

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Fidel Castro's Bay of Pigs
battle orders

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'Cuba is an example,' say youth leaders on U.S. tour

BY TOM FISKE

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—The revolutionary struggle of Cuban working people that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship went on to "transform property relations and allow the wealth of the country to be used for all," said Cuban youth leader Javier Dueñas to a meeting at Gustavus Adolphus college in St. Peter, Minnesota.

"If you add to that accomplishment the education in principles of human solidarity the people in our country have received," he said, "then the capitalists cannot come back. This is the fear of the U.S. capitalists: people will realize it is possible to have a different social system. They are worried about the Movement of Rural Landless Workers in Brazil, the Indian movement in Ecuador, and the struggle in southern Mexico." With the example of the Cuban revolution, Dueñas said, "the people of other countries will begin to say, 'We can do it too.'"

The meeting was part of an April 9-14 tour in Minnesota by Dueñas and Yanelis Martínez, who addressed more than 500 students and faculty at eight universities. Martínez is a fifth-year law student at the University of Havana and a member of the National Secretariat of the Federation of University Students (FEU) in Cuba. Dueñas is a professor of journalism at the University of Havana.

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Washington keeps up military pressure on China

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Following the release by Beijing of the crew of a damaged U.S. spy plane, Washington has asserted its determination to continue its massive military pressure on China. According to a April 17 report in the *Washington Post*, Pentagon officials said the Bush administration "is considering sending an aircraft carrier or an Aegis radar-equipped warship to the South China Sea to ensure the safety of continued U.S. surveillance flights off the coast of China."

U.S. government officials and the big-business media have also gone on a propaganda offensive to shift the blame onto Beijing for the collision, accusing its pilots of "recklessness" and causing the crash in which a Chinese pilot was killed. "It is clear that the [Chinese] pilot intended to harass the crew," claimed U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in seeking to absolve Washington of responsibility for its repeated and provocative flights on China's border, two days after the crew was released.

U.S. president George Bush has justified

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Cincinnati protesters say: 'Try the cops for murder'

BY OSBORNE HART

CINCINNATI—Working people and youth in this city's Black community, along with other opponents of police brutality and racism, have mobilized on a nearly daily basis for more than a week to protest the April 7 cop killing of 19-year-old Timothy Thomas. Protests have demanded prosecution of the cop who killed Thomas, highlighted other police killings and longstanding victimization of African Americans, and exposed to the entire country the deep-seated discrimination in all aspects of life that persists here.

Demonstrators have stood up to a state of emergency and dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed by the city government, along with police attacks and arrests.

The April 14 funeral of Thomas drew several thousand people who paid tribute to the unarmed Black man. He was the fourth African American killed by the police in the city since November. To the 400 people gathered inside the New Prospect Baptist church in the heart of the Over-the-Rhine community, and many more outside who could not fit into the church, the funeral served as a continued protest of Thomas's killing and against police violence.

More than 2,500 mourners filed past the casket, laying mementos on the body as two musicians played. The viewing line

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Demonstrators hold signs during April 14 NAACP meeting in Cincinnati protesting the cop killing of Black youth Timothy Thomas.

Militant/Val Libby

Miami event discusses Bay of Pigs victory

BY CINDY JAQUITH
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MIAMI—Nearly 150 people, the majority of them Cuban-Americans, attended an April 14 conference here titled "Bay of Pigs: 40 Years Later."

The gathering was initiated by the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba and the Greater Miami Free Speech Coalition. Co-sponsors included some 20 organizations opposed to Washington's economic war on Cuba.

The conference was the first public meeting of this kind here in decades that took place without any protests outside the hotel where it was held or attempts to disrupt it from the audience.

The conference coincided with the 40th anniversary of Cuba's victory over an invasion by mercenaries armed and trained by Washington. The counterrevolutionaries were defeated near the Bay of Pigs in less than 72 hours by Cuba's militias, armed forces, and police, in a stunning blow to the

U.S. government and the Cuban landlords and capitalists who had hoped to return to power in that country.

Sharing the platform were two youth leaders from Cuba currently speaking at several U.S. universities, Yanelis Martínez and Javier Dueñas; Andrés Gómez, national coordinator of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of Cuban-Americans who support the revolution in Cuba; and Luis Tornés, who fought in the U.S.-organized Brigade

Continued on Page 11

NEW YORK CITY ♦ SUNDAY, MAY 6

In Defense of Leninism: Expanding Opportunities for Communists Today

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution
Campaigning to Use New Pathfinder Pamphlet
Mary-Alice Waters

Socialist Workers Party National Committee

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On to 100% and Expanding Production of New Titles
Representative of Steering Committee of Pathfinder Reprint Project

Doubling the Membership of the Young Socialists: A Movement Campaign

Member of the YS National Executive Committee

Report from Socialist Workers Party National Committee Meeting

Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Reception: 1:00 p.m. ♦ Meeting: 2:00 p.m.

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Militant sub drive gets strong start in New York — page 5

Bush seeks to open Arctic Wildlife Refuge to oil exploration

BY BILL KALMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The Bush administration is giving its backing to a Senate bill that would open up new tracts of land for oil exploration, and give tax breaks and other incentives to energy monopolies to expand production of natural gas, oil, coal, and nuclear energy production.

The new administration, as well as the oil industry, has used the California energy crisis to justify steps to ease restrictions on air pollution and other environmental regulations on energy corporations and to push for oil and gas exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) on Alaska's North Slope. Opening up the ANWR, which lies just east of the country's largest oil-producing field, Prudhoe Bay in northeastern Alaska, is a central provision in the Senate bill, introduced by Frank Murkowski of Alaska, chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

"The situation in California has made it possible where there may be enough of a change in the political mind-set to begin [oil exploring] in the North Slope," William Kovacs, from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, told the *Los Angeles Times*.

Congress established the 19-million acre ANWR in 1980. This ecologically diverse area has been called the "biological heart" of the largest assemblage of protected ecosystems in the world. It is home to more than 180 species of birds, bears, musk ox, wolves, moose, foxes, and sheep. The coastal plain of the ANWR is also the nursery grounds for the Porcupine River caribou herd.

The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that there are between 4.3 billion and 11.8 billion barrels of oil available under the ANWR using current technology, which is about one year or two years' worth of domestic usage. The North Slope also holds about 35 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, which is controlled by British Petroleum, Phillips Petroleum, and ExxonMobil. The United States currently consumes about 21.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas a year. These three companies are currently conducting a

study to determine the feasibility of building a gas pipeline that would run from Prudhoe Bay to link up with gas infrastructure in North America.

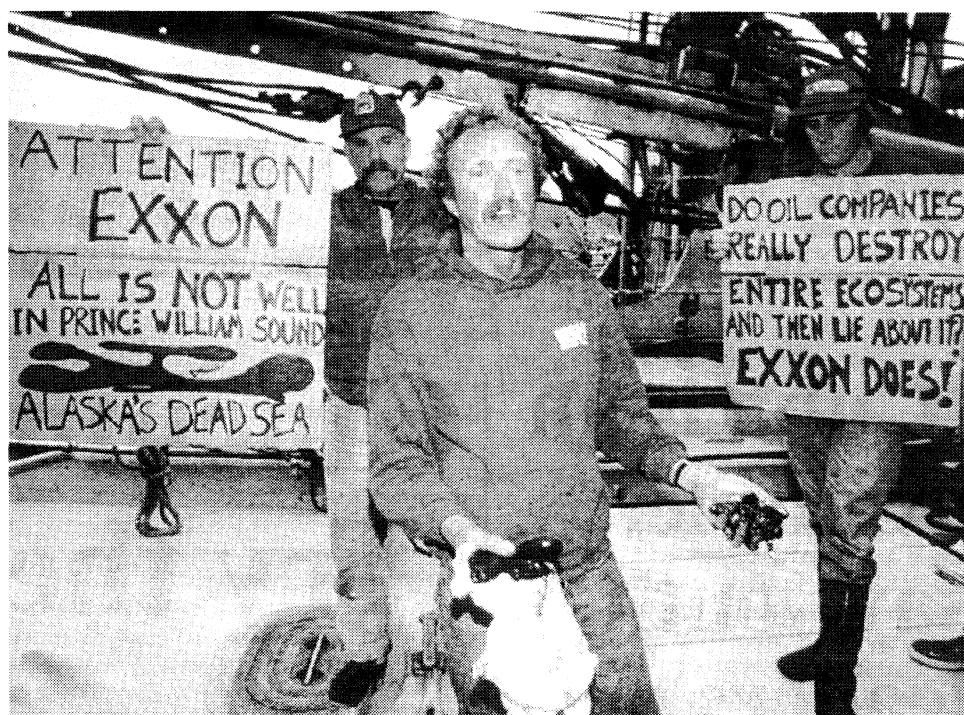
Impact on indigenous people

The debate on Arctic drilling has intensified in the state of Alaska as well. Many of the state's residents depend on royalties and other revenues generated from the oil and gas industry. Annual dividends from the state's Permanent Fund—royalties the state receives from the huge North Slope oil operations—are paid out to every state resident. Last fall this check came to \$1,963.86, the largest dividend ever. Alaska has no state income tax or sales tax; oil revenues finance about 84 percent of the state's budget.

In addition to Murkowski's proposed legislation, which will be a windfall for the energy monopolies, the state government is doing its part to keep profits flowing to the oil companies. In March, the state's finance committee cut in half the amount of money allocated to pay nurses at the state-run Pioneer nursing homes. Instead, the budget for Arctic Power, a private group lobbying for drilling in the arctic refuge, was expanded.

