6		20	6	
Twin Cities	55	30	55%	30	32		25	11	
Brownsville	8	4	50%	2	2		6	0	
Omaha*	20	10	50%	23	21		12	18	
Houston	35	17	49%	15	3		30	19	
Tampa	25	11	44%	8	1		12	1	
Pittsburgh	40	17	43%	4	0		15	4	
Upper Manhattan	75	31	41%	45	20		50	29	
Birmingham	22	9	41%	10	4		12	3	
Los Angeles	45	18	40%	30	12		30	1	
Chicago	45	17	38%	30	24		25	17	
NY Garment Dist.	80	28	35%	45	19		70	14	
Philadelphia	25	8	32%	10	2		15	4	
NE Pennsylvania	30	9	30%	7	1		15	5	
Miami	30	8	27%	10	3		25	7	
Newark	65	15	23%	40	20		35	9	
Boston	28	4	14%	20	5		45	23	
U.S. total	914	427	47%	438	250		611	261	
Int'l totals	1146	541	49%	488	267		808	374	
Goal/Should be	1100	550	50%	500	250		725	363	

IN THE UNIONS

	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Australia									
AMIEU	4	1	25%				2	0	
MUA	3	0	0%				3		
Total	7	1	14%				5		
Canada									
UFCW	9	0	0%	1	0		8	0	
UNITE	6	1	17%	7	2		7	1	
Total	15	1	7%	8	2		15	1	
New Zealand									
MWU	3	1	33%				1	0	
NDU	2	0	0%				1	0	
Total	5	1	20%				2	0	
United States									
UFCW	50	18	36%	65	44		60	18	
UMWA	25	2	8%	4	0		13	1	
UNITE	50	7	14%	40	9		60	15	
Total	125	27	22%	109	53		133	34	
raised goal*									

Chicago Muslim leader framed up

Continued from front page

gives the government wide authority to freeze the assets of organizations deemed suspect of funding “terrorist groups.”

In a sensationalized media event, Ashcroft flew into Chicago to announce the indictment of Arnaout. He was accused of racketeering, conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists, conspiracy to launder money, money laundering and wire e-mail fraud. The charges expand on earlier perjury charges that he lied about alleged ties to Osama bin Laden. Claiming the groups al Qaeda and Hezbe-e-Islami were recipients of the charity’s funds, Ashcroft said some of the contributions were turned into “terrorist blood money” supporting bin Laden and Islamic fighters in Af-

ghanistan, Chechnya, and Bosnia.

Matthew Piers, lawyer for the Benevolence International Foundation, called the charges against Arnaout “an amalgamation of falsehoods, half-truths, and guilt by association.”

Rasheed Ahmed, president of the Muslim Civil Rights Center based in the Chicago suburb of Hickory Hills, said the expanded charges against Arnaout “only increase the skepticism of the community” in the government’s case.

The attacks on the BIF and Arnaout date back to December 14, when FBI agents raided the foundation’s offices and Arnaout’s home, seizing financial records, computers, and personal items. The U.S. Treasury Department froze the charity’s assets.

In response, Benevolence International Foundation filed a complaint in the U.S. District Court of Illinois, challenging the break-ins and seizures as violations of the 4th and 5th Amendments.

On April 29 U.S. district attorney Patrick Fitzgerald filed charges against Arnaout for his statement denying that BIF ever provided any aid to organizations engaged in terrorist activities. Arnaout was arrested and placed in solitary confinement, and is surrounded by three guards whenever he’s allowed to leave his cell.

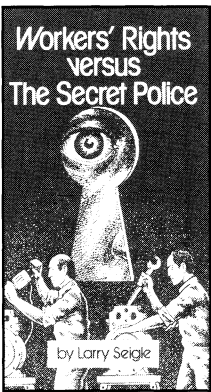
A federal judge threw out the initial perjury charges on September 13, but the U.S. attorney immediately refiled a similar charge based on another statute. The new indictment against Arnaout relies on supposed documents tying him to bin Laden in the 1980s.

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

From Pathfinder

Workers' Rights versus the Secret Police by Larry Seigle

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



Available from bookstores,
including those listed on page 14.

Brazil Workers Party vote shows radicalization

BY RÓGER CALERO

Workers Party candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva came within 3 percent of gaining the presidency of Brazil in the first round of voting on October 6. Having fallen just short of a majority, he faces José Serra of the ruling Social Democratic Party in a run-off vote on October 27. In the first round Serra won fewer than half the votes of da Silva, who is commonly known as Lula.

The Workers Party (PT) success reflected the growing discontent among workers, peasants, and others at the impact of the country's economic crisis and the austerity policies of the current government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

The day after the vote the leading index of the São Paulo Stock Exchange fell by 4.28 percent. The real, Brazil's national currency, dropped a further 3.3 percent against the U.S. dollar, on top of its 37 percent decline so far this year.

The stock market jitters were in line with months of worried speculation in the opinion and financial columns of the big-business press of both Brazil and the United States about the impact of a PT victory. Capitalist commentators have expressed concern about the party's links to the unions and the pro-socialist rhetoric with which it has built a following among impoverished and combative workers and peasants.

Many capitalists remain nervous that a PT victory will raise working people's expectations of a letup in government austerity measures, and spark renewed popular agitation for land, wage increases, jobs, and social benefits.

The "investors' main worry," commented a feature article in the October 5 *Economist*, "is not that...Mr. da Silva will rip off his moderate garb to reveal his old, fiery, socialist self and declare a debt moratorium. It is that he may be incapable of taking the tough decisions needed to stabilize the debt—imposing a further fiscal squeeze if needed in the short term, while passing difficult reforms, such as cutting the fat pensions of public servants."

Seeking to allay these misgivings, da Silva and other PT figures referred in the campaign to the party's "responsible" record in local government. Da Silva has assured the imperialists and local capitalists that his government would pursue "fiscally responsible" policies, including honoring interest payments on the country's massive foreign debt. In the past, da Silva has called for renegotiating the debt.

"Every now and then someone will say to me that my discourse in 1980 is not like the speeches I make today," said da Silva. "What a good thing that is!" The PT candidate focused his campaign on advocating tax reforms and introducing incentives to capitalist businesses aimed at stimulating production and exports.

"Lula could lead the country out of its economic quagmire, mobilize a broad popular base allied with sectors of the progressive middle class, and galvanize international allies," enthused Marcos Arruda, an economic adviser for the PT.

The Workers Party president José Dirceu said that in recent years "both Lula and the Workers Party have changed, because the world and Brazil have changed."

'Economy on a knife-edge'

The PT candidate "and his advisers know that Brazil's economy is on a knife-edge," wrote Peter Hakim, president of the Inter-American Dialogue in a column in the *Washington Post* earlier in October.

"They also know that strict fiscal discipline is needed to avert a full-fledged crash," he added.

Da Silva's conciliatory stance helped to persuade some business people to declare their support for the PT in the latter stages of the campaign. The PT candidate named textile magnate José Alencar as his vice-presidential running mate.

He received the endorsement of leading bourgeois figures like Antonio Carlos Magalhães, the leader of the rightist Liberal Front, and former presidents José Sarney and Itamar Franco.



Steelworkers in Brazil hold protest March 12 outside U.S. Consulate in São Paulo. Capitalists are nervous that a Workers Party election victory will raise working people's expectations, and could spark heightened struggles for jobs, land, and social benefits.

The PT campaign has also received the endorsement of the Brazilian Socialist Party and the Labor Party, which came in third and fourth respectively in the first round of voting.

The decision of some prominent capitalist figures to endorse da Silva was not "just a tactical ploy," stated the October 2 *Wall Street Journal*, but the reflection of a

"broader shift: a discontent with the economy so profound that essentially conservative Brazilians are willing to embrace Mr. da Silva, whom they rejected as too radical in the past."

The PT's near victory registered the depth of the country's economic stagnation and the impact of the crisis on the living standards and expectations of millions of work-

ers, peasants, and middle-class layers.

"If Sunday's vote showed anything, it is that Brazilians are very frustrated with current economic policies," said political analyst Alexandre Barros. "It doesn't matter if Lula or Serra wins," he said, emphasizing the economic and political weakness of the country's ruling layers, and their difficulty in pressing ahead with unpopular austerity programs.

"You won't be seeing any more privatizations in Brazil for at least another few years," said Barros.

Held up until recently as a model Latin American economy, Brazil's economy has slumped after some years of relatively rapid economic expansion and a degree of industrialization. For several years growth in its gross domestic product has stalled, averaging less than 3 percent per year.

Growing poverty levels

Brazil is the largest economy in Latin America, and the largest debtor nation in the region. Some 50 million of its population of 170 million people live below the official poverty level. According to government figures 13 million people are unemployed.

The country's current debt equals \$260 billion, or 58 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product. Commentators in the big-business media have expressed concern for some time that the government will default on interest payments on the debt that come due at the end of October.

In anticipation of increasing political and financial turmoil, the giant U.S. bank J.P. Morgan Chase advised its clients earlier this year to reduce their exposure to Brazil. Argentina and Nigeria, it stated, were the only countries with riskier bonds.

Meat packers host fund meeting in Detroit

BY PETER THIERJUNG

DETROIT—The \$105,000 international Pathfinder Fund received a boost here October 12 and 13 with supporters raising \$1,200 in contributions and new pledges toward a local goal of \$3,000.

One highlight of the two-day effort was a Militant Labor Forum celebrating the publication of Pathfinder's new book *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Díez Acosta. The featured speaker was Martin Koppel, editor of the *Militant* and Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New York.

Koppel explained that the book is "not simply something of interest to historians, but has everything to do with today and the future, showing how working people can overthrow imperialist domination and capitalist rule and transform the world."

He said, "The Socialist Workers candidates are campaigning not against 'war' or even primarily against the war on Iraq, but to explain the need by workers and farmers to take political power in a revolutionary struggle to end imperialism—the source of all these wars. "We invite young people repelled by the brutality of capitalism to join us in activity every week, campaigning for a communist perspective in the interests of the working people of the world."

Don Mackle, the SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, introduced Koppel and reported on a student conference on Palestine that he had participated in that day at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where Pathfinder books were well received by many of the 400 participants.

Two dozen people attended the fund-raising forum held at the Pathfinder bookstore, including eight high school and college students, and several workers interested in socialist politics.

The discussion period following Koppel's presentation was wide-ranging, including questions and comments about the nature of the Cuban Revolution, the fight to bring down imperialism and the U.S.-led war against Iraq, and the meaning of former president James Carter receiving a Nobel peace prize.

On October 13, a worker from a meatpacking plant in Detroit's Eastern Market opened his home to fellow workers, most of them Mexican-born, to meet and discuss politics with Koppel. The occasion became a rolling discussion that lasted about four hours, with workers dropping in throughout.

Koppel used a large display with photos from the *October 1962* book to highlight some of the revolutionary measures taken by Cuba's workers and farmers government and how working people organized in the face of imperialist assaults in April 1961 and October 1962. "The conscious mobilization of hundreds of thousands of working people to defend their revolutionary power and social gains—if that is not real democracy and mass participation, what is?" he asked.

At the end of the discussion, the gathering's host asked for a "cooperación"—a collection for the Pathfinder Fund. On the spot, two workers contributed \$20 each and another made a pledge. Several of the workers who attended the weekend events volunteered to help staff a socialist campaign literature table that features Pathfinder books in the working-class district where the Pathfinder bookstore is located.

BY MAGGIE TROWE

In addition to the above report from Detroit on the Pathfinder Fund campaign, progress was registered "down under" this week. Fund campaigners in Sydney, Australia, report that they have now collected almost \$950 toward their \$1500 quota. From New Zealand, Mike Tucker relayed the news that supporters of the fund in Auckland and Christchurch have raised \$824, bringing them to 55 percent of their \$1500 goal.

In Atlanta the Pathfinder bookstore was packed for a fund-raising dinner and program featuring Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., on Pathfinder's newest title, *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*. Among those attending were five students from Spelman and Morehouse colleges who have been helping to organize a speaking tour in Atlanta for Cuban revolutionaries Victor Dreke and Ana Morales for the end of October. Dreke is the author of *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*, another recent Pathfinder title. Nearly \$1,500 was collected for the Pathfinder Fund at the

meeting.

As a result of a special effort to sell *October 1962* and other Pathfinder titles, Pathfinder sales representatives have made 137 visits to bookstore and library buyers across the United States.

With five weeks remaining, the Pathfinder Fund stands at \$36,000—34 percent of the \$105,000 goal.