Arctic Power describes itself as "a grassroots, nonprofit citizen's organization" formed "to expedite congressional and presidential approval of oil exploration and production within the Coastal Plain of the ANWR." But this "grassroots" group is dominated by the likes of the Alaska Support Industry Alliance, the Alaska State Chamber of Commerce, the state's Resource Development Council, the Alaska Trucking Association, and the Alaska Oil and Gas Association.

The outfit claims residents of the town of Kaktovik, "the only people living on the Coastal Plain of ANWR, support oil and gas development in their 'back yard.' Alaska's indigenous people have benefited greatly from North Slope production." The city of Kaktovik, the Kaktovik Iñupiat Corporation, the Alaskan Federation of Natives, and individual Iñupiat officials have endorsed "de-



Fishermen in Alaska protest against devastating effects of the massive 1989 oil spill in Prince William Sound by the *Exxon Valdez*. Bush proposal to open Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil production is opposed by many Native people in the area.

velopment" in the ANWR, according to Arctic Power.

Kaktovik is the major settlement of the Iñupiat Eskimos, who live along the northern coastal plain. The Iñupiat were forced to rebuild the town in the 1950s after the U.S. government destroyed it to make room for a military installation. They fought attempts by the oil companies to set up another local government, the North Slope Borough, and lost. According to Joel Pollak, who wrote "Barrels and Bowheads," an article on the conflicts of native peoples around exploitation of oil resources in Alaska, the Iñupiat "leaders consistently ask that local people be given more power over controlling the pace and extent of development, but their demands are usually ignored by industry and government."

The oil companies have also sought to win over the Iñupiat leadership to support their plans through such means as hiring residents to work in their offices and public relations staffs, all-expense paid trips to Anchorage to meet with company executives, and visits to oil fields of Louisiana to showcase how supposedly safe and clean this industrial activity can be. But the success of this campaign has had its limits.

In 1999 the Iñupiat filed a lawsuit in the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco against BP Amoco's Northstar Project. The company seeks to construct the first offshore drilling venture proposed in the Arctic, in which it would construct an artificial island six miles off Alaska's north coast. Oil would be drilled, then transported ashore, in a pipeline only six feet beneath the seabed. The Iñupiat still oppose the oil industry's plans to drill offshore in the Beaufort and Chuckchi Seas because of concerns over the impact on whaling and fishing.

Less talked about are the other people in the area, the Gwich'in Indians who live inland south of the coastal mountains. The northernmost Indian Nation, the Gwich'in live in 15 small villages scattered across Northeast Alaska and Northwest Canada. There are about 7,000 Gwich'in who live near the migratory route of the 129,000-

strong Porcupine caribou herd. With little cash income, the Gwich'in rely heavily on these caribou for sustenance and, according to press reports, many feel that development would negatively impact the environment, the caribou, and therefore their ability to economically survive. In 1988 the Gwich'in people passed a resolution against development in the calving grounds of the caribou herd in the ANWR, and for permanent protection against drilling in the coastal plain. "There's no technology in the world that will make it safe for mothers and their calves," Gwich'in elder Sarah James explained.

Ken Boyd, director of the state's Division of Oil and Gas, offered another view. "You fly into [the town of] Deadhorse, and there are caribou all over the place. They're on the runway. These animals can adapt. This idea that they'll drop dead because they see oil production going on, it's just nuts."

But the Gwich'in Steering Committee has explained that on the North Slope, 95 percent of which has already been drilled, developed, leased, or explored by Big Oil, some "43,000 tons of nitrogen oxides pollute the air every year...hundreds of spills involving tens of thousands of gallons of crude oil, other petroleum products and hazardous waste occur annually; and gravel fill, excavation, and waste disposal alone have destroyed 12,000 acres of wildlife habitat and 508 acres of marine and estuarine habitat." Eight hundred square miles of the North Slope has been transformed into an industrial complex with 500 miles of roads and pipelines, over 150 drilling pads, 1,400 production wells, and three jet airports.

Christine Whitman, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, defended the Bush administration's energy proposals from critics. "Nobody wants to drill for oil because of what it might do to the environment," she said. "No one wants oil transmission pipelines because they blow up. No one wants to talk about nuclear energy. Even windmills [can] kill birds because they're in the flyway."

Bill Kalman is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120.

THE MILITANT

Protest cop brutality

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Los Angeles sewing shop strikers hold firm

BY NAN BAILEY

VERNON, California—There is a discipline and pride on the picket lines against Hollander Home Fashions. A daily warm lunch is served to strikers on the sidewalks. The last activity by strikers every day at the Seville Avenue plant is to hose down and sweep clean the sidewalk where picket lines are being maintained. As 450 members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) on strike at Hollander Home Fashions begin their sixth week on strike here, spirits are buoyed by a few new developments.

Contract negotiations between the union and the company are scheduled to resume April 16 for the first time since the end of February. Strikers are demanding a pension plan and protesting low wage levels and

poor working conditions. They have been on strike since March 8.

UNITE members at Hollander's plant in Frackville, Pennsylvania, have begun contract negotiations since the current pact expires at the end of April. In addition, UNITE members who work at the Hollander plant in Tignall, Georgia, continue to honor a picket line of strikers from here. Production in that plant has been shut down since March 13.

Strikers report that the number of union members crossing the picket lines has not gone up much over the last two weeks. Pickets estimate that about 50 unionists have returned to work at the Boyle Street plant and about a dozen have done so at the Seville plant. The overwhelming majority of the 450 workers at the two plants remain on strike and keep picket lines up six days a week.

On April 7 Linda Chavez-Thompson, the AFL-CIO's executive vice president, addressed strikers on the sidewalk outside the Seville Avenue plant. "I am here to tell you that the AFL-CIO supports you and we are prepared to help in any way we can," said Chavez-Thompson. Strikers responded with chants, including, "Somos mucho, seremos mas!" (We're a lot and we're going to be more!)

Three days earlier Vernon police had arrested several strikers and a union organizer at the plant. They were charged with trespassing for violating an injunction won by the company restricting the number of pickets to five at the entrance to the company's parking lot. A similar injunction was imposed during the first week of the strike but was lifted a few days later. Strikers ex-

plained they had not been informed of the new injunction.

Striker Marta Bonilla was one of those arrested. The police "asked if I was afraid to go to jail," she said. "I said no. And after getting arrested, I returned to the picket line even more determined." The most serious charges, of assault and battery, were made against union organizer Carlos Cordon.

Meanwhile, the strike continues to win support from other workers in the area. UNITE members are invited to speak at union meetings of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the National Association of Letter Carriers. Hollander strikers had earlier joined a March 28 IAM picket line organized at the airport by workers demanding a contract at United Airlines.

Los Angeles sewing industry

The Hollander plant is one of the few organized by a union in the *industria de costura* [sewing industry] here.

A majority of the striking workers are sewing machine operators. Operators comprise about 80 percent of the 320 production workers at Hollander's Boyle Street plant and 30 percent of the 127 production workers at the Seville Avenue plant. Union officials say UNITE organizes about 2,000 workers in the Los Angeles area, including a Kmart distribution warehouse in Carson and other workers outside the garment or textile industry.

California is the largest garment manufacturing state in the country, employing more than 140,000 workers, the majority of whom are immigrants and women. The industry is also the second largest manufacturing employer in the state. Companies employing fewer than 50 workers account for more than 94 percent of the industry. Of the 19 sewing shops in the state that employ 500 or more workers, 16 are located in Los Angeles county.

In nonunion shops workers usually receive no health benefits and have little control over wages and hours. The Spanish-language daily *La Opinión* runs ads for sewing machine operators, a handful of which announce "We pay the minimum [wage]" as a selling point for the factory—a not-so-subtle acknowledgment that other employers do not.

Some nonunion workers have been attracted to the strike. Jesus, a sewing machine operator from a garment factory that employs 300 people in the nearby city of Gardena, stopped by the picket line with two friends after work one day. After shaking hands with several pickets he said he had heard about the strike from a friend who works there. "I wish you luck and I know that what you're doing is important for people like me," he told the union members.

A Cambodian-born sewing machine operator and two co-workers employed at a plant in nearby Carson visited the picket line another morning before they went to work.

Nan Bailey is a garment worker.

Protests by working people sweep Turkey



Protesters face police high pressure hoses during April 11 protests in Ankara, Turkey, to oppose government austerity measures.

BY MAGGIE TROWE

There has been an upsurge of protest across Turkey over the past month, as workers and shopkeepers led mass demonstrations to protest government policies in face of a growing economic crisis in the country.

On April 14, in spite of a heavy police presence and bans on demonstrations in 20 provinces, tens of thousands took to the streets of Istanbul and other cities to protest government austerity measures following the collapse of the national currency, the lira, and a near financial meltdown in February.

The marches were organized by Emek Platformu (Labor Platform), a coalition formed by 15 major labor unions in Turkey that represent more than 1 million workers. Forty thousand unionists marched in Istanbul alone. In Ankara the union coalition did not carry out a protest after city authorities, in the wake of earlier clashes, banned demonstrations, and police announced that those who defied the ban would "definitely be hurt."

Carrying signs that read "We want job security," "Save workers and public sector employees—not bankrupt banks," and "No to the International Monetary Fund," marchers denounced government measures to stop most public hiring, freeze public employees' wages except for inflation adjustments, cut the federal budget by 9 percent, and sell off the state-owned airline, petroleum, and sugar industries.

Officials of the International Monetary Fund, which operates in the interests of finance capitalists from the United States and other imperialist countries, are demanding that Ankara take these measures to qualify for \$10 billion to \$12 billion in aid requested

by the government of Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit. Turkey, a country of 65 million, has a foreign debt of \$104 billion, or \$1,600 per capita. Turkey's per capita income was \$2,900 in 1999.

With the lira losing 40 percent of its value since mid-February, an estimated 500,000 people have lost their jobs in Turkey. Inflation has shot up to 34 percent this year.

According to the British Broadcasting Company, demonstrations have been a daily occurrence for the past two weeks. Thousands of protesters took to the streets in cities across Turkey March 30.

More than 130,000 people marched throughout the country April 11. Some 70,000 protesters, many of them small proprietors, clashed with police in Ankara, the capital city, that day. One hundred were arrested, and 202 injured, including 137 policemen. Some 40,000 people marched in the Aegean port city of Izmir, where shopkeepers refused to open for business as part of the protest action. Another 20,000 took to the streets in the central Anatolian city of Konya. In the southern cities of Gaziantep and Mersin, protesters set fire to photocopies of U.S. dollars.

'Tighten our belts'

While working people were marching April 14, Turkey's new state minister, Kemal Dervis, outlined the government's latest austerity program at a press conference. He stated, "We all should tighten our belts." Two days later the World Bank, another organization representing U.S., European, and Japanese finance capital, issued a statement applauding the government's "emphasis on structural policies" and on "measures to improve the climate for foreign direct investment." The same day a statement from the U.S. embassy in Ankara called Turkey "an important ally and good friend of the U.S.," and pledged that Washington "will continue to be supportive of Turkey as it moves forward with its program."

The *Washington Post*, however, reported, "Many analysts had questioned whether the government has the will to carry out harsh economic measures," and Dow Jones Newswires referred to the "political disintegration danger" that is looming.

The Council of Ministers announced April 16 that the government would reverse

its decision to raise interest rates on agricultural loans, and restore the lower rates—54–60 percent—until the end of 2001.

Repression by the Turkish government has provoked a hunger strike by 250 political prisoners who belong to banned leftist groups. They began fasting in November to protest plans by the state to transfer them from communal wards to maximum security prisons. The prisoners are also demanding a halt to beatings by guards. In December, prisoners resisting transfer were stormed by soldiers, and succeeded in resisting for four days. Two soldiers and 30 inmates died in the fighting.

To date, 13 workers have died from starvation in the protest. On April 12, hundreds of people gathered in a workers district in Istanbul to bury Nergiz Gulmez, a woman hunger striker.

British Columbia workers keep bus system shut down

BY GABRIEL CHARBIN AND CARLOS CORNEJO

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Striking transit workers have kept this city's bus system shut down for 15 days to oppose concessions demanded by the employers.

"Part-timers and contracting out are questions that are sacrosanct," one striker said on the picket line. If the company starts to hire temporary workers or is allowed to contract out routes, "it will have an effect on workers in the industry as a whole," he said.

Some 3,300 transit workers, members of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) and the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), have been on strike here since April 1 against Coast Mountain Bus Company, a subsidiary of TransLink. Bus drivers and mechanics organized by the CAW set up pickets alongside office workers, who are members of the OPEIU.

The big-business media is aiding the employers with articles such as a column by Fred McMahon in the *Vancouver Sun*. "British Columbia unions," he wrote, "just keep escalating their militancy. They claim

to help the average worker, but their strategy might well be summed up as: 'Make the poor pay.'" McMahon urged the government to "consider eliminating the right to strike in the public sector, increasing the ability of companies to bring in replacement workers, and enacting 'right-to-work' legislation, among other measures."

Despite this campaign, many people honk their horns in support as they pass the picket line. Provincial government employees at Translink headquarters have refused to cross the picket line. There have been rallies in support of the strike, including one on April 11 at the Oakridge Transit Centre of 150 people.

Workers at SeaBus succeeded in stopping efforts to start up service during the strike by using canoes and small boats to block yachts owned by private companies. The CAW has begun publishing a daily strike journal and is organizing rallies, leafleting, and ads in the local media to thank the public for its support and distribute information about the strike.

Gabriel Charbin is a meat packer and Carlos Cornejo is a garment worker.

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INCLUDING THOSE LISTED ON PAGE 12.

Bush names counterintelligence 'czar'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Bush administration has filled the post of National Counterintelligence Executive, set up by William Clinton in the final weeks of his administration. The new appointee, David Szady, will be responsible for protecting what the U.S. government and corporations consider their secrets and for broadening spy operations on working people at home and abroad.

Szady, an FBI agent who was in charge of the Portland, Oregon, Field Division, will head a "counterintelligence" board of directors consisting of officials from the Department of State, Defense, Justice, and Energy, and representatives of the FBI, CIA, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and National Security Council. His role will be, as described by the *Wall Street Journal*, to pursue "closer ties between the government and private industry in fighting spies."

The *New York Times* described the executive's central task as trying "to determine which secrets held by the government or the private sector are so valuable that they need to be protected from the nation's adversaries."

In early January Clinton signed a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) aimed at enhancing "Counterintelligence for the 21st Century (CI-21)," which encompasses a broad sweep of operations both inside and outside U.S. borders. A fact sheet prepared by the Federation of American Scientists describes the sweeping mandate of the new counterintelligence czar: "The system will be predictive, proactive, and will provide integrated oversight of counterintelligence issues across the national security agencies."

The National Counterintelligence Center emphasized that the government's spying operations "must be transposed from a largely reactive state to a modern, innovative program that is much more proactive."

Both the CI-21 program and the national counterintelligence executive role, the *Washington Post* reported, will be "to foster entirely new strategies for defending not only critical government assets but also the computer infrastructure used by government and private industry alike." This will include assessing the need for a National Counterintelligence Training Academy.

The mid-February arrest of Robert Hanssen, a 25-year FBI agent and counterintelligence officer who is being charged with spying for Moscow, was used as further justification of the new spy apparatus. Nearly 500 FBI employees were also ordered to undergo lie detector tests, something the agency did not do before, although it is a norm in the CIA and National Security Council.

Hanssen's arrest has "triggered an internal review of the bureau's counterintelligence policies and procedures," according to a *Post* article. This includes zeroing in on "the FBI's resistance to requiring periodic polygraph exams of all employees" and the need for "coordination of efforts by federal agencies to prevent and root out espionage."

The CI-21 program also comes in the context of the spy scare and U.S. government frame-up of Wen Ho Lee, a scientist at Los Alamos laboratory in New Mexico who was arrested and held in solitary confinement on charges that included stealing U.S. nuclear weapons secrets.

Anti-terrorist task force in Portland

Prior to his appointment at National Counterintelligence Executive, Szady spearheaded the formation of a joint Portland police and FBI task force on domestic terrorism. The FBI has similar task forces set up in 30 of its 56 divisions nationwide, according to FBI spokesman Gordon Compton.

The task force's mission, according to a statement signed by Szady and Portland police chief Mark Kroeker, is to target individuals or groups responsible for acts of "criminal terrorism within the traditional criteria of the Right Wing or Left Wing movements, as well as acts of criminal terrorism committed by special interest groups, such as the anti-abortion movement and the Animal Liberation Front/Earth Liberation Front."

A number of community groups in Oregon, including the League of Women Voters, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Portland chapter of the NAACP, and the National Lawyers Guild, protested the formation of the task force, pointing out the threats it poses to democratic rights.

The groups explained that operating un-

der the guideline of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which defines terrorist acts as "any violent act or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any state," the government could charge many who protest against U.S. policies with terrorism.

The FBI defines terrorism as, "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives." This could be used against union members on a picket line or demonstrations that cops allege to have blocked or obstructed public access. The government is allowed by law to seize their assets, homes, and vehicles of those facing terrorist charges.

New generation of U.S. spy satellites

Washington is also putting in motion plans to deploy a new generation of U.S. military satellites that will significantly enhance its ability to conduct spying operations around the world.

At an estimated price of \$25 billion over

the next 20 years, the U.S. government is working to put in space a dozen or so new satellites with electronic cameras that "would be able to track objects as small as a baseball anywhere, anytime on the planet," according to an article in the *International Herald Tribune*. "It will be 'an incredible improvement' in America's ability to spy from the sky, a U.S. official said in Washington," the big-business daily added.

Set in motion by the Clinton administration under the name "future imagery architecture," the new system of space-based cameras will collect from eight to 20 times more imagery than the current generation of U.S. spying satellites, according to the Federation of American Scientists. "While performance details are classified," writes the *Tribune*, "experts said that the modernized, miniaturized satellites would be able to identify objects one-tenth the size of those visible in commercially available satellite pictures."

The U.S. rulers also carry out massive electronic eavesdropping via satellites in a system known as Echelon. Under the direction of the National Reconnaissance Office—an agency whose existence was only

acknowledged by U.S. officials in the 1990s—this operation taps into a multitude of electronic transmissions.

"The U.S. eavesdropping capabilities extend much farther in the Echelon program," said the *Tribune*. "Beyond intercepting calls handled by satellite and tapping intercontinental undersea telephone cables, the United States also operates satellites designed to intercept local calls."