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

\$105,000 Pathfinder Fund Sept. 1—Nov. 17. Week 6

	Goal	Paid	%
Tucson AZ	150	100	67%
NY Garment District	6,000	3,680	61%
Charlotte NC	3,500	2,090	60%
Twin Cities MN	5,000	2,820	56%
Newark NJ	3,600	1,957	54%
Cleveland OH	1,700	915	54%
San Francisco CA	8,500	4,340	51%
Western CO	2,600	1,225	47%
Seattle WA	7,500	3,280	44%
NY Upper Manhattan	5,000	2,078	42%
Northeast PA	1,200	455	38%
Des Moines IA	1,200	415	35%
Philadelphia PA	5,000	1,672	33%
Birmingham AL	3,100	975	31%
Pittsburgh PA	4,200	1,320	31%
Chicago IL	5,500	1,400	25%
Washington DC	3,000	760	25%
Omaha NE	900	225	25%
Los Angeles CA	9,500	1,920	20%
Boston MA	3,500	690	20%
Miami FL	2,100	410	20%
Detroit MI	3,000	551	18%
Tampa FL	2,000	320	16%
Houston TX	4,500	665	15%
Atlanta GA	4,250	420	10%
Other		799	
U.S. Total		35,482	37%
New Zealand	1,500	460	33%
Sweden	1,400	100	7%
France	350	20	6%
Australia	1,500	0	0%
Canada	4,500	0	0%
Iceland	150	0	0%
United Kingdom	1,200	0	0%
International total	105,500	36,042	34%
Int'l goal/should be	105,000	57,750	55%

THE MILITANT

online

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Greek gov't attacks rights under banner of 'fighting terrorism'

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN
AND BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece—More than 2,000 people demonstrated here October 1 at the national parliament building to protest recent government attacks on constitutional rights. The protest was led by the Network in Defense of Political and Social Rights.

The demonstration followed a September 25 protest meeting of nearly 400 people in defense of political rights held at the Polytechnic Institute in Athens.

Government officials have targeted some supporters of the Palestinian struggle and other political activists under the banner of "fighting terrorism."

Supporters of political rights celebrated the victory won on September 18 when one political activist, Avraam Lesperoglou, was acquitted of charges of attempted murder of a police officer.

"My case concerns solely my 25 years of solidarity with the Palestinian and every other national liberation and revolutionary movement, and has nothing to do with any form of terrorism," Lesperoglou said.

Lesperoglou, an active supporter of the Palestinian people's struggle, had been charged in 1982 with shooting a policeman in a burglary, explained Nikos Yannopoulos, a leader of the Network in Defense of Political and Social Rights, in an interview. In 1999 he was arrested on these charges after returning to Greece from hiding in Holland. The jury found him innocent of all the charges.

The case dragged on until this year. Government officials also accused Lesperoglou of being part of a "terrorist" organization. The Supreme Court called for a new trial and he was again found not guilty by the jury. The cop frame-up collapsed in court as the only evidence presented against Lesperoglou was testimony by the police officer.

This case comes in the context of a campaign by the government of the social democratic Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) against workers' rights under the cover of "fighting terrorism."

Yannopoulos noted that with an "antiterrorism" law passed by the parliament last year the government is seeking to erode basic constitutional rights. Under that legislation, "if someone is convicted of belonging to a group deemed terrorist, that person faces 20 years in prison even if he or she has not committed any terrorist acts; jury trials are done away with; stool pigeons can be let off with easy time; and prosecution witnesses do not have to be present at trials."

Under the new law, those accused of "terrorism" will be tried by a three-judge panel instead of a jury. Lesperoglou was the last person accused of terrorism to be tried before a jury.

Lesperoglou's trial took place in the midst of arrests of individuals accused of belonging to a group called the November 17 Revolutionary Organization (N17). In the past

two months, 17 people have been arrested on charges of being N17 members. Four of them deny any involvement with the group.

N17 claimed responsibility for almost two dozen assassinations over the course of the last 25 years. The most prominent individuals the group has taken responsibility for assassinating were Athens CIA station chief Richard Wells, in December 1975, and a British military attaché, Brigadier Steven Saunders, in June 2000. Other targets of the group have included Turkish diplomats and various well-known Greek capitalists and bourgeois politicians. The group used anti-imperialist and nationalist rhetoric to justify its actions.

The PASOK government, along with the capitalist media, have used the arrests of alleged N17 members to carry out an intense "antiterrorist" campaign. In a policy speech Prime Minister Constantinos Simitis declared, "These people [N17] are not heroes, they are criminals. Society must condemn them without a doubt. Terrorism will be dealt with thoroughly."

In a commentary in *Kathimerini*, a big business paper, columnist Costas Iordanis wrote, "It should be noted immediately that only a left-wing government could have taken the dismantling of terrorism to the point where it is now meeting no vociferous public reaction."

Attacking rights of accused, due process

The antiterrorism campaign is being used to target workers' rights, including restrictions on the rights of the accused and on due process. Savas Xeros, arrested in June as an N17 member, was held in police custody at a hospital for several days without access to an attorney or to his family. He was in the hospital recovering from life-threatening injuries incurred when a bomb he was allegedly carrying prematurely exploded in Piraeus. From his hospital bed, and before his lawyer was able to see him, he named several people as N17 members. The new "antiterrorism" law grants leniency to accused individuals who collaborate with a police investigation.

"Our constitution provides that a person charged with a crime must be brought before a judge within 24 hours of being arrested. If the patient is incapacitated, the judge goes to the hospital. In this case he went 70 days later," said Xeros's lawyer,

Mayoral candidate in Vancouver takes campaign for communism into streets



Militant Azad Mohammed

Beverly Bernardo, Communist League candidate for mayor of British Columbia, takes working-class campaign against imperialism onto streets to meet working people and youth. The most important resistance to the imperialist war aims by the Canadian rulers, who are moving toward war in the Mideast, she explains, is the resistance by working people to the bosses' assaults, from the strike by 2,200 workers at Videotron in Quebec to defend their union and jobs, to the fight by Algerian immigrants against deportation threats.

George Agiostratitis, to the press. In either case the questioning must be conducted "in the presence of a lawyer," he said.

According to Yannopoulos of the Network in Defense of Political and Social Rights, some detainees accused of belonging to N17 have been denied meetings with their lawyers, are being kept in solitary confinement, or have even been denied visits. Discussions with attorneys have been taped by the police and then leaked to the press.

Commenting on the violations of due process, Agiostratitis said, "Despite the legal presumption of innocence, we see statements daily by Greek officials, including the justice minister, that prejudice the results of the case.... The media and others are cultivating a destructive climate."

More than 100 people are now under government investigation on "terrorism" charges, according to *Kathimerini*. Yannis Serifis, a former trade unionist who like Lesperoglou was tried and acquitted of murder charges, has been smeared as an N17 operative.

"Serifis was an opponent of the dictatorship and a worker in Germany. After the military junta fell [in 1974] he returned and got a job at the AEG plant, and became a leader of the union there," Yannopoulos said. "In 1977, during a union struggle at the

plant, the Popular Revolutionary Struggle group clashed with the police leading to the death of one person. Serifis was charged and held in jail for 18 months. A jury found him not guilty. He remained an active trade union fighter in the trolley workers union. Now the government is trying to frame him up as an N17 cadre. Many trade unionists have already come out in his defense," Yannopoulos reported.

When the Network in Defense of Political and Social Rights led the successful defense campaign for Lesperoglou, the group itself became a target of smears of being "linked to terrorism." Referring to the network-sponsored demonstration, Dora Bakoyanni, the New Democracy party candidate for mayor of Athens and front-runner in the upcoming elections, labeled the demonstrators "supporters of November 17 who, without shame, provoked not only the families of the victims but all of society."

This assault on workers' rights takes place in the midst of the growing imperialist moves toward war in the Mideast. "Greece will be involved in the coming war, and those who do not support the government in this war will be labeled supporters of terrorism. In this way they want to silence opposition," Yannopoulos said.

Workers walk out at tortilla plant in Chicago

BY PATTIE THOMPSON

CHICAGO—Workers at the Azteca Foods plant here, the nation's number one producer of refrigerated tortillas, have been walking the picket line since September 30, in response to intimidation and threats by the bosses for protesting company stalling

in the contract negotiations.

The unionists rejected the company's latest contract offer because of unacceptable concession demands. Union officials said they objected to a 700 percent increase in medical insurance costs.

They were also offered wage raises of only 5 to 25 cents per hour, depending on job classification. Wages for laborers are now about \$9 an hour, with machine operators earning around \$11. Negotiations continue.

The 90 workers, members of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Local 1159, are demanding seniority, raises, improved health and safety conditions, better benefits, and union rights.

Catarino Pita, with 20 years in the plant, said one of the things that sparked the strike was abuse on the job, supervisors yelling at workers, and favoritism toward some workers. "To deal with this we are demanding a seniority system," Pita said. Job assignment, shift preference, and overtime are not currently determined by seniority. Pita said many of the strikers have 20 years or more in the plant. "These abuses are not new. But finally the water got up to here," he said, pointing to his neck. "We had to do something."

The union brought a complaint against Azteca Foods to the National Labor Relations Board. They charged the company with violating labor laws by videotaping union rallies and threatening workers involved in union organizing. The NLRB ruled in their favor in September. The company faces a

hearing on the unfair labor practice charges in February. Company president Arturo Velásquez denies the charges and has pledged to keep up production during the strike.

Before the walkout the average output of the company has been close to 3 million tortillas a day and annual sales are more than \$30 million. Its products reach supermarkets in 35 states. In the press, Velásquez is touted as one of the most prominent Hispanic businessmen, a "community leader," and philanthropist.

The strikers, who in their majority are Mexican-born, have not been deterred from publicizing their fight. Josefina Bonilla, a 28-year Azteca foods employee and member of the union's negotiating committee, told the *Chicago Tribune*, "In the community he might have a heart of gold but here he has a heart of stone."

In addition to walking the picket line, strikers travel to grocery stores around the city distributing leaflets explaining the issues in their fight.

In the spring of 2000, their determination to get improved wages and benefits as well as dignity and respect on the job led them to successfully fight to disaffiliate from the pro-company Distillery Workers Local 3, and in April of this year they won recognition of their union, the UE.

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

From Pathfinder

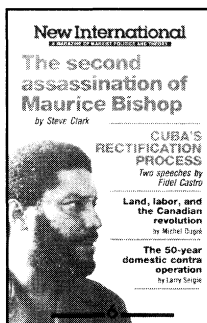
Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation

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Venezuela: huge protest counters coup plans

Continued from front page
immediate elections.

Opposition forces had mounted their own rally three days earlier. This action, dominated by professionals and other middle-class layers, drew between 500,000 and 1 million people, many of them banging pots and pans. Leaders of Fedecámaras, the country's main bosses' association, and top officials of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV), the country's largest trade union federation, declared at this rally they will call a general strike beginning October 21 to try to bring down the government if Chávez doesn't step down immediately.

Tensions mounted the week leading up to October 13. The government claimed October 6 that it had foiled a feeble coup attempt after security officers raided the house of Enrique Tejera, a former foreign minister, and seized documents that supposedly implicated him in a plot.

On October 9, an antigovernment mob of hundreds prevented police from arresting Manuel Rosendo, an army general who called on the military to disobey any orders to suppress the following day's opposition march. Rosendo is among 300 military officers under investigation for their involvement in the April coup. They have been sidelined from active command duties but none have been convicted so far. Leading up to and during the October 10 opposition rally, the government deployed hundreds of troops and tanks on the streets of Caracas. The mobilizations took place largely without violent clashes.

"There are already enough people here for a march twice the size of the opposition demonstration," said journalist Tibisay Franquis in a telephone interview on the afternoon of October 13 as she was covering the pro-Chávez action. Franquis works for CATIATV, a local television station based in Catia, the largest working-class barrio of Caracas, that broadcasts mostly in such neighborhoods.

"Catia, the January 23 barrio, and many other areas of the city—the poorer areas—are virtually empty. People have poured into the downtown area. Three days ago it was the richer suburbs that were empty during their rally. Today's march is at least 16 kilometers [10 miles] long. And there's many people from other areas of the country here."

Peasants' land aspirations

For example, thousands of people from San Carlos, the capital of Cojedes, a largely agricultural state, went to Caracas for the October 13 march, said Armando Serpa, a farmer who lives on the outskirts of the city. Among them were 400 peasants. Serpa gave a phone interview from his home the same afternoon. "I had an accident, broke my leg and I could not go," he said, "but I am watching it on TV. It's the biggest march we've had since 1998."

Militant reporters had met Serpa and

other peasants in the area during a visit in mid-July. "Since then, people feel we may have a little wind in our sails," he said. "Most of us who were promised titles to land are still waiting. But the opposition failed to 'reform' the agrarian reform law. And those who had claims as part of the estate of the Yauques got their titles."

Serpa was referring to the Law on Land and Agricultural Development. It was signed by the government in November of last year. Along with the Law on Fishing and Aquaculture, the new agrarian law is among the most contentious measures taken by the Chávez government. It allows the state to confiscate some idle private farms of more than 12,000 acres and distribute the land to the peasants. It also lays out procedures for peasants and indigenous people to place claims for stolen lands.

Members of the Yauques, a family of indigenous people, filed documents under this law showing a legal claim to some 153,000 acres of land in Cojedes, granted to their tribe in the 19th century. Big landowners forcibly seized the land over the last half century, members of the Yauques said. Joining forces with peasant organizations, the Yauques won their claim, according to Serpa. They turned over the land to the state, which distributed it to landless peasants from the area over the last two months.