In another development, the *Wall Street Journal* reports that the FBI is now using computer databases to spy on millions more people. Using services like ChoicePoint Inc., which claims to have records on nearly every U.S. resident with a credit card, FBI agents can go on line and gain access to a wide variety of confidential information.

"Big Brother isn't gone. He's just been outsourced," states an April 13 *Journal* article. "In the past several years, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and other agencies have started buying troves of personal data from the private sector... Using a password, FBI agents can log on to a custom Web page that links them with privately owned files on tens of millions of Americans."

Support building for women's rights march

BY MARY MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"I am going to this march because I am 20 years old and the idea that I might not have the choice to do what I want to do with my body is frightening," said Lexa Lemieux. "I don't want that to happen to me or to anyone I know, and I am bringing my friends, too." Lemieux, a student at George Washington University, gave her views to the *Militant* while taking a break from volunteer activities to build the April 22 action to defend women's rights.

The march and rally, called by the National Organization for Women and several other sponsoring organizations, will begin at 11:00 a.m. on Sunday, April 22, at Upper Senate Park at Constitution and Delaware streets in Washington, D.C. After a rally at the gathering point, the march will proceed to the mall on the Capitol grounds where a women's health fair, also sponsored by NOW, is taking place. Booths at the fair will present information on the RU-486 "morning after" pill, contraception, attacks on abortion rights, and related topics, according to NOW national spokesperson and Action vice president Loretta Kane. Buses are being organized from a number of cities, including six from New York. Students at Hunter College and New York University are organizing to participate.

Kane told the *Militant* in a phone interview that NOW's national board called this



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

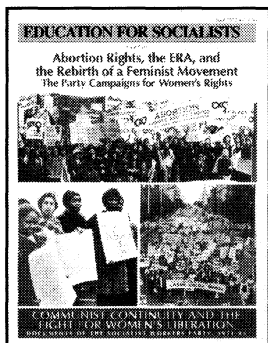
Thousands marched in Washington, D.C., April 9, 1995, in action to defend abortion rights sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

action because of the "numerous attacks on women and really upon all people under the Bush administration." She added, "Because of the power of a mass action, when you get people together explaining that safe legal abortion must be accessible, you know we are part of a movement—not a handful—

but the majority. There are many organizations and campuses on a local level involved in outreach for this action who will continue working at home on the state level afterwards."

Information on the march is available on NOW's web page at www.now.org.

From Pathfinder



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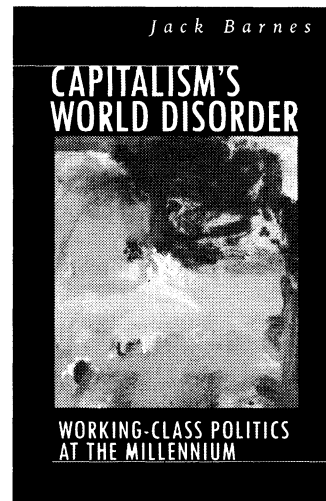
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Sub drive gets off to a good start in NY

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

We're off to a good start on the April 14-June 10 subscription drive to win new readers to the socialist press. The chart this week registers the confidence that supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have in reaching working people and youth with the periodicals and several booklets published by Pathfinder that are part of the eight-week campaign.

After a round of discussions this week, supporters in a number of cities around the world increased their goals, bringing the international goals to 1,000 *Militant* subscriptions, 500 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 1,900 copies of the three Pathfinder pamphlets—*Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution*, *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism*, and *The Coming American Revolution: Organizing to Win the Inevitable Battles*.

Socialist workers and Young Socialists in Upper Manhattan are helping to set the pace for the international circulation campaign. Brian Williams reports they "sold five *Militant* subscriptions, three *PM* subscriptions, 31 copies of the *Militant*, and more than \$200 worth of Pathfinder literature at literature tables set up in the workers district in Upper Manhattan.

Another *Militant* subscription and three more *PM* subs were purchased at a concert for a Cuban artist and a meeting celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Cuban victory at Playa Girón. There was a lot of interest at all the sales in the events in Cincinnati and in the Cuban Revolution. Two people gave an extra \$5 when they purchased a single copy of the paper."

Regional sales teams will be an important part of the campaign. A team traveling in the western coalfields received a good response from many workers to the *Militant's* coverage of the fight by uranium miners for compensation from the government for radiation and other effects of uranium production. "We ran into many workers who had worked in the uranium mines or had family members who worked there," said one member of the team.

In New Mexico, coal miners purchased two *Militant* subscriptions and 49 copies of the paper at the portal of the McKinley mine where members of the United Mine Workers

of America (UMWA) won their strike against the Pittsburg and Midway Coal Co. last year. The miners pushed back the coal bosses' demands for concessions. At the McKinley mine, located on a Navajo reservation, more than 90 percent of the miners are Navajo.

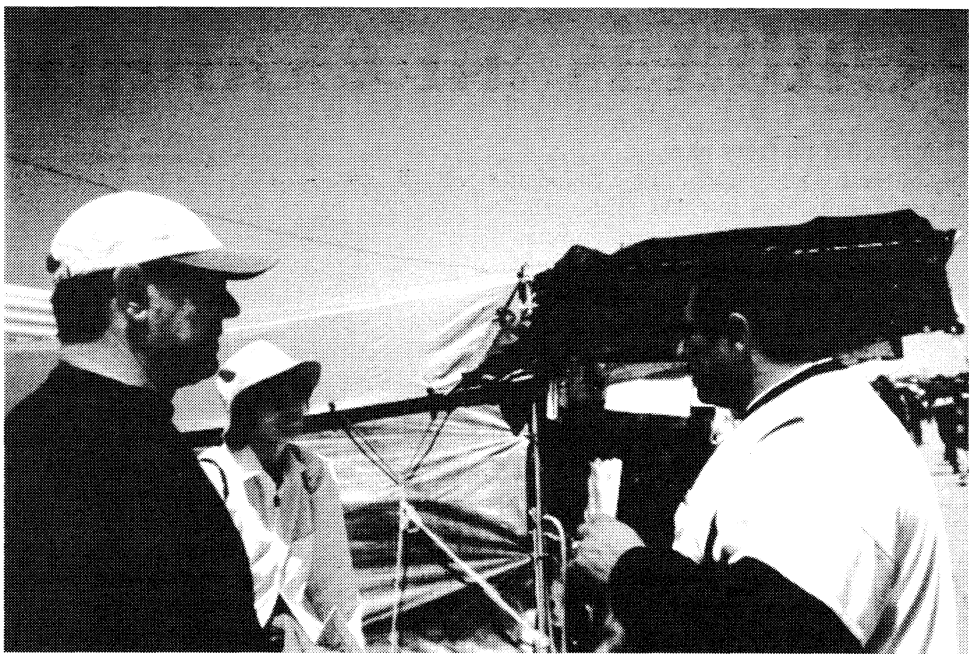
In a sale at the Black Mesa mine in Arizona, miners purchased 36 copies of the *Militant*. UMWA members there won a strike against the Peabody Coal company last year, following the victory of the P&M strike. The regional coal team has sold seven *Militant* subscriptions and 143 papers to workers and students during their visit to the region, as well as some Pathfinder titles, including *Fertile Ground: Che Guevara and Bolivia*, *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, and *Socialism and Man in Cuba*. They also strengthened political ties with some of the miners they met before who were involved in the strikes last year.

Struggles are also bubbling in poultry plants around the country. Rollande Girard, from Fresno, California, said she and a fellow meat packer sold the *Militant* and *PM* at a recent Saturday morning plant gate sale at the Foster Farms poultry facility in Livingston, California.

"It was nonstop cars coming in and out of the plant, where about 2,300 people work," she said. "A majority of them are from Mexico, while many are from Punjab, India, and countries in Asia. The workers at the chicken plant struck the company in 1997. All those who stopped told us that conditions in the plant are getting worse, with many injuries resulting from the bosses speeding up the line. Some of them said they can't wait until 2002 when the new contract will be negotiated." Girard said they sold one subscription to *PM*, 13 copies of *PM*, and 13 copies of the *Militant*.

Plans for regional sales team to other packing plants include following up on a previous visit to the Excel beef slaughterhouse in Fort Morgan, Colorado, where some 1,600 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) waged a three-day strike in an ongoing struggle to change the intolerable working conditions in the plant.

Meat packers in the Washington, D.C., area are working out plans to visit poultry facilities in Maryland and Delaware, where a number of union organizing drives have



Militant
Former uranium miner, right, talks to sales team as he buys *Militant* subscription at flea market in Gallup, New Mexico.

been won, and to Tar Heel, North Carolina, where Smithfield Foods, the world's largest hog processing plant with 4,500 workers, is located. Anyone interested in joining these teams can drop a line to the *Militant*.

Building up the readership of the two publications among working people and others fighting police brutality is also a central part of the subscription drive. Last weekend partisans of the *Militant* from Cleveland and Detroit joined with supporters in Cincinnati to participate in the protests against the cop killing of Timothy Thomas. They sold 48 copies of the *Militant* and six copies of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*.

Over the next few days many socialist workers, members of the Young Socialists, and other supporters of the two publications will be making plans to participate in the Emergency Action for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C. This will be a good opportunity to discuss revolutionary ideas and sell subscriptions and other socialist literature to thousands of young women and others involved in the action. Buses are being organized from a number of cities on the East Coast.