"For the first time, the majority, I would say more than 60 percent, at the march were young people," said Claudia Orsini, in a telephone interview the evening of October 13, as the pro-Chávez rally was winding down. "High school and college students, artists, young professionals, and workers, you name it." Orsini is a national leader of the Fifth Republic Revolutionary Youth (JVR), a pro-Chávez youth group. She spoke as many people around her at Bolívar Avenue in central Caracas could still be heard chanting, "Chávez is here to stay."

Orsini and others interviewed that day by phone said some 2 million marched. The big-business press reported substantially smaller participation.

Orsini pointed out that for the first time virtually all TV and radio stations, which are mostly private and in the hands of opposition forces, carried live coverage of the pro-government action. Chávez had threatened to take these stations off the air after their technicians reportedly tried to scramble the signal of Venezuelan TV, the only state-controlled channel. Their management had also announced it would boycott the October 13 action, after it gave wide coverage to the opposition march three days earlier. These channels also showed repeatedly an interview with Navy officer Alvaro Martín Fossa, a vice-admiral who called on Chávez to resign.

Chávez addressed the rally, rejecting the call to step down as undemocratic and unconstitutional. He maintained his previous offer to call a referendum in August 2003 over whether he should remain president or call early elections before his term expires in 2007.

"We still have to assess the results," said Orsini, "but many of us are coming out of this march feeling that we are stronger." She said the mobilization put in a better position those fighting "for the ownership of the land to be turned over to the people, the ownership of the factories to be turned over to the people, the ownership of the services to be turned over to the people. It's not enough to have elected a government we support, or at least that we oppose it being brought down by force by the rich minority who still control the economy. We need the economic power too. That's what we thought was the president's most important message at the rally."

Most workers oppose CTV strike call

Ismael Hernández did not share Orsini's view that Chávez made such statements in his October 13 speech. "What I heard him saying is that if some bosses boycott the economy he won't oppose efforts to take over those businesses," Hernández said in a telephone interview that evening. A member of the textile workers union, a CTV affiliate, Hernández had just gotten off the bus returning from the Caracas march to Valencia, the country's third largest city and biggest industrial center. Some 40,000 people from Valencia—mostly auto, textile, health care, and other workers—joined the



Above, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrate in Caracas October 13 to oppose bourgeois opposition's coup plans. Three days earlier, antigovernment forces held a large protest demanding Chávez's resignation or early elections.

Caracas rally, he said.

"The problem for the CTV tops and the bosses is that more and more people believe they should do what Claudia said. In the factories, most workers oppose the CTV call for a general strike. They [the CTV officials] did it without consultation with us, the workers, which flies in the face of their claims for democracy. This week, the textile workers and other unions here have planned meetings. These assemblies are supposed to authorize takeovers of the companies if the CTV gets its way in supporting the bosses' strike, where factories close despite the wishes of the majority of workers."

Such views have spread well beyond Valencia, Hernández said. They are part of the reason for divisions within the trade union tops and the bourgeois opposition over the CTV-Fedecámaras call for a strike to oust Chávez.

Officials of Venezuela's largest oil union, Fedepetrol, for example, stated they would not join the reactionary strike after the government agreed to a 35 percent wage raise.

Pro-imperialist opposition divided

An article in the October 10 *Washington Post*, titled "Weak economy pinches Venezuelan opposition," pointed to some other factors. Venezuela is gripped by a worsening economic crisis, mostly as a result of the workings of the capitalist system and the effects of imperialist domination. The country's gross national product shrank 7 percent in the first half of this year, according to government figures, the *Post* reported. Nearly half a million people have lost their jobs in the same period, bringing unemployment to about 20 percent. Foreign investment has virtually dried up, while the bolivar, the national currency, has lost more than half its value against the dollar this year. Inflation is running at nearly 25 percent. Food purchases are down 10 percent compared to the same period in 2001.

Bourgeois opposition forces that vehemently oppose Chávez for backing measures that cut into the prerogatives of big

capital—such as the agrarian and fishing laws—and for closer ties with Cuba's revolutionary government are "also wary of a money-losing national strike that would be the third in less than a year," the *Post* said. "A poll released this week by the independent firm Consultores 21 showed that 60 percent of the population opposes a strike.... [Henrique] Salas Romer, a likely opponent for Chávez in a coming election, is among a growing number of opposition leaders who have split from the Fedecámaras-CTV formula for driving Chávez from office."

Under these conditions, Washington has muted its earlier not-so-hidden support for efforts to oust Venezuela's president. Following the October 10 opposition rally, U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said, "It's important for both sides to use the opportunity to resolve those issues democratically and through dialogue." An article in the October 8 *St. Petersburg Times* stated that U.S. government officials have smoothed somewhat relations with Chávez as part of guaranteeing petroleum shipments from Venezuela, from where 30 percent of U.S. oil is imported. "This is not an embrace of Chávez," the article quoted Michael Shifter, of the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue, saying. "But there is clearly a distancing from the opposition."

The U.S. rulers are worried that resistance to "market reforms" and expectations for better living standards among working people in Venezuela, heightened with the coming to power of Chávez, may spread elsewhere in Latin America. Pointing to the first-round victory in recent presidential elections in Brazil of Ignacio Lula da Silva, the candidate of the Workers Party, an editorial in the October 10 *New York Times* said, "If free-market reforms are to prevail in Latin America, more effort must be made to extend their benefits beyond a narrow elite to the tens of millions whom Mr. da Silva attracted. Such an impoverished majority put Hugo Chávez into power in Venezuela and seems likely to be a majority force in next year's Argentine presidential election."

Factory closings are on the rise in Japan

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

As Japan slides further into depression, factory closings in that Asian country, the world's second-largest economy, have jumped.

Plant shutdowns increased more than 50 percent in the first nine months of 2002, the Japanese newspaper *Nihon Keizai* reported. Worst hit is the production of industrial materials and parts: 39 companies have shut down plants, compared to 18 in the same period in 2001. Some 20,000 corporations went bankrupt last year, marking the second-highest total in Japan since World War II.

The paper reports that the sharp increase in plant closings also "reflects a shift to China by makers of electronics and information and technology who have been facing severe global price competition."

Meanwhile, the Tokyo Stock Exchange's benchmark Nikkei stock index has fallen to its lowest level since 1983, and Japanese banks are reeling from nearly half a trillion dollars in uncollectible loans. The International Monetary Fund predicts that Japan's economy will shrink by half a percentage point in 2002, the worst performance among major capitalist economies.

From Pathfinder

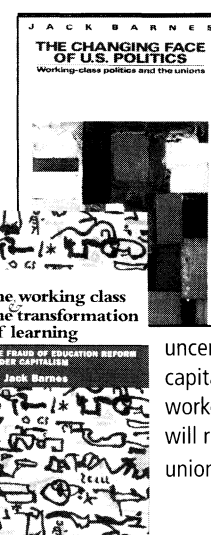
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by Jack Barnes

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Book 'vividly captures' Cuban victory at Bay of Pigs

The following is a book review of *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, published by Pathfinder Press, which appeared in the May 2002 *Hispanic American Historical Review*, one of the leading Latin American studies journals. The article also reviews Keith Eubank's *The Missile Crisis in Cuba*, published by Krieger. Peter Felten is a professor at Vanderbilt University.

BY PETER FELTEN

Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas, by Fidel Castro and José Ramón Fernández. Edited by Steve Clark and Mary-Alice Waters. Foreword by Jack Barnes. New York: Pathfinder Press, 2001. Photographs. Illus-

BOOK REVIEW

tration. Maps. Figures. Appendixes. Glossary. Index. 278 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. Paper \$20.00

The Missile Crisis in Cuba. By Keith Eubank. Anvil. Malabar, Fla.: Krieger, 2000. Bibliography. Index, viii, 235 pp. Paper, \$19.50.

In the early 1960s, the conflict between Cuba and the United States had repercussions reaching far beyond the Caribbean. Two recent books present primary source documents on the April 1961 invasion at Playa Girón and the October 1962 missile crisis. Neither book reveals significant new information, but each provides a handy collection of texts appropriate for classroom use.

Pathfinder Press published *Playa Girón* simultaneously in English and Spanish. Jack Barnes, national secretary of the (U.S.) Socialist Workers Party, introduces the volume with a long reflection of his experiences as a student organizer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in 1961, at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. The English language edition then includes translations of a dozen Cuban primary source documents on the U.S.-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs: excerpts of six important speeches from 15 April–1 May (four by Fidel Castro and one each by Ernesto Guevara and Raúl Castro); and six short Cuban government communiqués from 17 to 19 April. The book also contains a 48-page transcript of José

Ramón Fernández Álvarez's 1999 testimony about his role leading Cuban troops against the invaders at Playa Girón. Photographs, maps, and charts throughout the book provide a useful supplement to the text. The volume concludes with a detailed chronology of events, a "glossary" (brief biographies of major figures), and a short list of suggested readings.

The documents in *Playa Girón* tell a familiar story, but they tell it well. Cuba expected a major attack in April 1961, although the nature, location, and timing of the assault remained unclear. As the invasion began, Fidel Castro scoffed at Washington's denial of its involvement: "Hollywood would never have come up with something like this, ladies and gentlemen!" (4/16/61, quoted p. 53). Even without Hollywood's help, however, Fidel was the star of this story. Fernández's recollection of the invasion's initial hour vividly captured Castro's leadership style:

After Fidel gave me my orders [via telephone around 2:00 a.m. on April 17], I began to get d'ressed, ordered the driver to fill up my jeep and check it over, and called a group of four officers to accompany.

Before I had finished dressing, Fidel called me again. 'What are you doing?'

'I am just finishing getting dressed, Commander.' I continued dressing and, with the greatest urgency, doing everything else I had to do.

Ten minutes later: 'Why are you still there?'

I went downstairs—my room was on the second floor of the School of Cadets—and began looking for the maps. The officers weren't there yet, but the jeep was waiting.

Fidel called again: 'Why haven't you left yet?' ... As soon as I arrived in Matanzas, Fidel was on the phone: 'Has the school been assembled? What are you doing? How is the morale?' (p. 107)

Near the end of his testimony, Fernández credited "the example set by Fidel—his presence, his orders, his leadership" with being decisive in Cuba's victory (p. 122). Fidel never claimed such stature for himself; instead he stressed the righteousness of the Cuban and Socialist cause as the reason for the quick triumph. With sacrifice and struggle, Castro concluded, the revolution inevitably would succeed.



Granma

Victorious Cuban militia fighters after defeating U.S.-organized invasion at Bay of Pigs

On 23 April 1961, Castro declared victory over the invasion and made a telling observation about his foes in Washington: "If they were capable of making this mistake, why not a bigger one? We should believe that they are capable of making another mistake ... no one knows what it would cost humanity" (pp. 178–79). Eighteen months later, the Cuban Missile Crisis came close to fulfilling Castro's prediction.

The Missile Crisis in Cuba, like other volumes in Krieger Publishing's Anvil Series, is intended for use in college history courses. The book includes a 104-page overview of events, an up-to-date bibliography of English-language scholarship, and a collection of 25 primary source documents that illuminate the actions of the leaders in Washington and Moscow during October 1962. Keith Eubank, in his summary of the crisis, emphasizes misunderstandings and misjudgments made by John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev. Eubank describes the two leaders as "very human and very lucky" (p.97). Significant concessions by both superpowers, not savvy crisis management, averted a nuclear exchange. Eubank also squeezes colorful details into his brief overview, giving the reader a clear sense of the men making decisions in Washington, Moscow, and Havana.

Although Fidel Castro plays a major role in Eubank's summary of the crisis, Cuba is nearly absent from the 110 pages of primary sources that follow. Instead, these documents focus on Washington's actions and policy debates. Eubank makes extensive use of the recently declassified transcripts of Kennedy's "Ex-Comm" meetings; these transcripts alone comprise almost half of the pages in this section of the book. Memos and public statements from U.S. government officials take up a quarter of the documents in the collection. Materials from a Soviet perspec-

tive (including five internal Soviet government documents released since 1995 by the Cold War International History Project) make up the remaining quarter of the collection. Every document in *The Missile Crisis in Cuba* is available elsewhere, but this collection includes portions of nearly all of the crucial sources now available.

While *Playa Girón* and *The Missile Crisis in Cuba* are helpful compilations of sources, these books highlight the difficulty of giving Cuba its rightful place in the documentary history of the early 1960s. College students analyzing the documents from *The Missile Crisis in Cuba* reasonably might conclude that only Moscow and Washington mattered during October 1962. In *Playa Girón*, Fernández admitted that he based his testimony largely on "books and articles that have been published on the subject, especially in the United States" (p. 86). Cuban speeches and recollections, like those in *Playa Girón*, are important, but a more complex analysis of historical events requires a range of different sources.

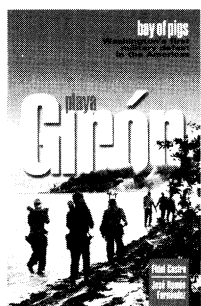
Recent declassifications by Havana are beginning to transform the documentary record. In March 2001, for instance, a conference on the Bay of Pigs analyzed some 480 pages of Cuban government records declassified in Havana (for information and some excerpts see the National Security Archive's web site (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/bayofpigs/>)). The newly available sources, including a twenty-five page communiqué written by Fernández on 18–19 April 1961, will permit a more complete understanding of the Cuban response to the Bay of Pigs invasion. Until these documents—and others like them on October 1962—are available for classroom use, *Playa Girón* and *The Missile Crisis in Cuba* will be valuable resources for teaching about the early 1960s.

From Pathfinder

Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas

Fidel Castro and José Ramón Fernández

In less than 72 hours of combat during April 1961 at the Bay of Pigs, Cuba's revolutionary militias, police, and armed forces defeated an invasion by 1,500 mercenaries armed, trained, supported, and deployed by Washington. In the process, the Cuban people not only transformed their country and themselves, but set an example for workers and farmers across the Americas and the world. With political consciousness, class solidarity, unflinching courage, and a revolutionary leadership displaying an impeccable sense of timing, it is possible to stand up to enormous might and seemingly insurmountable odds—and win. In English and Spanish. \$20.



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U.S.: uncounted joblessness, poverty grow

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Alongside the news that Wall Street experienced its worst quarter on the stock market in 15 years, some of the effects of the economic depression on working people in the United States have come out in recent statistics.

Workers are earning less and losing benefits and access to health care, and a growing number of unemployed workers are not being counted by the official unemployment figures, according to government reports.

A recent U.S. Census Bureau report on income and poverty indicates that 1.3 million more people fell below the official poverty line in 2001 than the previous year—an increase from 11.3 percent to 11.7 percent of the U.S. population. This is the first increase in the poverty rate since 1993. Overall, the median income dropped 2.2 percent, indicating the broader impact of the crisis.

In a registration of the crisis facing farmers and other rural toilers, most of the increases in the poverty figures were in rural and suburban areas, particularly in the South. For Blacks and Latinos, the rate is roughly double the national average, at 22.7 percent and 21.4 percent, respectively.

One sector of the population did not

see a drop in income. The wealthiest 5 percent earned 22.4 percent of the nation's before-tax income in 2001, up from 22.1 percent the preceding year. Those figures do not include the unreported income of the wealthiest U.S. families.

Under the impact of the assault by the bosses on wages and working conditions over the past decade, a growing number of jobless workers have fallen outside the rising official government unemployment rate, currently at 5.7 percent. Workers whose bodies have been permanently damaged by the grinding speed-up that employers demand, and those locked up in prisons are among those who have swelled the ranks of the uncounted unemployed.

Some 5.4 million unemployed workers are living on disability insurance—a figure that has doubled since the early 1990s. No statistics are kept on millions of other unemployed workers who do not receive some form of government aid—those relying solely on family support and those who have left the workforce to care for children and relatives.

The number of workers behind bars has skyrocketed in the past two decades. The U.S. prison population more than doubled under the Clinton administration and today exceeds more than 2 million. If all of these workers were added to the unemployment figure, reported a *New York Times* article,

"the real level of unemployment for men probably approaches the level of the recession-mired early 1980s."

The 2001 Census Bureau report also revealed that 1.4 million workers in the United States were added to the ranks of those lacking health insurance last year, bringing the total to 38 million, or 14.6 percent of the population.

Employers have been taking away an increasing share of the health benefits for retirees. Some 19.5 percent of private companies had health benefit programs for retirees over 65 years old in 1997. By the year 2000, however, that figure had shrunk by almost half, to 10.7 percent.

Those employers who do offer benefits are forcing retired workers to pay more. In 1980 a 60-year-old worker with 10 years on the job had to pay an average of 39 percent of total lifetime retirement medical costs not paid by Medicare. By last year that figure had shot up to 68 percent.

Nonetheless, the Bush administration is proposing far-reaching cuts in Medicare payments to hospitals for a wide range of drugs and medical devices used to treat elderly and disabled workers. These cuts will make it more difficult for working people to obtain lifesaving medicines such as cancer drugs, and devices such as cardiac defibrillators.

Cuba's response to 1962 U.S. military threats

Washington's provocations brought world to the edge of nuclear catastrophe

In October 1962, in what is widely known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, Washington pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war. The events brought to a head the drive by the U.S. rulers to launch a direct invasion of Cuba and overthrow the revolutionary government there. In the face of the U.S. government's threats, Cuban working people mobilized in their millions to defend their revolution, staying Washington's hand (see accompanying box).

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

The *Militant* has been printing excerpts from the new book. The one below is from the chapter titled "The brilliant yet sad days of the crisis." The chapter details the steps taken by the U.S. government between October 22 and 28, 1962—the high point of the crisis—toward launching a war against Cuba. It also describes the political and military moves taken by Cuba's revolutionary government to counteract these threats and aggression, as well as the positions taken by top Soviet leaders.

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BY TOMÁS DIEZ ACOSTA

On October 22 the crisis erupted. From then on, not only the countries directly involved but the entire world was shaken by these momentous events, which posed a real and imminent danger of nuclear war.

The military measures taken by the United States were directed not only against Cuba but also against the USSR. These steps included putting the Strategic Air Command (SAC) on maximum alert, ordering nuclear submarines armed with Polaris missiles to leave their bases and take up attack positions, and placing in a state of combat readiness the ring of U.S. bases, with all their troops and equipment, that encircled the Soviet Union from Turkey to Japan. For its part, the Soviet Union made its strategic missile forces combat-ready and put its entire armed forces on maximum alert. In Europe the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact armies took similar measures.

The stance taken by the superpowers created worldwide turmoil. Starting on October 23 there were demonstrations in many countries against these actions, which threatened peace and endangered all humanity. Public opinion on the gravity of the events was expressed in various ways around the

world. However, political conditions were not favorable for the protests to directly condemn the actions of the U.S. rulers, given the way in which the Soviet Union had deployed the missiles in Cuba and Kennedy's adroit manipulation of public opinion.

Seven days on the brink of nuclear war

Cuba was not caught off guard. Noting the increase in U.S. military actions in the Caribbean, the Cuban government had already begun taking action to meet the threat. Cuban intelligence units were kept on alert. Increasingly alarming reports poured in to the General Staff of the armed forces.

On October 21 it was learned that the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo had been reinforced with additional troops and matériel. Information was also obtained—through a secret channel—that in the early morning hours of October 22 the base commander had ordered the evacuation of civilian families of troops stationed at Guantánamo. In accordance with Operational Directive no. 1, and in light of the political-military situation, orders began going out to Cuban combat units.¹

At noon on October 22, news arrived that the White House press secretary, Pierre Salinger, had reserved time that evening on all U.S. radio stations and TV channels for President Kennedy's address to the nation. From then on, the news media started to report on all meetings held in the presidential office.

Cuban authorities concluded that the flurry of activity in the U.S. capital had to do with discovery of the Soviet missile sites. Although they could not predict exactly what military action the U.S. would launch or where it would strike, they were certain that an attack was imminent. At 3:50 p.m. that day Prime Minister Fidel Castro, in his capacity as commander in chief, placed the armed forces on combat alert. Shortly afterward, at 5:35 p.m.—nearly an hour and a half before Kennedy spoke—a state of combat alarm was decreed for the entire country.²

That evening, Foreign Minister Raúl Roa instructed the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, Mario García Incháustegui, to request an emergency session of the Security Council because—as Roa stated in his instructions—the naval blockade against Cuba announced by the U.S. president constituted "an act of war carried out behind the backs of international organizations, with absolute disdain for the Security Council, creating an imminent danger of war."

Cuba's plans for wartime defense of the island involved organizing the military and political command structure into three operational regions based on the mountain ranges—eastern, central, and western. Each was headed by an authoritative commander who could lead the struggle and armed resistance independently. Commander Raúl Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, assumed command of Oriente province and its army. Commander Juan

Almeida headed up the central provinces, with his headquarters in Santa Clara. Commander Ernesto Guevara, based in Pinar del Río, led the western region. Fidel Castro remained in Havana, at the head of the nation....

Soviet forces placed on full combat alert

Early on the morning of October 23, Marshal Malinovsky reported on the mili-

fairs of the Republic of Cuba as well as a provocative act against the Soviet Union. The Soviet premier also sent a letter to Fidel Castro, calling the U.S. actions piratical, perfidious, and aggressive. Khrushchev told Castro that he had given instructions to the Soviet military representatives in Cuba to take all necessary measures to be completely combat-ready.

This message was interpreted by the Cu-



Prensa Latina

Picket line in front of United Nations in New York in October 1962 to protest Washington's naval blockade of Cuba and preparations to invade the Caribbean island nation. Similar actions took place in many other countries around the world, as Cuban people prepared to defend their socialist revolution from U.S. aggression.

tary actions by the United States, and proposed to put the Soviet armed forces on full combat alert. Khrushchev, on the other hand, called for caution, for projecting an image of calm, and for not rushing to make decisions that might touch off a war. At the same time, Khrushchev gave instructions that the submarine fleet, anti-aircraft defense, and strategic missile units cancel all leaves and put on hold retirements based on age until further notice.

Faced with the threat of war, Warsaw Pact countries ordered similar military measures. The TASS news agency ran a statement by the Soviet government denouncing the naval blockade as a serious threat to peace and a step toward unleashing thermonuclear war. It also warned the United States not to implement the measures Kennedy had announced against Soviet ships headed toward Cuba, and requested that the UN Security Council be convened promptly.

At the same time, the Soviet Foreign Ministry gave U.S. ambassador Kohler a copy of the official statement and a message from Khrushchev to Kennedy, which repeated that the weapons in Cuba were defensive and called the actions announced the previous day outrageous interference in the af-

ban leadership as a clear sign of Soviet determination not to give in to U.S. demands. Years later, Fidel exclaimed: "The idea of retreating never entered my mind."

Coincidentally, on the morning of October 23 the Soviet ship *Aleksandrovsk* docked at the Cuban port of Isabela de Sagua, carrying on board the remaining nuclear missile warheads, without being detected by U.S. intelligence. This was very significant militarily, since it meant that the so-called quarantine announced by Kennedy had no strategic value. Politically, it was a powerful deterrent for the Soviets to use in negotiations to end the conflict. But this advantage was never utilized or even mentioned.

In the morning, after giving the necessary instructions, Fidel Castro went to the central command post to get the latest reports on the state of mobilization. There he learned that U.S. warplanes were making low-altitude flights over Cuba—a dangerous military escalation.

That night the Cuban prime minister appeared on radio and television to refute charges made by the U.S. president the day before. Fidel made it clear that he had no obligation to explain anything to the U.S.

Continued on Page 11

Background to 1962 'missile' crisis in Cuba

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

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

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

¹ On October 10, 1962, the General Staff had begun distributing Operational Directive no. 1 to the various armed forces commands, in order to ensure the strategic deployment of the FAR in the event of foreign aggression. See General Staff, Operational Directive no. 1, CID-FAR Archives, Military Unit 1081 Collection, Inventory 1, Record 2, File 1.

² During the night of October 22 and early morning of October 23, hundreds of thousands of Cubans were mobilized, with their weapons, and moved to their battle posts. A total of fifty-four infantry divisions, four brigades (one of tanks, and three of artillery), seventeen independent battalions, six artillery groups (multiple rocket launchers), three independent 120-mm. mortar groups, twenty units of the Revolutionary Navy, one hundred and eighteen anti-aircraft batteries, and forty-seven warplanes were mobilized. A total of 269,203 people were mobilized, including 169,561 reservists and 99,612 on the active-duty rosters of the FAR. See "Draft Report Analyzing Experiences of the Recently Concluded Mobilization," Operations Directorate, Havana, December 19, 1962, CID-FAR Archives, Military Unit 1081 Collection, Inventory 1, Record 28, File 4.

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

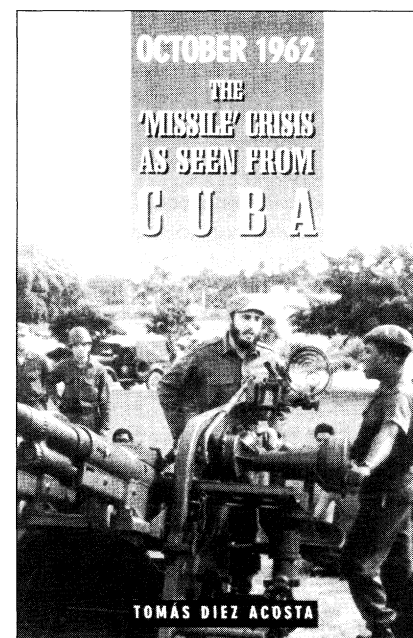
By Tomás Díez Acosta

"We possess moral long-range missiles that cannot be dismantled and will never be dismantled. This is our strongest strategic weapon."

Fidel Castro, November 1, 1962

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Russians, Cubans, Americans relive 1962 'Missile' Crisis

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA—A three-day tripartite international conference here on "The October Crisis: a political perspective 40 years later" finished October 13 with a visit by participants to one of the locations in Pinar del Río province where a medium-range ballistic missile site had been under construction in October 1962.