We encourage everyone to send in notes and pictures on how the drive is going in your area. Feel free to order a small bundle of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* in order to introduce the papers to co-workers, fellow farmers, strikers, friends, and other working people over the next eight weeks. Building up the readership of the two

publications and of Pathfinder books among workers and farmers in struggle and youth attracted to the working-class movement is an essential part of constructing a revolutionary leadership today. Join with us in this effort!

Militant/PM subscription drive to win new readers April 14-June 10

	Militant	PM	Pamphlet
Country	Goal	Goal	Goal
Australia	12	2	25
Canada			
Montreal	12	4	40
Toronto	20	3	40
Vancouver	15	2	35
Canada Total	47	9	115
Iceland	6	1	35
New Zealand			
Auckland	10	1	20
Christchurch	8	1	10
NZ Total	18	2	30
Sweden	12	5	20
United Kingdom	35	10	90
United States			
Allentown	16	4	20
Atlanta	30	15	50
Birmingham	25	3	55
Boston	25	8	30
Brooklyn	75	40	150
Charlotte	12	4	25
Chicago	30	25	75
Cleveland	20	6	30
Des Moines	30	20	45
Detroit	20	5	40
Fresno	9	9	20
Grand Junction	25	5	35
Houston	35	15	75
Los Angeles	50	25	80
Miami	22	20	75
NY Garment Dist	70	55	150
Upper Manhattan	70	50	125
Newark	40	25	100
Omaha	15	18	20
Philadelphia	30	10	60
Pittsburgh	40	5	65
San Francisco	50	25	100
Seattle	20	8	55
Tampa	8	6	15
Twin Cities	35	25	50
Washington	27	13	60
Tucson	8	5	
U.S. Total	837	449	1605
International Total	967	471	1875
International Goal	1000	500	1900
In the unions			
Australia			
MUA	2		5
Meat workers	2		3
Total	4		8
United States			
UFCW	60	60	125
UMWA	25	1	25
UNITE	25	20	60

'Bay of Pigs' book sells briskly in first month

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Sales of Pathfinder's new book, *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, have gone briskly since it was released in English and Spanish editions last month. Pathfinder representative Sara Lobman reports the publishing house has shipped just under 2,000 copies of the book—1,483 in English, and 511 in Spanish—to bookstores and distributors in the United States and other countries. Pathfinder bookstores account for nearly 1,400 copies of the books.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of U.S.-backed mercenaries by Cuban revolutionaries at the Bay of Pigs, heightened discussion in newspapers and on television is stimulating interest in the book, which features excerpts of several speeches by Cuban commander-and-chief Fidel Castro before and after the battle, and also the July 1999 testimony by José Ramón Fernández before a Havana court detailing the background to the April 1961 victory. Fernández, commander of the main column of the victorious Cuban revolutionary forces, is retired from active duty and holds the rank of brigadier general in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba.

On April 17 CNN featured an article on its web site called "Bay of Pigs Fiasco Spawned Anti-Castro Plotters," which put forward the commonly used argument that the invasion failed because then-president John Kennedy or the CIA botched the operation by failing to provide sufficient air cover to the invaders. In *Playa Girón*, Fernández and Castro explain how in fact the U.S. invasion failed because the revolu-

tionary morale of the Cuban workers and farmers, based on real steps forward such as the land reform and the literacy campaign, made them capable of rapidly overwhelming a force made up of wealthy landowners and businessmen who were fighting for property.

An article in last week's *Militant* printed a review of *Playa Girón* from *El Diario/La Prensa*, the Spanish-language daily with the biggest circulation in the New York area, criticizing the book on several counts, and a reply by coeditor Mary-Alice Waters. The owner of the Spanish-language bookstore Mundo de las Letras (World of Letters) in Jackson Heights, Queens, called Pathfinder's office in response to the caustic review, reports Pathfinder editor Luis Madrid. "Even if it's a negative review, it could still be good for the book," the store owner told Madrid, and ordered 35 copies of the book and 40 copies of *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*.

Participants at two celebrations of the anniversary of the Bay of Pigs victory, one in Miami and the other in New York City, bought 15 copies of the new book, 6 in New York and 9 in Miami, and a total of \$450 in books and pamphlets at the two meetings.

In New York City, the three Socialist Workers Party branches and the Young Socialists got out a number of street tables in workers districts in Manhattan and Brooklyn over the same weekend, and attended several events, including a concert by Cuban musician Pablo Milanes and a two-day Socialist Scholars Conference. They sold more than \$1,200 in Pathfinder literature in four days, including 19 books at the concert, mostly in Span-

ish, and 17 at the conference.

Pathfinder supporters are finding that by stepping up visits to book buyers they are reaping results. One of the largest Barnes and Noble bookstores in Houston is hosting a community event May 12 featuring veteran socialist and unionist Tom Leonard. The store is sending out 100 postcards, a press release, and a flyer that reads, "Join Tom Leonard as he discusses *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Defeat in the Americas*. Tom Leonard will present this new book published for the 40th anniversary of the invasion and recount his firsthand experiences in defense of Cuba during the tumultuous events of April-May 1961." Leonard, a former merchant seaman, was involved in activities in defense of Cuba in Denver, Colorado, in the years following the 1959 Cuban Revolution.

Marie-Claire David reports from Montreal that in March, "supporters of Pathfinder Press in Quebec sold 152 books to French-language chains and bookstores, 60 of these in Quebec City. This is a major step in expanding the reach of Pathfinder books to Quebecois workers, farmers, and youth." One of the biggest sales—92 books in French—were to the Renaud-Bray Group, which had never ordered from Pathfinder before.

Pathfinder supporters Linda Joyce and Maceo Dixon visited a buyer at the Waterstone Book Sellers store at the Atlanta airport, who ordered 20 copies of *Playa Girón* and 98 other books, for a total of \$1,175 wholesale.

'Cuba is an example' say youth leaders

Continued from front page

sity of Havana and a leader of the Union of Young Communists in Cuba. Their talks were part of a three-week tour of universities in the United States sponsored by the Cuban Youth Lectures committee based in Chicago.

Dueñas's comment was an answer to a participant in the meeting who asked, "Why is the U.S. government so hostile to Cuba? Is it because of the example it sets for working people in Latin America and the rest of the world?"

"Some years ago there was a debate here in the United States," Dueñas said. "A renowned Cubanologist presented the idea that Cuba had a revolution because it was the wealthiest country per capita in Latin America. Before 1959 Cuba had the highest head of cattle per capita in Latin America."

"According to this idea," the Cuban youth leader said, "my grandfather, who was continually hungry and suffered all kinds of discrimination, owned 27 head of cattle. In fact, he was only able to own land and work it for the first time as a result of the revolution. He told me time and again never to forget that reality."

At a meeting at Hamline University, Martínez said many young people she met during the tour have asked her whether or not what they read about Cuba in the major U.S. media is true. "I want to clarify," she said, "that the only crimes we have committed since the triumph of the revolution in 1959 are giving the land back to the farmers and teaching everybody to read and write. Maybe our crime is to build a society that is more just; one that has its own identity."

At the St. Olaf College meeting, Martínez described the depth of the revolution and the involvement of masses of working people in it. "How is it possible that a small island, subject to such pressure from Washington, has been able to survive for four decades?" she asked. "What has been shown over the 40 years of the revolution is the possibility of building human values among people. This is what has made possible the participation of 40,000 Cuban youth who volunteered to go fight in Angola to defend that country against the invasion by the apartheid South African armed forces. We have many achievements. It is unthinkable that they could have been attained under a



Katie Keller

Javier Dueñas (left) and Yanelis Martínez (second from right), Cuban youth leaders, speaking at Africana Student Cultural Center at University of Minnesota April 13. Second from left is translator Melissa Riviera, on right is chairperson Simanique Moody.

dictatorship or by the efforts of one man."

"We have been able to overcome the economic difficulties and other obstacles of the past decade only with the efforts of all of us," Martínez said. "Last year, many tens of thousands of Cuban youth helped to take the lead in organizing demonstrations demanding the return of Elián González to Cuba. The revolution is not just the revolution of [Cuban president] Fidel [Castro]. It is the revolution of the Cuban people." Martínez said many young people are being appointed to government posts, pointing to the example of Cuba's foreign minister who is 35 years old. "After surmounting the obstacles of the Special Period we are more confident than ever that our revolution will continue."

The Special Period is what Cubans call the decade following the disintegration of the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s, which resulted in the collapse of trade and aid with Russia and countries in Eastern Europe. To ratchet up the pressure, Washington tightened its embargo, threats, and propaganda against Cuba.

'We can never let down our guard'

"After 1989, we faced shortages in basic necessities," Martínez said. "Even though we didn't close a single school, hospital, or child-care center, the tasks of the teachers, doctors, and child-care workers became more difficult because of a lack of resources. The enemies of our revolution in the United States were happy with our difficulties. Surmounting them gave us more strength and today we have more knowledge of what our people are capable of doing to defend the revolution. This decade was for us a second Playa Girón," she said, referring to the 1961 U.S.-backed mercenary invasion of Cuba, which was routed by militias of working people together with the Rebel Army in less than 72 hours. "As it was said at Playa Girón, our best teacher has been imperialism. We have been taught that we can't let our guard down for a minute."

Members of the Student Coalition against Racism (SCAR), a group of students who

have been fighting racist attacks against faculty and students at St. Cloud State University, organized a meeting for the Cuban youth leaders that was attended by 110 people. The group is currently part of the fight to defend Laurynda Stryker, a teacher at the school who is Jewish and who has been the object of anti-Semitic attacks. This struggle was covered in a front-page article in the *Washington Post* two weeks ago. Last fall SCAR organized a conference on racial profiling attended by 250 students and faculty.

The event with the Cuban youth was covered by the *St. Cloud Times*, the major newspaper in the area (see article below).

'Our homeland is all of humanity'

One participant in the meeting asked about Cuba's internationalist missions. Dueñas said that there are currently more than 1,000 Cubans in other countries, including in Africa. "We help also in the training of teachers, doctors, and athletes. One and a half years ago Fidel Castro spoke at a meeting in Harlem inviting young people from poor communities in the United States to come to Cuba to get medical training. The only condition is that after graduating they stay in their communities and practice medicine," he said. "A few days ago we received our first group of medical students from the United States to begin their training. We have many teachers helping in other Latin American countries."

Following up the discussion, a student said, "I am Cuban. I left Cuba 15 years ago. Cuba is helping other countries. How can we help others when we don't help ourselves?"

Martínez replied that the "U.S. government will never stop us from acting this way, according to human values. They will never stop us from becoming more complete human beings. It is better to save a life than to make money from practicing medicine. Our people do have a spirit of solidarity, which is shown by the fact that we go to other countries to help." In addition, Dueñas added, "Other countries that help Cuba could ask the same question of themselves. But for us, our homeland is all of humanity."

"Can you say some words about Cuba's progress in combating racial discrimination?" another person asked. "Before 1959," Dueñas said, "Blacks in Cuba were among the very poor. There were many barriers to having equal access to farm land, jobs, and a university education. Today those barriers have been torn down."

Many of the members of SCAR stayed after the question-and-answer period to discuss more politics with the Cuban youth leaders.

Union organizing drive

Dueñas and Martínez also met with a dozen meat packers from the St. Paul area. Nine have been part of the fight to organize a union and win a first contract at Dakota Premium Foods, a beef slaughterhouse in South St. Paul. The union drive was initiated by a seven-hour sit-down strike last June to protest working conditions. A month and a half later the workers voted by a big majority to join the union, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789. Since then the company has been fighting against the workers' victory in the National Labor Relations Board, refusing to recognize the union or negotiate. However, the workers continue to act collectively through their union to beat back the company's attacks.

Dakota workers told the Cuban youth leaders of several of the fights they have waged against the company over the last several months. A worker in the packaging department explained how union members organized a delegation to the office of the plant manager to demand better conditions in their area, including the right to bathroom breaks.

A worker in the kill department gave an example of the daily test of strength that goes on between the union and the company. He recently put a union sticker on his hard hat. The company responded by requiring supervisors and other salaried personnel to wear company stickers on their hard hats in the area. Then other workers in the area began to demand union stickers, and the worker went to the union hall to get enough for everyone to wear on their hard hats. Soon the majority of workers in the kill were wearing union stickers. The "sticker fight" is now developing in the cut and packaging departments.

At the end of the narratives the meat packers presented Martínez and Dueñas with T-shirts inscribed with "*Si, se puede*" (Yes, we can!), the main slogan of their struggle. Most of the meat packers at the meeting had participated in a citywide public event April 11 at the University of Minnesota attended by 90 people. The meeting was sponsored by the Minnesota Student Association, Global Studies Program, Spanish-Portuguese Department, Afro-American Studies Department, Minnesota Cuba Committee, and Students for Cuba.

At each campus meeting an appeal was made for youth to come to Cuba for the second Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, to be held July 22-30 in Havana this summer. Several dozen youth signed up for more information about the exchange and expressed interest in attending.

Tom Fiske is a meat packer and a member of the Cuba Youth Tour organizing committee.

**Come to the
Second Cuba-U.S.
Youth Exchange
Havana, Cuba
July 22-30, 2001**

"The current generation carries in its hands, along the trail blazed by its forefathers, working America...the seeds of the new America!" —19th century Cuban revolutionary José Martí

Cuban youth are organizing an exchange that will give young people from Cuba and the United States time to join together in discussions and strengthen the solidarity between the people of both countries. The conference will challenge everything that keeps the youth of the two countries apart. It will be a way to stand together and show the world that unity is not a dream, and that if we fight with all our hearts to unite the divided peoples of the Americas, we can turn the dream of Martí into reality. — *Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange Organizing Committee*

For further information contact the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange Organizing Committee. Telfax: (537) 60 0225 or 67 0225. E-mail: ujcri@ujc.org or ri@ujc.org

Or contact the Young Socialists, Times Square Post Office, P.O. Box 33, New York, NY 10108. Tel.: (212) 695-1809. E-mail: youngsocialists@attglobal.net

'Cuban youth have been main actors in struggle'

The following article was published in the April 13 issue of the *St. Cloud Times*, the main daily newspaper in St. Cloud, Minnesota. The article included a color photograph of Cuban youth leaders Yanelis Martínez Herrera and Javier Dueñas Oquendo at the meeting.

BY MICHELLE TAN

At least 70 people gathered for an open discussion with two Cuban youth leaders Wednesday at St. Cloud State University. Yanelis Martínez Herrera and Javier Dueñas Oquendo talked about "Youth in Cuba Today," and answered questions in the Brown Hall Auditorium as part of the Cuban Youth Tour, which began March 28. The two have spoken on campuses on the East Coast and in the Midwest.

"In the past 150 years of our people's struggle, youths have been the main actors," Oquendo said, speaking through volunteer translator Yuri Guerra. "Over four centuries of domination left a lot of poverty, up to the

revolution. Youths have been involved in all the struggles to bring about change."

Youths' contributions include working in campaigns to eradicate illiteracy. "We're trying to find more equality and create a more integral culture of participation in society," Oquendo said. The event was sponsored by St. Cloud State's Student Coalition Against Racism. The tour was organized by the Chicago-based Cuban Youth Lectures Committee.

The tour's objective was not to sell the caricature of the Cuban revolution, but to engage in an exchange between U.S. and Cuban youths, Herrera said. Herrera, 22, is a fifth-year law student and member of the National Secretariat of the Federation of University Students. Oquendo, 28, teaches journalism at the University of Havana and is a member of the National Bureau of Union of Young Communists.

The pair talked about Cuba's efforts to share the services and skills of students and professionals, for example doctors, with

other countries. "We're human beings, trying to form more complete human beings," Herrera said. "To understand that it's better to save someone's life than make money out of a career."

Oquendo said a dollar value can't be attached to helping another person or nation. "Many resources are concentrated in countries that are most indifferent," he said. "To us, our country is humanity."

Holly Santiago, St. Cloud State sophomore and SCAR member, said the event was great. "I'm sure people took something away from the presentation that they probably wouldn't have gotten in any other situation," she said.

Organizers also promoted the "II Youth Meeting Cuba—the United States" meeting, from July 22-30 in Cuba. The gathering is being organized by various Cuban education groups and includes visits to Cuban universities and historical sites and a visit to the Latin-America Medicine School. For information on the event, send an e-mail to ujcri@ujc.org.

Cincinnati protesters: 'Try cops for murder'

Continued from front page

stretched several blocks from the church. An elderly Black man stood at the entrance holding a placard reading, "Over-the-Rhine mourns Timothy Thomas."

NAACP youth members and other community groups monitored the crowd gathered in the block around the church. But the sound of the police helicopter flying above, and the sight of city cops and state troopers in riot gear and on horses, visible two blocks away, were constant reminders of the city's state of emergency.

Throughout the crowd outside young people held signs or wore bumper stickers stating, "Danger, Police in Area."

Many paying their respects, particularly the young people, wore bandannas and T-shirts bearing Thomas's photo and the words "R.I.P. [Rest in Peace] Tim" on them. A young Black woman told the *Militant* that Thomas was wearing such a bandanna when he was shot. The spot where he was killed has been transformed into a memorial adorned by flowers, messages, and bandannas. The wall is spray painted in red and black letters that spell, "R.I.P. Tim."

"Try the cops for murder," Byron Johnson said in an interview as he stood outside the church. "Prayer is not getting it done," said the unemployed Black construction worker, who is in his 30s. Johnson said the Thomas killing and the other murders only reflect the deeper problem of discrimination in the city. With all the construction here, Black

"construction workers like myself can't get jobs," he said.

James Williams of the Hyde Park neighborhood explained why people rebelled: "What happened here is going to start a trend. It's been boiling for a long time. It's a deep pot boiling. In the 60s, it was for civil rights," Williams said. "Now it's for life or death. We won't go back to normal."

"It's uncalled for. Traffic tickets are no call for killing," Vinson Carr said. Carr was referring to Thomas's traffic violations, cited by the cops as justification for their chase of the young man before he was shot. As Carr displayed one of the metal-filled bean bags that cops have been firing at crowds during the past several days, he said, "What's next? What kind of answers are we going to get from police officers? What will happen after the funeral is over?"

Carr's questions were answered shortly afterwards. As the church service ended and the motorcade with the hearse drove away from the church, groups of people filled the streets and corners. Many held the funeral program and handmade signs condemning cop violence and calling for justice.

A crowd of 30 or so, some holding signs, marched to the corner of Liberty and Elm streets and stood. Without warning, four police cruisers drove up. Cops got out and began shooting the buckshot-filled bean bags at the protesters. The crowd dispersed as the cops jumped in their cars and sped off.

Three people were injured, including two girls aged seven and 11. A 37-year-old school teacher from Louisville was hospitalized with a cracked rib and bruises to her lung and spleen.