Altogether some 200 Cubans, Americans, and Russians—many of whom were directly involved 40 years ago in what is widely known as the "missile" crisis—exchanged views on the origins and consequences of those events. The U.S. administration of John F. Kennedy came within a few steps of launching an attack on Cuba that would, in all probability, have rapidly escalated into nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

At the conference, former secretary of defense Robert McNamara, whose tenure in that post spanned both the "missile" crisis and the massive escalation of U.S. forces in Vietnam, argued that the Kennedy administration's Operation Mongoose had been "stupid." It was nothing but a sideshow, he said.

Mongoose was an extensive U.S. government program of assassination, sabotage, and subversion, personally directed from the White House by Attorney General Robert Kennedy on behalf of his brother, the president. It had been initiated in the aftermath of the crushing defeat dealt by Cuba's armed forces and militia in April 1961 to a U.S.-organized invasion by Cuban mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. The objective of the invasion was to prepare the way for the direct use of U.S. military forces to overthrow

Cuba's revolutionary government.

With a full dose of imperial arrogance, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who was special assistant to John F. Kennedy at the time, labeled Operation Mongoose a mere "pinprick," declaring "surprise" that it had caused such "problems for the Cubans." U.S. policy makers were really not interested in Cuba, he proclaimed. The only issue was eliminating potential Soviet military bases in Latin America.

Each of these lies and more were taken up and answered in the course of the meeting, especially by the conference participants from Cuba. The origin of the "missile" crisis was not Soviet weapons but Washington's determination to try to crush the Cuban revolution. What prevented a U.S. invasion—for which military plans were far advanced—was neither Kennedy's "moderation," nor Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's abrupt decision to withdraw the missiles without consultation with the Cuban leadership. What stayed Washington's hand was the knowledge that an invasion of Cuba would entail unacceptable political costs due to the determination of the Cuban people to defend their socialist revolution. Pentagon planners at the time predicted that U.S. casualties would have been incredibly high just in the first few days of such an assault.

The Cuban delegation, whose members helped set the record straight about Washington's aggression, included President Fidel Castro, Vice Presidents José Ramón Fernández and José Ramón Balaguer, other leaders of the Cuban government and Communist Party directly in-



Granma/Top: Arnaldo Santos; Bottom: Ahmed Velázquez

Top: participants in conference in Cuba on 40th anniversary of October Crisis tour former Soviet missile installation in Pinar del Río province. Bottom: conference in session. Among the Cuban participants (shown above), many of whom were directly involved in the October 1962 events, are President Fidel Castro, far right, and, to his right, Vice President José Ramón Fernández.

involved in the October 1962 events, and a number of authors and researchers. Among those who opened a conference session with a presentation was Tomás Díez Acosta, author of the new book *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, which

draws on a wealth of information from Cuban archives and from interviews with direct participants in the events (see excerpt from book on the facing page).

Future issues of the *Militant* will carry full coverage of the conference activities.

How Cuba responded to 1962 U.S. war threats

Continued from Page 10

government, and he rejected the idea that the United States had the right to decide what kind of weapons or how many weapons Cuba should or should not have. He warned categorically that "appropriate measures to resist and...repel any direct aggression" had been taken. The Cuban leader also opposed the U.S. demand to inspect the island, because "we will never renounce our sovereign prerogatives. Within our borders we are the ones who rule, and we are the ones who will do the inspecting—nobody else."

One by one, Fidel refuted Kennedy's arguments for imposing the blockade. He denounced U.S. violations of the standards of conduct among nations, such as its repeated trespassing into Cuban airspace and territorial waters. In another part of his speech, he stated that the government of Cuba was always willing to resolve its differences with the United States—under conditions of equality.

At the same time, the prime minister asserted that Cuba was in favor of dismantling all military bases and not stationing any foreign troops in the territory of another country. "If the United States desires disarmament, magnificent!" he said. "Let us all support a policy for the dismantling of bases, of troops throughout the world.... But we are not in agreement with a policy that calls for disarming ourselves in the face of the aggressors."

Meanwhile, in the United States the press and other media were spreading alarming news that frightened the population. People stocked up on food and all kinds of supplies. Some well-to-do families in the South began moving north for fear of a nuclear strike in their region.

In Washington, as part of U.S. maneuvers to obtain international backing for its actions and demands, Secretary of State Rusk was assigned to pressure OAS members to approve a resolution of support....

At UN headquarters in New York, the Security Council was convened the afternoon of October 23 to hear representatives of the United States, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. The first to speak was Adlai Stevenson. He delivered a long speech seeking to present the blockade as an act of self-

defense. He accused Cuba of receiving strategic weapons, and denounced the USSR for not making public the decision to provide them. He insisted that those weapons systems had altered the "precarious balance of forces" in the world. He also asserted that the Cuban government had allowed the Soviet Union to establish a beachhead and base of operations in the Western Hemisphere, inviting a foreign power to infiltrate the American family.

No inspections on Cuban territory

Cuban representative García Inchaustegui spoke next, refuting Stevenson's assertions. He stated that Cuba had been compelled to arm itself due to repeated acts of aggression by the United States in flagrant violation of the UN Charter and inter-American agreements. He criticized the U.S. stance of adopting military actions first and later calling on the council, since the UN Charter obligates its members to settle differences through peaceful negotiations before resorting to such extreme measures.

He commented on the striking contradiction that the United States was the only country that maintained a military base in Cuba—against Cuba's will—while at the same time it denounced Cuba for allowing the deployment of friendly troops from the Soviet Union. In conclusion, he presented the principled position of not allowing any kind of inspection of Cuban territory, because "the first thing that ought to be inspected are the U.S. bases from which invasions are launched. We do not accept observers of any kind in matters that fall under our internal jurisdiction."

Soviet representative Valerian Zorin analyzed the pretexts and sophisms used by the U.S. government to justify its aggression, and denounced its actions as having no legal basis. He pointed out that the United States "has endangered maritime shipping of several countries—including its own allies—which do not accept such a foolish policy toward Cuba." He also denounced the diplomatic maneuver by the United States in the OAS, which "openly violates the prerogatives of the Security Council—the only body that can authorize any acts of force." After his statement the session was recessed.

While these debates were taking place in the Security Council, representatives of forty-five nations, mostly members of the Nonaligned Movement from Asia and Africa, met at the United Nations to discuss ways of resolving the crisis. They agreed to ask the UN acting secretary-general, U Thant, to act as mediator and to convene a meeting of the General Assembly if the Security Council was not able to agree on a solution.

On the morning of October 24, Fidel—in his capacity as commander in chief of the armed forces—met with a group of commanders and officers at the General Staff headquarters to analyze the implementation of military measures to defend the country. The chief of intelligence, Captain Manuel de Jesús Quiñones (Pedro Luis), estimated that in case of an invasion of Cuba, the United States would use five or six divisions, and that transporting them would require 120 or 130 ships and take at least six days. He pointed out there was no evidence that such an invasion was imminent. He said, however, that if the 82nd Airborne Division were activated, the first stage of the invasion could be carried out in five or six hours, although the increase in communications traffic and the number of aircraft involved would mean the operation could be quickly detected and pinpointed. He thought the most likely action was an air strike.

Fidel Castro put special emphasis on anti-aircraft defense, and he insisted the reserve batteries based in Havana had to be in a position to move quickly if necessary. Therefore, he ordered at least twenty-four of these batteries to be deployed at three points on the outskirts of the city, clustered in such a way that they could rapidly be moved to any location.

U.S. planes violate Cuban airspace

During the meeting it was reported that the previous day ten enemy aircraft had violated Cuban air space, flying over Cuba at an altitude of 100 meters and then climbing sharply once they crossed the coastline. These aircraft could not be allowed to fly with impunity, Castro said. He proposed an investigation of the places where anti-aircraft defense needed to be strengthened, so that

such flights into Cuban airspace could be shot down. "There is no political reason whatsoever why we shouldn't shoot down an aircraft flying 300 feet over our heads," Fidel said.

In closing the meeting, Fidel explained the military and political considerations that led to ordering the mobilization of October 22. He said that the Cuban leadership had indications an attack was being organized and therefore decided to put troops on alert and order a full mobilization, because "the harm done by taking precautions that later turned out to be unnecessary was preferable to the consequences of being caught by a surprise enemy attack." The subsequent course of events fully justified such a decision.

That afternoon Castro visited a unit of Soviet surface-to-air missiles northeast of the capital. There he became aware how vulnerable they were to attack by low-flying aircraft,³ since they had only one 14.5-mm. zpu-2 double-barreled anti-aircraft machine gun. He ordered that fifty anti-aircraft batteries from the reserves be immediately deployed to protect those positions and the mid-range missile sites.

As expected, the U.S. naval blockade was put into effect in the waters surrounding the Cuban archipelago at 10:00 a.m. that same morning, October 24, and aircraft raids—above all low-altitude flights—increased. Meanwhile, at the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff ordered Gen. Thomas Powers, commander in chief of the Strategic Air Command (SAC), to put all his units on full-alert status, DEFCON-2, for the first and only time in the SAC's history. Then Powers, on his own initiative, decided to broadcast the orders to SAC commanders through uncoded messages, stressing that the operation was fully prepared and the alert process was proceeding smoothly. As General Powers himself commented, he felt it "important that [the Soviets] knew the state of combat readiness of SAC." The military situation was becoming more and more dangerous to world peace.

³As noted in Chapter 4, these anti-aircraft missiles were not effective against targets flying below 1,000 meters (3,270 feet).

Pennsylvania socialist: 'Workers need a revolutionary change

Reprinted below is an article that appeared October 13 on the front page of the Hazleton section of the *Times-Leader*, published in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Titled "Candidacy of revolution: Huge congressional underdog Farley shares Socialist agenda," the article is based on an interview with Betsy Farley, the Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 11th District in Pennsylvania.

BY STEVE MOCARSKY

HAZLETON—This Hazleton woman mines for coal by day and talks of a revolution for working men and women by night—and she's running for Congress.

Betsy Farley faces an uphill battle against U.S. Rep. Paul Kanjorski, D-Nanticoke, Republican Hazleton Mayor Lou Barletta and Reform Party candidate Tom McLaughlin as a write-in candidate for the 11th Congressional District.

But that's not deterring the feisty 49-year-old from doing her best to champion the cause of her political affiliation—the Socialist Workers Party—and let others know what's needed in the country.

"I believe we need a revolutionary movement in this country to bring about a change in political power," she said during a recent interview.

Farley said she's talking about the kind of revolution that Cuba experienced in 1959, which was "a campaign against a U.S.-backed military ruler to get rid of an economy run for private profit."

She said the U.S. government is not a "true democracy" because the rich are in power instead of the majority of working-class people.

Farley said she grew up in Minnesota and became politically active in high school when she helped organize demonstrations against the Vietnam War. She said she was "kicked out" of high school because she helped organize a student strike to protest a war she believes was fought for nothing more than "political and economic influence."

Farley went on to earn a high school equivalency diploma and worked in the Alabama steel industry for several years. During that time, she helped support the development of unions and strikes in industries including coal mining.

Farley said she found that she liked the Northeast when visiting this area to support

a coal miners strike and moved to Nanticoke about three years ago. She's been living in Hazleton for about two years and worked as a coal miner at Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.—a strip mining operation in Tamaqua—until it shut down two years ago.

A member of the United Mine Workers union, Farley has worked as a coal miner at Waste Management Processors Inc.—a bank mining operation—since she was laid off.

Farley said the most important issues the nation faces include an impending war with Iraq, "an economic crisis and impending economic collapse, and that the working people not subordinate their struggles to the war drive" and pressure from the government.

"I don't think Iraq poses a threat to the U.S. at all. I think it's a fabricated issue to allow the U.S. to increase economic and political influence in the Mideast ... It will be an imperialist war, not a war for democracy."

"This is a war that has nothing to do with the working people of this country. Saddam Hussein isn't an issue. Wealthy rulers of this country want more influence over the Persian Gulf. They want control of the oil reserve ... It's a war for the rich and I think people should oppose it," Farley said.

She doesn't think Hussein would use a nuclear weapon against the United States or another country if he had the capability. "The only country to use a nuclear weapon was the U.S., in full knowledge that the war (with Japan) was about to end."

Other issues important to Farley include national health care for all workers. "You shouldn't have to depend on your employer to provide health insurance so you can go to the doctor. It should be a right ... guaranteed to every person in this country."

Social Security should be extended "to make it a real pension for people who retire ... It's criminal that pensions are being gambled away in the stock market," Farley said.

Farley supports increasing the minimum wage to the average manufacturing industry wage and forgiving Third World debt because developing countries can't support thriving economies if forced to repay it.

Farley also believes the government should support unions rather than industry. "Whenever this government intervenes in a labor dispute, it always intervenes on the side of the company ... There's a total disre-

Federal gov't seeks to curb union rights in establishing 'Homeland Security' dept.

BY RÓGER CALERO

In the name of "national security," the White House is seeking to curb union protections as it moves to establish a Department of Homeland Security. Unions of government employees have opposed these restrictions, raising the concern that they could be used as a precedent to justify further restrictions on unions.

The Bush administration is arguing that collective bargaining and existing civil service employees protection could get in the way of the department's response to "terrorist threats" and national emergencies. Federal officials are demanding that bosses be given greater "flexibility" to hire, fire, discipline, and transfer workers from one part of the proposed department to another. The proposal also maintains executive pow-

ers to remove workers from unions under the pretext of national security threats, a policy that has been carried out by every U.S. president since James Carter.

The new government agency, which the White House expects to be able to launch next January, will merge 22 government agencies, bringing 170,000 employees under one department. Some 50,000 of the affected workers belong to the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), which represents 600,000 federal employees.

'National security' used as justification

Earlier this year, President George Bush issued an executive order denying union representation to more than 500 employees at the U.S. attorneys' office and other divisions of the Justice Department, arguing that union contracts could restrict the ability of workers "to protect Americans and national security."

The proposal to bring under a Department of Homeland Security all or part of the 22 federal agencies, including cops, and agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Coast Guard, Customs Service, and Secret Service is part of the U.S. rulers' steps to give the federal government more domestic policing powers.

The government wants to place all Homeland Security employees under a single pay

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— Betsy Farley
Candidate for Congress

Candidacy of revolution

Huge congressional underdog Farley shares Socialist agenda

By STEVE MOCARSKY
smocarsky@leader.net

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gard for workers' safety on the job. Black lung is on the rise ... Factory workers, miners, they should have more control over the places we work," she said.

Farley said she welcomes immigration. "It strengthens the working class in this country. It helps to broaden the horizons of ... the working class."

Farley's platform also supports a shorter work week with no cut in pay; an end to Immigration & Naturalization Service raids and deportation; abolition of the death penalty; a pro-choice stance on abortion; and normalized economic relations with Cuba.

While it appears likely that Kanjorski or Barletta will win the 11th District seat, Farley said voters who agree with her party's philosophy shouldn't vote for "the lesser of two evils" because they think she has no chance of winning.

"It's better to vote for what you want and

not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it," Farley said, quoting deceased union leader and Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs.

Farley said those who would like to learn more about Socialist views are welcome to visit Pathfinder Book Store on North Wyoming Street in Hazleton, where she works as a volunteer in the evenings.

Even if she doesn't win in November's election, Farley said she'll continue to spread her party's message.

"It's a campaign that won't end on Election Day. It's a campaign that does not stop when the election is over."

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Pathfinder Fund Meeting. Celebrate the Publication of October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba. Speaker: Ernest Mailhot. Sat., Oct. 26. Reception 4:00 p.m. Program 5:00 p.m. Centro del Pueblo 474 Valencia Street. Donation \$10 Tel: (415) 584-2135.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Defend the West Coast Dockworkers Against Government Attacks. Speaker: Abby Tilsner, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Avenue, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Upper Manhattan

Defend Workers' Rights. Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party, recently visited Lackawanna in upstate New York, where six U.S. citizens of Yemeni origin are being detained without charges. Fri., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m.

The Fraud of New York's "Budget Crisis" and the Unfolding Economic Depression. Speaker: Jack Willey, Socialist Workers candidate for New York State Comptroller, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. Both events at 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

OHIO

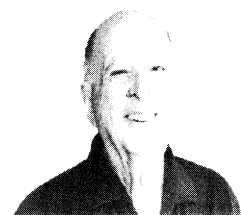
Cleveland

Drought in Africa: Not a "Natural" Disaster. Speaker: Helen Meyers, Socialist Workers candidate for attorney general of Ohio. Fri. Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. 11018 Lorain Ave. Tel: (216) 688-1190.

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Modest but good win—The media reported the angry protest by Carrie and Mary Damn, sisters and



Harry Ring

members of the Western Shoshone people of Nevada. Their herd of 227 head of cattle had been illegally seized by the feds on the fraudulent claim that their cattle were trespassing on government land.

The sisters bluntly declared the action illegal and branded it "domestic terrorism." Their cattle were

auctioned off. But three bulls were bought by a Californian, Boone Tidwell, who returned them to the owners, declaring they had been dealt "a bad deal."

Landlords have to live, no?—You probably know that many folks in Washington, D.C., could use some decent, affordable housing. Finally it's becoming available. A wire service reports: "Luxury apartments are being built here at a rate not seen in decades. Some 3,300 high-rise units are under construction. It's estimated that two-bedroom units in one building will rent for more than \$3,300 a month."

Most likely tale of the week—The top brass hat at Camp Pendleton, California, complains

the marines aren't getting proper training in digging foxholes because of environmental restrictions.

So why try?—"Despite the millions of dollars spent to protect American lakes, streams and bays, a large number of them remain too damaged to use for fishing, swimming or drinking water, a federal report says."

Must be an addiction—The *Times* of London reports "more people are working long hours despite a government campaign aimed at the culture of staying too long at the workplace." The number of workers putting in more than 60 hours a week has increased from 12 to 16 percent, despite the "Work Life Balance" campaign waged by the

Labour Party government. For women working 60 hours plus, the rate has swelled from 6 to 13 percent.

But equal right for all to sleep under a bridge—In downtown Los Angeles, some workers who are homeless gather at one edge of the downtown office buildings. They sleep in cardboard boxes or atop flattened ones. A small percentage win a cot at church flophouses. Those more fortunate can rent a room at area hotels. Every 28 days, though, they have to move out and make do. Then they can move back. Thirty consecutive days would give them tenant status and a whisker of legal rights.

You got a wealth problem?—In

Hollywood Hills, some 45 minutes from Skid Row, a two-house compound was for sale last week. Yours for \$9-million plus. Owned and designed by Al Coribi, who designed buildings for the Justice Dept., the compound is described as "secure."

It has the usual features—numerous bedrooms and toilets, etc. Security features include a roof heliport, and the main house includes a "bullet resistant core" [?] and a "panic room." Plus an "Ocean to City view." Which may include adding a telescope to keep an eye on Skid Row.

Clip early for xmas—Don't wait for gift harassment time. Please send us clippings for this column now. Send to: Great Society, c/o Pathfinder Books, 4229 S. Central Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90011.

Cops indicted for death of immigrant worker in Texas

BY ALEJANDRA RINCÓN

HOUSTON—After a year-and-a-half-long fight for justice by relatives and supporters of Serafin Olvera, a worker who died from an assault by Immigration and Naturalization Service cops, three INS agents were indicted on September 24. They were charged with violating Olvera's civil rights.

Olvera, 48, a father of five, was brutally beaten during an INS raid on a house in Bryan, Texas, on March 25, 2001. He was denied medical attention for several hours and died in a Houston hospital nearly a year later.

Martha Olvera, Serafin's sister-in-law, explained the case at an October 6 Militant Labor Forum here. She reported that a five-count indictment unsealed in Houston accused INS agent Carlos Reyna of beating Olvera, and Richard Henry Gonzales of dousing him with pepper spray. Reyna, Gonzales, and Luis Rey Gomez are also accused of denying Olvera medical care after his injury had caused paralysis.

They were charged under Section 242 of the federal civil rights code, which prohibits law officers from depriving people of basic rights based on their nationality or race. Each count carries a maximum 10 years in prison and \$250,000 fine.

The indictments are a result of the family's fight to tell the truth and have the INS cops brought to justice. The Olvera family had insisted that INS officials be tried for murdering Serafin. Federal law, however, does not allow the prosecution of federal cops on murder charges.

"The raid happened at 7:00 a.m. on Sunday morning, a year and half ago," Martha Olvera said. "Serafin had been working on a construction job in Bryan and was sharing a house with several others. When they came in, Serafin was washing. Hearing that people had come in, he called out in English. He was then confronted by three immigration cops who said, 'So this Indian speaks some English.'"

"Then they beat him, tied his hands and legs, and one of them jumped on his back, breaking his neck and vertebrae. When he yelled out, 'You broke me,' the cops laughed and continued the beating. When he was handcuffed and paralyzed from his injuries, they pepper-sprayed him directly in his mouth, nose, eyes, and all over his body."

Later that day, after the cops had "processed" the workers at a local INS station, they loaded them all on a bus to be transported to Mexico. A nurse at the station refused to transport Olveda, telling the cops that he was in critical condition and had to

be taken to the hospital.

It was late in the afternoon when Serafin Olvera was transported more than 100 miles from Bryan to New Braunfels and admitted to the hospital. There he was diagnosed as having two broken vertebrae and was immediately airlifted to Wilford Hall Medical Center in San Antonio so doctors could treat his quadriplegic condition.

Initially the INS remained silent about the raid. On March 28, 2001, INS officials told the *Bryan-College Station Eagle* the agents used "minimal force" while arresting Olvera. The cops also initially claimed that Olvera was injured at work days earlier.

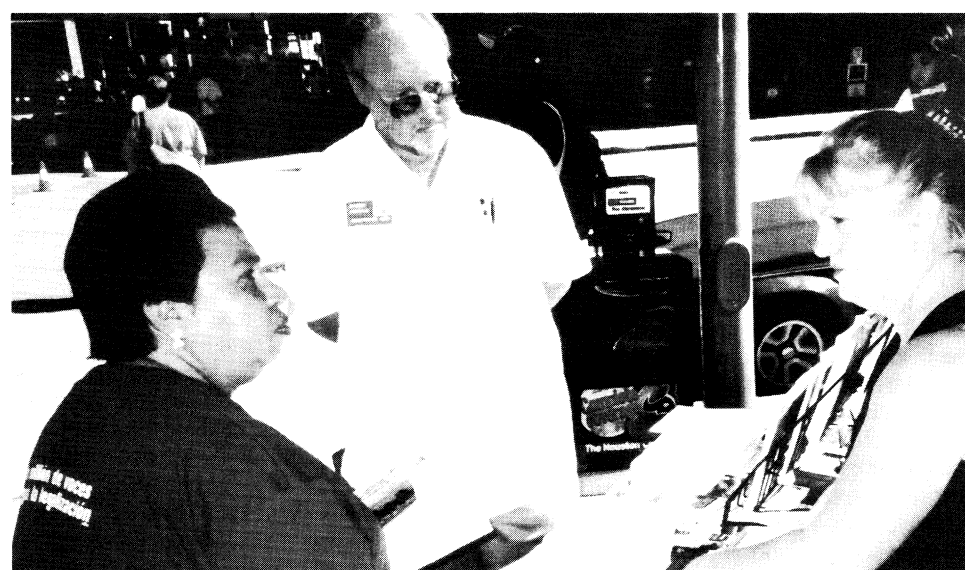
With Olvera's injuries so severe that he could neither speak nor write, family members devised a system of eye movements to help him tell the story of the raid. "Eventually we were able to locate a number of the others who were arrested and deported that day, and they all agreed to come back to the United States to testify for Serafin," the speaker at the forum said. "We demanded that the U.S. government pay 100 percent of his bills and we also filed a suit against the United States while he was still alive."

'Put INS on trial for what they did'

According to a medical examiner's report released earlier this year, Olvera died from complications caused by blunt force trauma to the neck on March 25, 2001, the day of his arrest. "After his death, we demanded that the government put the INS on trial for murder because that's what they did—they murdered my brother-in-law. And we will not stop fighting this until we have brought those guilty to justice," said Martha Olvera.

The *Houston Chronicle* reported September 25 that the three indicted cops for the beating case each posted \$30,000 bond in San Antonio. Ruben Perez, the assistant U.S. attorney prosecuting the case, said he is aware of only one other case in recent years in which an immigration officer has been indicted on civil rights charges in the Southern District of Texas.

Speaking on the panel with Martha Olvera was the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Texas, Steve Warshell. "These attacks on immigrants are not aimed just at 'foreigners'—they are intended as a lesson for all working people," Warshell said. "Their anti-working-class offensive here in the United States—including the 'homeland defense'—is the other side of the U.S. rulers' war against working people abroad. Their brutal treatment of workers and farmers overseas simply shows working people here what lies in store for us.



Militant Phil Duzinski

Left, Martha Olvera, sister-in-law of Serafin Olvera, speaks with Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Texas, and his supporter Jacquie Henderson.

"The Olvera family deserves everyone's support in their fight for justice. We know, like millions of workers know, that a victory for the Olvera family in this case will not end

murders by the INS. To do that it takes action by millions. But it can get to the truth and it can be a blow against the bosses and their government for workers and farmers."

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



October 28, 1977

STEARNS, Kentucky--Eighty riot-equipped state troopers brutally attacked striking coal miners and their supporters here October 17. When the dust cleared, some dozen strikers required medical attention. A total of 117 were arrested—78 miners and 39 women, most of them members of the Stearns Women's Club.

It was the most vicious strikebreaking assault to date in Blue Diamond Coal Company's drive to keep the United Mine Workers out of its Stearns mine.

"They beat the hell out of me," reported a bandaged William King as he sat waiting for a strike meeting to begin at the Whitley City UMWA headquarters today.

"Four or five state police pulled me off private property, knocked me down, and beat me. Then they dragged me across the road. One of them mashed his foot on my neck. They put handcuffs on me and they still beat me."

Some 150 miners and supporters had gathered near the mine entrance Monday morning, determined to halt Blue Diamond's running of a handful of scabs through the court-limited picket lines. It would have been the fourth day scabs had entered the mine.