This cop attack quickly drew a crowd of several hundred from the funeral, accompanied by the huge media corps. Participants proceeded to organize an impromptu march

to Taft high school next to the District 1 police station. Immediately, more than 100 cops on horseback, on foot, and in cars blocked the intersection and prevented the demonstration from continuing. Many protesters sat in the street in the ensuing standoff.

Cincinnati Black United Front leader Damon Lynch made his way to the front of the protest and demanded "an explanation" from the police. "We want the names of the officers who fired [on the three victims] and we want them fired," he said.

After 30 minutes, Lynch negotiated with the cops to allow the march to Taft high school to proceed. The march grew to nearly 2,000 as people from an Easter day religious procession joined in.

Cops 'out of control'

As the demonstration continued with chants and calls for justice at every intersection leading to downtown, protesters were greeted by dozens of cops in riot gear. The march stopped at Washington Park for a short rally and wound up at the high school.

As this reporter marched, an Associated Press photographer recounted that to his dismay the cops "were unprovoked" and "shot into a peaceful demonstration. These Cincinnati cops are out of control," he said.

As of April 16 the investigation into the incident by the police chief and the mayor's office is almost completed. Mayor Charles Luken said the chief is "considering reassigning" the cops involved.

Many working people continue to speak out against the racism and injustice they experience. More than 500 jammed a city council meeting April 17. During the five-hour session nearly 70 people testified before the mayor and city council members about cop brutality and discrimination in the city. According to the *New York Times*, the

"complaints included accusations of excessive use of force and racial profiling by the police department, poor housing, and complaints that major cost overruns in the city's new football [stadium] were tolerated while incidental discrepancies in programs for the poor were not."

While three-quarters of the speakers were African Americans, one white woman, Heidi Bruins, a financial manager at Procter and Gamble, described her observations of the post-funeral attack by the cops. The *Times* reports Bruins testified that the officers "shot only at Blacks, adding that she and her companions, all white, were not interfered with."

Keith Fangman, president of the local Fraternal Order of the Police, has defended the action of the cops. Focusing on incidents such as shop windows being broken, Fangman said, "If we give one inch to these terrorists in the form of negotiations, then we've got no one to blame but ourselves when we turn into another Detroit or Washington, D.C."

On April 12 the mayor declared a state of emergency in the city and instituted a curfew. More than 852 people have been arrested since then. Mayor Luken lifted his citywide curfew after five days, but did not end the state of emergency that gives him powers to reinstate a curfew and impose restrictions on the population at any time.

A grand jury scheduled to convene to hear arguments on whether to indict Stephen Roach, the cop who shot Thomas, has been postponed. A police video of the killing has yet to be released. Some city police cruisers are equipped with video cameras.

Osborne Hart is a meat packer and member of UFCW Local 876 in Detroit. Chris Hoepfner, Bobbi Sack, and Carl Sack also contributed to this article.



Militant/Osborne Hart
Timothy Thomas's mother, Angela Leisure speaking at April 16 meeting.

Cuban youth leaders visit Cincinnati

BY VAL LIBBY

CINCINNATI—Cuban youth leaders Yanelis Martínez and Javier Dueñas visited this city April 16 on invitation of University of Cincinnati Professor Lloyd Engelbrecht and a student organization at the college in order to discuss "Youth and Cuba Today" with youth, students, and academics here.

As Martínez and Dueñas were completing three weeks of speaking engagements on invitation of university students, faculty, and departments in several states, protests erupted in Cincinnati after policeman Stephen Roach gunned down an unarmed, 19-year-old Black youth, Timothy Thomas.

During their day in the city, the two Cuban youth leaders met Valerie Rawls, 31, an Over-the-Rhine resident, who guided the Cubans to the alley where Thomas was killed. An impromptu memorial of flowers and messages marks the spot. Rawls expressed what many feel when she said, "It was wrong. He was murdered by the police for traffic violations."

Veteran civil rights leader Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth invited Martínez and Dueñas to his church for a discussion. Shuttlesworth led the fight for desegregation in Birmingham, Alabama, in the 1950s and 1960s, and helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He was beaten dozens of times by Klansmen and others and arrested more than 30 times during these struggles.

When asked to compare his experience in the civil rights movement to what was happening in Cincinnati today, he told the Cuban visitors, "It's the same thing. Our system has not changed sufficiently. I've been leading demonstrations against police brutality here for 25 years."

"In Birmingham," he said, "when the police or government officials spoke, it was the Klan speaking. Here today, you have the Klan mentality, without the sheets or robes, at all levels of government. You have racism."

When Dueñas asked if he had a message for them to bring back to Cuba, Shuttlesworth replied, "Keep in mind that violence in and of itself will not win. Cities are prepared to deal with violence...we have a state of emergency and a curfew imposed. They majored in violence. But we are stronger armed with the truth and faith. We must join together in civil disobedience of large enough numbers that we can actually dis-



Militant
Valerie Rawls, left, shows Cuban youth leaders Yanelis Martínez and Javier Dueñas the memorial that has been made where Timothy Thomas was killed by the cops.

rupt the system."

T.J. Brown, a member of the Cincinnati Black United Front and of United Auto Workers Local 647 at the GE jet engine plant here, sat down with Martínez and Dueñas to fill them in on activities of his group and the events around the death of Timothy Thomas. "The youth are tired of waiting for the judicial system to work," Brown said. "They are tired of being stopped, harassed, beaten, and killed for no reason. They are tired of deplorable housing and dilapidated schools, while millions are spent on new sports stadiums and the downtown."

Hundreds of people, a large number of them youth, turned out that night for a Youth Forum. After a panel of youth and community leaders made brief opening remarks Angela Leisure, the mother of Timothy Thomas, was the first to speak from the floor.

Leisure captured the sentiment of the crowd as she said, "I didn't listen enough to Timothy before he died. But I hear the young people now. They say, 'By any means necessary'...they felt they had to do something. I've lost my son. I don't want anyone else to lose a child. My son was not bad. He

had no felonies.

"I'm still asking for peace," she said, "but everybody is sitting back and waiting for the grand jury. We're sitting on a powder keg waiting to see what they do. They're trying to take the focus off the person who was murdered, my son. But he was not the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth! Let's not give them an excuse to beat us down and take away any more from us," Leisure said. "So let's see what the grand jury says. Let's see if this officer will be held accountable just like we would be. But don't ask me to hold down the anger I will feel if they don't."

Leisure added, "All those other police officers are chasing our youth down, and the youth are tired. This is not a Black and white issue; it's a police issue. The police were provoking peaceful protesters right after my son's funeral. They wanted to start it all over again."

After Leisure spoke dozens of young people came up to the open microphone to explain their experiences and voice their demands.

May Day Marches for Workers' Rights Tues. May 1

NEW YORK Amnesty for all Immigrants —Present and Future

12:00 Noon—Rally and concert at Union Square at 17th St. and Broadway. **3:30 p.m.**—March to garment district. **4:30 p.m.**—Meet at 36 St. & 8th Ave. March to IMF building. **4:00-7:00 p.m.**—Rally at IMF building. 44th St. and 2nd Ave.

Sponsored by Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty. For more information: (212) 473-3936 or 633-7108.

Newark, New Jersey March for Immigrant Rights 3:30 p.m.—Rally at Federal Building. 970 Broad St.

For more information: (973) 643-1924 or 622-6448.

New Haven, Connecticut 15th annual May Day Celebration on New Haven Green. 12-5 p.m. For more information: (203) 776-2170 or 562-2798

'First we'll sink their ships, then we'll

Fidel Castro's battle orders show how Cuban revolutionary forces were le

As part of celebrating the 40th anniversary of Cuba's victory at the Bay of Pigs over a U.S.-organized invasion, we are reprinting excerpts from the orders issued by Cuban commander-in-chief Fidel Castro to officers in the field during the April 17-19, 1961, battle.

The full transcript of Castro's orders, previously classified, was among the documents publicly released by the Cuban government and made available at the U.S.-Cuba conference on "Playa Girón: 40 Years Later," held in Havana March 22-24. In chronological order as the battle unfolded, the transcript includes all the orders that Castro issued by phone or in person, as well as written instructions.

The article below provides background to the unfolding of the battle and some of the references made by Castro.

The new Pathfinder book *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas* contains a detailed account by José Ramón Fernández of these events. Playa Girón (Girón Beach), where the main group of mercenaries surrendered, is the name by which the battle is known in Cuba.

The following selection of excerpts appeared in the March 25 issue of *Juventud Rebelde*, newspaper of Cuba's Union of Young Communists (UJC). The translation and annotation are by the *Militant*.



Fidel Castro with Cuban combatants at battle of Bay of Pigs. Record of his instructions to officers shows decisiveness of Cuba's revolutionary leadership and its confidence in the ranks.

April 17, 1961

8:05 a.m.—To Fernández, Australia sugar mill: You must clear out the [enemy] paratroopers first, and then advance on the enemy and keep advancing....

8:13 a.m.—To Pepín: ...Okay, go and fight those isolated paratroopers, who are doomed to die.... Use the militia force you

have against them.... Filiberto will advance through Girón and the battalion you sent with Tomashevich. Then those people should advance toward Girón from Juraguá.... Don't let the enemy escape....