Strikers overturned a truck and refused to leave, UMWA spokesperson Chuck Shuford told the *Militant*, "until Blue Diamond would sit down and bargain in good faith."

Then the state police began assembling, complete with helmets, masks, clubs, and body shields. At 2:00 p.m. they attacked.

Miners are quick to point out that they weren't the only ones walking around with bandages the next day. Several state police were also injured.

"If it takes it, we'll fight the whole state

of Kentucky," said striker Ross. "We're here to stay."



October 27, 1952

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the conviction of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to death for atomic espionage, marks a new stage in the witch-hunt, and it is calculated to add new fury to the anti-communist war hysteria.

It took the case of Alger Hiss to throw the shadows of conspiracy over "communism" and to create an atmosphere of fear behind which the witch-hunters could operate with impunity. The aim of the Hiss trial was to undermine support for the victims of political persecution by presenting the movement of opposition to capitalism and its wars as a front for a cabal of spies penetrating the top-most positions of government to steal "secrets" for the Soviet Union.

If it can be said then that the witch-hunt got its first real virulence with the lurid publicity that surrounded the trial and conviction of Hiss, it will now get a bounding impetus from the blood offering the courts are demanding of the Rosenbergs. Let the legend be created that the country is so imminently threatened as to require a death sentence in peace-time and the most far-reaching anti-democratic measures, mild by comparison, will appear to be justified.

The Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling class terror by a state that is preparing for a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union.

The demand for the commutation of the Rosenbergs' sentence is part and parcel of the struggle for democratic rights. We endorse it fully and call upon all opponents of the witch-hunt to do likewise.

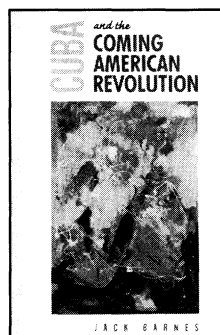
CUBA and the Coming American Revolution

by Jack Barnes

There will be a victorious revolution in the United States before a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba — Fidel Castro, March 1961

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

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Trotsky on French workers upsurge in 1930s

Printed below are selections from *Leon Trotsky on France*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for October. It is a compilation of Trotsky's writings during the working-class revolutionary upsurge of the mid-1930s in France.

In these writings Trotsky responds to the rise of fascism in Germany and the deepening revolutionary crisis in France, outlining the course the working class in that country must take to defeat the fascist threat and conquer power from the exploiting classes.

Drawing on the experiences of the October 1917 Russian Revolution that arose out

militias and arm the workers, in the face of the rising danger of fascism. Copyright © 1979 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



BY LEON TROTSKY

After the war a series of brilliantly victorious revolutions occurred in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and later in Spain. But it was only in Russia that the proletariat took full power into its hands, expropriated its exploiters, and knew how to create and maintain a workers' state. Everywhere else the proletariat, despite its victory, stopped halfway because of the mistakes of its leadership. As a result, power slipped from its hands, shifted from left to right, and fell prey to fascism. In a series of other countries power passed into the hands of a military dictatorship. Nowhere were the parliaments capable of reconciling class contradictions and assuring the peaceful development of events. Conflicts were solved arms in hand.

The French people for a long time thought that fascism had nothing whatever to do with them. They had a republic in which all questions were dealt with by the sovereign people through the exercise of universal suffrage. But on February 6, 1934, several thousand fascists and royalists—armed with revolvers, clubs, and razors—imposed upon the country the reactionary government of Doumergue, under whose protection the fascist bands continue to grow and arm themselves. What does tomorrow hold?

Of course in France, as in certain other European countries (England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries), there still exist parliaments, elections, democratic liberties, or their remnants. But in all these countries the class struggle is sharpening, just as it did previously in Italy and Germany. Whoever consoles himself with the phrase "France is not Germany" is hopeless. In all countries the same historical laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. *The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy.* It is capable of assuring the



French workers occupy a factory in 1936. Such occupations, organized on a massive scale, were a feature of the revolutionary upsurge of the 1930s.

people neither bread nor peace. *This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order.* It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence. The discontent of the workers and peasants, however, cannot be brought to an end by the police alone. Moreover, it is often impossible to make the army march against the people. It begins by disintegrating and ends with the passage of a large section of the soldiers over to the people's side. That is why finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands trained to fight the workers, just as certain breeds of dogs are trained to hunt game. The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.

The fascists find their human material mainly in the petty bourgeoisie. The latter has been entirely ruined by big capital. There is no way out for it in the present social order, but it knows of no other. Its dissatisfaction, indignation, and despair are diverted by the fascists away from big capital and against the workers. It may be said that fascism is the act of placing the petty bourgeoisie at the disposal of its most bitter enemies. In this way big capital ruins the middle classes and then with the help of hired fascist demagogues incites the despairing petty bourgeois against the worker. The bourgeois regime can be preserved only by such murderous means

as these. For how long? Until it is overthrown by proletarian revolution.

Defense of working class

But how to disarm the fascists? Naturally, it is impossible to do so with newspaper articles alone. Fighting squads must be created. An intelligence service must be established. Thousands of informers and friendly helpers will volunteer from all sides when they realize that the business has been seriously undertaken by us. It requires a will to proletarian action.

But the arms of the fascists are of course not the only source. In France there are more than one million organized workers. Generally speaking, this number is small. But it is entirely sufficient to make a beginning in the organization of a workers' militia. If the parties and unions armed only a tenth of their members, that would already be a force of 100,000 men. There is no doubt whatever that the number of volunteers who would come forward on the morrow of a "united front" appeal for a workers' militia would far exceed that number. The contributions of the parties and unions, collections and voluntary subscriptions, would within a month or two make it possible to assure the arming of 100,000 to 200,000 working class fighters. The fascist rabble would immediately sink its tail between its legs. The whole perspective of development would become incomparably more favorable.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

of World War I, Trotsky analyzes the "People's Front" policy of the French Communist Party, which—at a time when millions of workers and ruined middle-class layers were seeking a radical solution to the sharpening crisis of capitalism—called for political support to the Radicals, a left bourgeois party, in place of independent working-class political action.

The refusal of the French Communist Party, which by 1934 had 50,000 members, to present a clear revolutionary alternative to the capitalist crisis opened up the door for the radical-sounding alternative offered by the fascists to gain ground.

In the first selection printed below, Trotsky explains the social base of fascism and how the capitalists use such a reactionary movement to smash the working class, destroy its institutions, and thereby defend their rule at a time of acute crisis. The second selection takes up how the labor movement must form

October BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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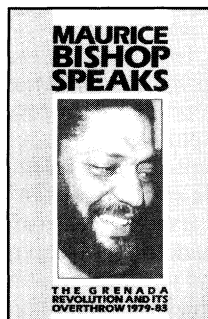
Leon Trotsky on France

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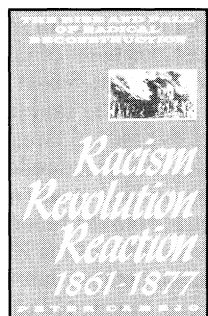


Racism, Revolution, and Reaction, 1861-1877

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PETER CAMEJO

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Bringing down the final empire

Cuba's victory at Playa Girón registered the first great defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Americas. It will not be the last. That will occur right here.

—Jack Barnes, from *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*

This statement, referring to how Cuban working people in 1961 defeated a U.S.-organized mercenary invasion of revolutionary Cuba, is the heart of what socialist workers and young socialists are campaigning for today.

As Washington moves toward a massive bombing assault and ground invasion of Iraq, it's important to see the broader picture. The aim of the U.S. rulers is not simply to crush Iraq and impose a U.S.-dominated protectorate there, but to redivide the oil and other resources of the Middle East and around the world.

This is not because of the particular intentions of the current occupants of the White House and Congressional seats. The problem is the system itself—imperialism, a system built on the exploitation of workers and farmers at home and the subjugation of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The billionaire families who rule the United States and other imperialist nations are driven to conquer more markets, wealth, and sources of cheap labor around the world for the survival of their system. They confront each other in increasingly violent competition for these sources of wealth. This is why the war on Iraq is one of a series of imperialist wars that will continue to unfold for an extended period.

What fuels this drive to war is the long-term decline of the capitalist system, which has now accelerated, as seen in the bursting of the giant speculative bubble of the 1990s, the onset of a depression in the United States and the world, and the threat of a massive financial collapse.

The wars abroad are simply an extension of the U.S.

rulers' assaults on the wages, social gains, and rights of workers and farmers at home. A graphic illustration of this is how the White House has intervened in the West Coast dockworkers struggle, using the argument of "national security" to invoke the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act. But the U.S. rulers are also preparing for the working-class resistance their assault will generate. That is why the Clinton administration set up—and the Bush administration just activated—the North American Command, designed to carry out military operations inside the United States for the first time in more than a century. Its target is working people right here at home.

Any defeat of the U.S. imperialist rulers strengthens working people everywhere. In distinction to many radical currents today, communist workers are not "antiwar" advocates, or even simply "internationalists," but proletarian internationalists who favor the defeat of imperialism, including in its war on Iraq and the peoples of the Mideast.

This drive toward war and the spiraling world depression are signs of an imperialist system that is acting out of weakness, not strength. Understanding this fact weighs in the balance for workers who, by refusing to subordinate their struggles to the bosses' demand for sacrifice in the "national interest," are also the biggest obstacle to the imperialists' war aims abroad.

A socialist revolution in the United States is not only necessary but inevitable, because of the very functioning of capitalism and the conditions and class conflicts it generates. What is not inevitable is whether that revolution will succeed—that will depend on whether workers and farmers have forged a movement that can lead millions to take power out of the hands of the capitalist rulers. That is what the Socialist Workers campaigners are about—building the revolutionary movement that can bring down the world's final empire.

Contribute to Pathfinder Fund

We urge you to contribute today to the Pathfinder Fund. This fund campaign has a goal of raising \$105,000 through November 17 to ensure that Pathfinder continues expanding and reprinting its arsenal of books on revolutionary, working-class politics. Your contribution can help make the difference in reaching this goal.

The contributions are not simply for the future but are needed now. They have already been put to use in the publication of Pathfinder's most recent title, *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Tomás Díez Acosta.

In the coming months Pathfinder will produce Spanish and French editions of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Jack Barnes; a new Spanish edition and an expanded English edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*; a new issue of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*; *The Assault on Moncada* by Cuban author Mario Mencia, and other books.

In these and other Pathfinder titles working people and youth find explanations about the world capitalism has made, and the needed lessons on how to transform it. Repelled by the brutality of capitalist exploitation, oppression, and the drive to war that is built into the imperialist system, they will want to read about working-class battles

waged in the past and today. That accurate history and those lessons are found in Pathfinder's nearly 400 titles.

In addition to longtime loyal readers of Pathfinder who are a bedrock of the Pathfinder Fund, campaigners for the fund are finding a much broader number of working people and youth who are discovering these books to be indispensable for them and who are interested in contributing to make them possible.

A group of meat packers and other workers in Detroit recently invited the *Militant* editor to a fund meeting and a rolling political discussion at the home of one of these unionists. The thirst for political ideas and the desire to be part of this revolutionary publishing effort that workers expressed at this gathering capture the potential that can be found in city after city. It underscores the fact that Pathfinder's publishing program is funded not by industrialists, bankers, and their foundations, but by the everyday efforts of workers and farmers, something that partisans of Pathfinder are proud of.

Now at the halfway mark, the fund drive has slipped behind. You can help turn this around by sending in your contribution today and campaigning to involve others in it to raise \$105,000 by November 17.

'Militant' makes staff changes

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

With this issue Michael Italie joins the *Militant* staff. Italie, 44, who worked as a garment worker in Miami over the past year, was recently at the center of an important free speech fight to defend workers' rights after his employer Goodwill Industries fired him from his job as a sewing machine operator because of the political views he espoused. As the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami in the 2001 elections, Italie was dismissed from his job last October after appearing in a televised debate with other mayoral candidates. During the program, Italie spoke out against the U.S. war in Afghanistan, in defense of the Cuban Revolution, and in support of union-organizing efforts.

Goodwill chief executive officer Dennis Pastrana publicly acknowledged that Italie was fired because of his political statements. Pastrana told the *Miami Herald*, "We cannot have anyone [working here] who is attempting to subvert America."

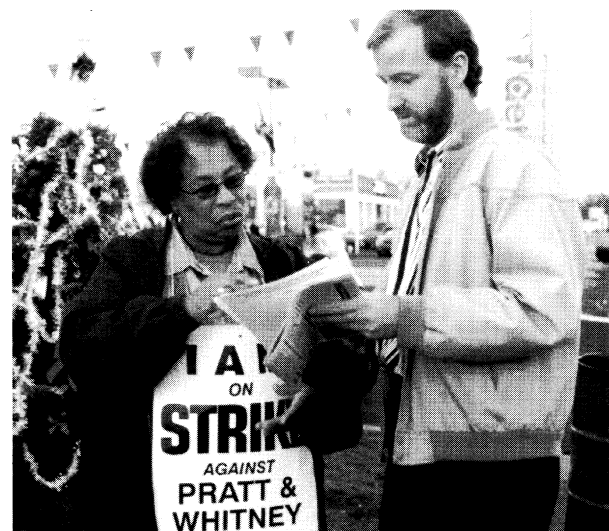
Under the auspices of the Committee to Defend Freedom of Speech and the Bill of Rights, Italie for several months toured a number of cities across the United States and Canada, winning support for his fight to be reinstated to his job and joining with other working people standing up to firings, intimidation, and attacks on the job by the bosses and the U.S. government.

Prior to moving to Miami in 2000, Italie lived in Atlanta, carrying out socialist political work as a unionist at garment plants organized by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; a Hormel meatpacking plant organized by the United Food and Commercial

Workers union, and at Northwest Airlines.

Italie joined the socialist movement in the late 1970s as a student at Oberlin College. From 1986 to 1990 he did a stint as a volunteer in Pathfinder's printshop, where he operated one of the sheetfed presses.

In addition to welcoming Italie onto the staff, the *Militant* has named Paul Pederson business manager. Jack Willey, who has carried out this responsibility since February, remains on the staff and will take on expanded writing assignments to help strengthen the paper's coverage.



Mike Italie at picket line in Connecticut in December

Longshore workers' fight

Continued from front page

taking strike action, and mandated that negotiations take place through a government-appointed mediator.

"This is a cooling-off period to wear you down," said Luisa Gratz, president of ILWU Local 26, at the rally, echoing the sentiments of many of the unionists.

"What do we want? A contract! When do we want it? Now!" chanted the dockworkers.

Since going back to work, the port bosses have accused the dockworkers with working too slowly, starting late, or not showing up for job assignments. With Taft-Hartley in place, the employers can force the ILWU before a federal judge on charges of union slowdowns.

ILWU president James Spinoso said the union expects that "the employers will be dragging us to court daily, trying to bankrupt the union and throw our leaders in jail." The bosses' organization, the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), charged that productivity was down about 25 percent the week after the ILWU members returned to work.

"The PMA spent the day poring over data from shipping companies and terminal operators at the ports in Washington, Oregon, and California, looking for any sign of slacking on the part of dockworkers," the *Long Beach Press Telegram* reported.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, PMA president Joseph Miniace "has made it clear that the shipping lines have detailed productivity records they are ready to show to a judge if the work pace slows."

Safety issue key

With the docks congested after the company lockout, dockworkers are taking safety precautions. In the past year, seven dockworkers, including two non-ILWU workers, have been killed on the job on the West Coast, a big increase over previous years. The port bosses claim that calls for safety by the union are simply messages exhorting union members to resort to a work slowdown.

Referring to the rise in fatalities, a PMA spokesman asserted, "These are unfortunate situations—an anomaly—and they are being investigated by appropriate agencies."

"Safety is not a gimmick with us," said Ramon Ponce de Leon, president of ILWU Local 13. "We've had too many deaths on the docks."

According to one maritime industry group, the tonnage of cargo moving through the ports has increased four-fold since 1980. In 2001, more than 142 million tons of goods went through the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, the largest harbor complex in the country. With increased shipments, work hazards have grown.

Both the vessels and the tugboats are larger. The terminals are also larger, with longer wharves, bigger cranes, and more rigs than ever to handle the freight.

To deal with the critical situation on the docks, the union is demanding that the PMA hire and train more workers to move the cargo. The ILWU explained that "the PMA could help alleviate the congestion by promoting casual workers to full-time registered longshore workers." So far the employers have rejected this demand.

The union says the PMA is against this move "because casuals make a lower wage and don't qualify for health benefits or pensions and because new workers would then become union members, bolstering the union."

In a related development, the ILWU, backed by AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, has urged the U.S. secretary of labor and the governors of California, Oregon, and Washington to place health and safety inspectors on West Coast docks. The *Long Beach Press-Telegram* reported October 14 that the California Division of Occupational Safety and Health has begun monitoring the California ports so that the work "is done safely and quickly."

War arguments

More details about the Bush administration's intervention in the lockout have been published. According to government lawyers who filed legal briefs in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco, arguments were made "at great lengths to portray the country as effectively at war and argue that the ports shutdown stands in the way of the war effort."

"Citing an affidavit from Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the lawyers said that September 2001 terrorist attacks 'mark the onset of uncommon wartime strains and requirements placed on the nation's military systems,'" the *Los Angeles Times* reported.

"West Coast ports already play a role in the campaign against terrorism, especially in the Asia-Pacific region," an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted, echoing the government's arguments. It singled out the military aid going to "Filipino troops and U.S. advisers fighting Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas in the Philippines."

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London suspends N. Ireland Assembly

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—Attempting to smear the leaders of Sinn Fein with charges of “spying,” the British government suspended the Northern Ireland Assembly and reimposed direct rule on October 14. The action followed a series of raids 10 days earlier by Northern Ireland police on Sinn Fein’s offices and a number of its supporters’ homes.

The leaders of Sinn Fein—the political party in the forefront of the fight for a united and democratic republic of Ireland—condemned the move, and accused the British government of siding once again with Ulster Unionist Party leader (UUP) David Trimble and other forces that fight for the maintenance of British rule in the north of Ireland. These “unionist” parties have repeatedly called for the expulsion of Sinn Fein from the assembly.

This is the fourth time London has suspended the assembly since it was established in 1998, following an agreement among Sinn Fein, the unionist parties, and the British and Irish governments.

In a joint statement issued the day of the closure, Dublin and London tried to lay the blame for the suspension on Sinn Fein for resisting demands to force the disbandment of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). “The time has come for people to clearly choose one track or the other,” the message read.

Allegations of IRA “spying” prompted the October 4 raids. While television camera crews stood at the ready, cops marched into Sinn Fein’s legislative offices in Belfast and seized a number of documents. British authorities later charged four party activists with gathering intelligence from London’s



March in Derry, Northern Ireland, February 3, on 30th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. London’s charges against Sinn Fein leaders of “spying” and “terrorism” are aimed at blocking the advance of the Irish freedom struggle.

Northern Ireland Office “for possible use by terrorists,” reported the *Washington Post*. Those arrested included Denis Donaldson, Sinn Fein’s chief of administration.

Police claimed that the raids had helped crack a two-year-old spy ring whose members had compiled lists of addresses of prison officers, along with “sensitive politi-

cal material.” Paul Bew, a professor of politics at Queen’s University in Belfast, said that the prison officers’ names could only have been “for targeting.”

“I’m trying to draw a line in the sand and warn everybody...that this was not going to be tolerated in the future,” declared John Reid, the British secretary of state for North-

ern Ireland.

Sinn Fein Health Minister Bairbre de Brun described the cop raid as “absolutely outrageous.... It is clearly part of a political picture of intervention by the police service of Northern Ireland.”

De Brun was one of the 70 people who rallied outside the Andersontown police station in West Belfast the next day to condemn the raids. Sinn Fein organized demonstrations outside six police stations across Northern Ireland.

Assembly member Gerry Kelly noted that Trimble had outlined a “wrecker’s charter” a month earlier. The unionist leader wanted “to collapse the political institutions and point the finger of blame at republicans,” he said.

“Dovetailing with this anti-Agreement strategy,” said Kelly, “is the campaign being waged by the securocrats”—the republican term for the British police, army, and secret services—which has “sought to demonize republicans” by smearing them as “terrorists.”

Writing in the October 9 *Guardian*, columnist Roy Greenslade pointed out that pro-British forces have been largely responsible for a spate of killings in the last several years. A year ago, a journalist, Marty O’Hagan, was shot dead by loyalist gunmen,” he wrote. “In 1999, solicitor Rosemary Nelson was murdered by a car bomb.” In these and other cases, he noted, “no one has been arrested.”

Earlier this year loyalist paramilitaries gunned down Gerard Lawlor, 19, and Daniel McColgan, a 20-year-old Catholic mailman.

“The police can’t catch murderers—even when they know their identities,” commented Greenslade, “but they are terrific at hunting down alleged spies.” Meanwhile, “all manner of provocative acts against the nationalist population, particularly in Belfast, have failed to achieve the obvious aim of luring the IRA to retaliate and so breach its [1997] cease-fire.”

Differences among the pro-British forces have become sharper. A recent armed feud between two of the main paramilitary forces has led to two deaths. Trimble himself is under pressure from forces within the UUP to outright reject the assembly and the Good Friday Agreement that set it up. Ian Paisley, the rightist leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, walked out of the body immediately following the cop raids.

Speaking at the British Labour Party’s annual conference in early October, Sinn Fein vice president Pat Doherty said that unionist politicians “will not countenance the concept of equality with nationalists because to do so would undermine the *raison d’être* of their philosophy...based on exclusion and supremacy.” The democratic rights of the majority, he said, “must not be thwarted or denied by those who have set their face firmly against...equality.”

The big-business media is also trying to whip up anti-IRA sentiment in its coverage of the trial of three Irish men detained in Colombia charged with holding false documents and training forces that are waging a guerrilla struggle against the government there.

Commenting on the October 4 start of the trial, Caitríona Ruane of the Free the Colombian Three campaign, which calls for the release of the men, noted that “in recent months key elements of the prosecution case have been withdrawn and discredited including controversial forensic reports and paid informers.”

Despite these pressures, Sinn Fein continues its fight across Ireland. Last week party president Gerry Adams addressed 1,000 students in Galway where he spoke against the European Union’s Nice Treaty, which in mid-October will be presented for approval by the Irish government in a referendum.

Adams highlighted the development of a European armed force to explain his opposition to the treaty, and called on the Irish government to remain “neutral” in the conflicts between the major European powers.

Paul Davies is a meat packer in London.

Utah copper miners fight to defend gains as Kennecott imposes takeback contract

BY ALICE KINCAID

BINGHAM CANYON, Utah—Workers at the Kennecott Utah Copper’s smelter, concentrator, and copper mine here are fighting sweeping concessions that were imposed by the company in what it called a “final contract offer.”

The more than 1,200 workers, members of several different unions, began receiving the imposed contract in the mail around October 10. Negotiations for a contract had been taking place since July, and after 41 days the company walked out of negotiations as the contract expired October 1.

Kennecott’s imposed contract guts gains workers have made over decades of struggle at the mine, one of the world’s largest such operations. It will force retirees for the first time to begin paying for their own medical insurance—hundreds of dollars a month.

Promotions and transfers will be entirely up to the company, gutting seniority. The grievance and arbitration procedure has been weakened and overtime will be paid after a 40-hour week instead of after eight hours. New hires will work a 720-hour probation, and when they retire they will have no medical benefits. The company also wants to increase the use of contract and temporary workers and to assert the right to set work

schedules of 12-hour days.

Haul truck drivers and mechanics who work at the copper mine reported that the company has announced that 12-hour shifts will be implemented starting November 1. “This is not about money, it’s about 12-hour shifts, it’s about seniority, it’s about the company being able to do anything they want,” said Brent Bolton, a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 485 and a haul truck driver. He has worked for Kennecott for 29 years.

In response to these conditions, the workers, represented by the USWA, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Office and Professional Employees International Union, and International Association of Machinists, voted September 17 to authorize a strike by a 93 percent margin. The USWA filed unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board. A hearing will be held in Denver October 25.

Workers protest in Magna

Copper workers, retirees, and their families have been protesting the company’s attacks. On September 28 in Magna, Utah, hundreds turned out to protest Kennecott’s decision to stop paying retirees’ medical benefits. The union has been organizing in-

formational pickets at the smelter gate at shift change to invite contract workers to support their fight. In January, Kennecott told 120 millwrights and electricians who work at the smelter that they were being let go. Some then became contractors without union representation. They joined the masons, vacuum truck operators, and pipe fitters who have been contract workers for some time. More than half of the smelter workforce is now contracted out.

“Workers in the smelter have been combative,” said John Langford, USWA Local 392 member and a furnace operator in the smelter. “The company had all the foremen for every shift report four hours before the strike deadline. Some were asked if they brought their sleeping bags and toothbrushes. A company memo had been circulated earlier in the week stating all salaried personnel would spend the first 14 days on the property.”

Kennecott Utah Copper is one of the largest copper mine operations in the world and is part of Rio Tinto PLC, with properties around the globe. Kennecott owns one large nonunion surface coal mine in Colorado and five in the Powder River Basin in Wyoming. In the mid-1980s Kennecott employed 7,500 workers. As copper prices plummeted, the company shut down production and then called back a fraction of the workers. The union accepted a six-year concessionary contract.

Copper prices have dropped from \$1.10 per pound six years ago to 66 cents per pound in September of 2002. One half of the copper industry in the United States is shut down. The mine is open pit and has a life of about 10 years. A large vein of copper has been discovered.

For the last four months the company has been campaigning for concessions it claims will be used to pay for a billion dollar capital expansion project to go underground.

John Langford contributed to this article. He is a furnace operator at Kennecott Utah Copper’s smelter and a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 392.

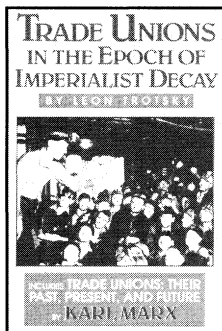
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Leon Trotsky

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