8:20 a.m.—To Del Valle (personally): Order Pedrito Miret to use university students to mobilize at least 12 of the 122 mm. cannon in the direction of the Australia mill,

to position them along the coast.... The anti-aircraft defense must be prepared. Two Sea Fury planes on the anti-aircraft landing strip, for air defense against the B-26s. Have them ready by tomorrow. These planes are arriving this afternoon, fast, and should provide cover for our forces. Today we're going to sink ships, tomorrow we're going to shoot down planes....

8:26 a.m.—To Curbelo, FAR: ...Sink ships, damn it! You have to sink a bunch of ships! Come on, give them fire!...

8:33 a.m.—To Fernández, Australia mill: ...A lot of anti-aircraft artillery is headed over there. Don't worry about it, that's where we're going to give them the biggest battle. So more troops are going there, with battalions from Havana bringing up the rear.... How is everyone's morale? Okay, great, talk to you later.

8:48 a.m.—To Raúl Castro: So far, I think you've missed out on the fun, but you should be alert.... They've landed in the south. I can't give you details, I shouldn't give details, but you guys be alert, around the Sierra [Maestra] and all around there, but I think they've concentrated them over here, you see. Okay, good luck. Talk to you later.

8:58 a.m.—To Curbelo, FAR: ...The ships haven't retreated yet? You have to keep shooting at them with everything you've got. Yes, we have to avenge that *compañero* they shot down, we have to avenge him, *compañero*....

9:09 a.m.—To Covadonga [sugar mill]: ...Call Aguada de Pasajeros. I'm going to call and have them send reinforcements over there. Resist bravely there, *compañeros*....

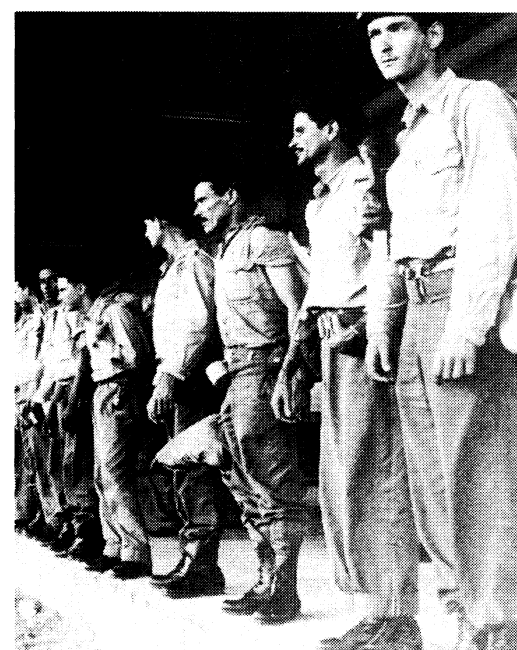
9:18 a.m.—To Fernández, Australia mill: ...You have to hold the highway from the Australia mill on down. The artillery will arrive, there, with a clean cannon blast. Don't worry, we'll take that highway with a clean cannon blast. Make sure not to concentrate the troops too much.... Try to hold the beachhead from Australia to the [Zapata] swamp, hold it at all cost, so we can maintain a beachhead on the swamp side. That's very important, so we can then take the highway and hold on to it from there to the swamp. Send the troops scattered....

9:25 a.m.—To Curbelo, FAR: Hey, Curbelo, you need to see if there's a jet available, to cover our troops over the highway from Australia to Sopllillar, where there's a B-26 messing with us....

9:40 a.m.—To Fernández, Australia mill: ...We've been harassing the ships non-stop. They were trying to land, and we were sinking them.... Dig trenches. When they run into the people from the Militias they'll be screwed....

9:42 a.m.—To Curbelo, FAR: ...We'll keep up the attack on the ships, yes, but we'll use the Sea Furies to cover Fernández's advance, starting today, toward Pálpite....

9:49 a.m.—To del Valle (personally).



Revolutionary militias mobilize to the battle front to combat U.S.-organized invasion.

How the April 17-19, 1961, battle unfolded

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

On April 15, 1961, as a prelude to an imminent invasion of Cuba planned by the John F. Kennedy administration, eight planes from the U.S.-organized Brigade 2506 launched simultaneous bombing raids against three airfields—in Santiago de Cuba, San Antonio de los Baños, and Havana. In their unsuccessful attempt to destroy Cuba's handful of combat aircraft on the ground, the attackers used Pentagon-supplied B-26 bombers bearing counterfeit insignia of Cuba's Revolutionary Air Force.

Following the assault, Fidel Castro,

Cuba's prime minister and commander-in-chief, immediately mobilized all revolutionary military units and placed them on alert. The next day, hundreds of thousands of working people marched in a funeral procession for those killed in the bombing. Castro addressed the huge crowd, pointing to the socialist character of the Cuban Revolution.

Central leaders of the revolution were sent to take command of the revolutionary armed forces in different regions of the island: Raúl Castro, minister of the revolutionary armed forces, went to Oriente province in the east and Ernesto Che Guevara to Pinar del Río province in the west. Juan Almeida was in Las Villas province, where he had recently been placed in command of the Central Army.

Washington organized an armed invasion force of 1,500 counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles—which included a large number of former military officers and henchmen of the Batista dictatorship, big landowners, and wealthy merchants—who had undergone months of military training in U.S. camps in Central America and elsewhere.

Mercenaries were well-equipped

Brigade 2506 was armed with heavy artillery, five Sherman tanks, 10 armored cars equipped with machine guns, 16 B-26 bombers, five armed naval freighters, and nine landing craft. They were backed up by a U.S. Navy escort including an aircraft carrier, five destroyers, and several other ships and submarines.

The invasion took place at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast, an isolated area surrounded by swampland across which there were only three roads. The site was selected to allow the mercenaries to establish a beachhead, which could then be used to declare a "provisional government" and call for military support from Washington and its regional allies. At the initiative of the CIA, a "Cuban Revolutionary Council" with José Miró Cardona as the nominal president, had been set up to become such a provisional regime.

The first mercenaries disembarked at Playa Larga and Playa Girón in the early morning hours of April 17, and were immediately confronted by revolutionary militia members. Brigade 2506 paratroopers were dropped on the Yaguaramas and Covadonga roads as well as the road to the Australia sugar mill, with the aim of preventing access by the revolutionary forces

to the beachhead.

Combatants from Cuba's militias, Revolutionary National Police, and Rebel Army were mobilized to the battlefield. Castro ordered Capt. Raúl Curbelo, head of the fledgling Revolutionary Air Force (FAR), to have a number of fighter planes in the air before dawn, both to avoid being bombed on the ground and to attack the enemy naval fleet. The Cuban combat planes were largely old British-made Sea Furies and U.S.-manufactured B-26s that were taken over from the former Batista regime.

By the end of the first day of the battle, the Cuban pilots had sunk two transport ships, the *Río Escondido* and the *Houston*, and one landing craft, leading the other ships to move further offshore. They had shot down four B-26s and damaged another two.

The Cuban air force lost two planes. By targeting their ships, the revolutionary forces cut off the mercenaries' transport and supply lines, as well as their escape route, and were able to rapidly isolate and crush them.

Capt. José Ramón Fernández headed the main Cuban column in the battle. The Australia sugar mill became the forward command post. Troops under his command advanced south, taking the town of Pálpite and then Playa Larga on April 18, as the enemy retreated. Other columns advanced from Yaguaramas and the Covadonga sugar mill toward the town of San Blas, with heavy fighting along the way.

By the end of the day on April 18, the counterrevolutionaries had been dealt heavy blows and were rapidly becoming demoralized, although fighting continued. On the morning of the 19th, the town of San Blas, held by the mercenary forces, fell, as the revolutionary columns converged on Playa Girón from all three roads.

By the afternoon of April 19, the main counterrevolutionary force was bottled up on Girón beach. The Cuban forces shelled the small landing craft to prevent the mercenaries from being evacuated. At 5:30 p.m., the invaders surrendered. Of the 1,500 Brigade 2506 members, almost 1,200 were taken prisoner, while 114 were killed. About 150 revolutionary Cuban combatants were killed in combat.

The U.S.-organized invasion had been defeated in less than 72 hours by Cuba's workers and farmers.

Cuban revolutionary officers at Playa Girón

The following are some of the names of officers of Cuba's revolutionary armed forces that are mentioned in Fidel Castro's instructions:

Capt. José Ramón Fernández: Commanded the main column of the revolutionary Cuban forces at the Bay of Pigs.

Capt. José "Pepín" Alvarez Bravo: Chief of Cuba's anti-aircraft defense.

Commander Filiberto Olivera Moya: Led Cuban forces from the Covadonga sugar mill through San Blas to Playa Girón.

Commander Raúl Menéndez Tomashevich: Led Cuban troops from Yaguaramas to Cocodrilo.

Commander Sergio del Valle: Chief of staff of Cuba's armed forces.

Commander Pedro Miret: Commanded artillery units on road from the Covadonga mill.

Capt. Raúl Curbelo: head of Cuba's Revolutionary Air Force (FAR).

Commander Augusto Martínez: was stationed at the command post at the Australia sugar mill when Fernández left. Served as a key liaison between Fidel Castro and Fernández and other officers in the battlefield.

Commander Efigenio Ameijeiras: Head of the Revolutionary National Police, which fought at the Bay of Pigs.

Harold Ferrer: Headed the Special Combat Column 1, which participated in taking Playa Larga.

down their planes'

d to victory at the Bay of Pigs

You have to give Fernández cover. That's very important, because then we're going to retake Girón....

9:55 a.m.—To Fernández, Australia mill: ...I'm going to guarantee you cover until you have Pálpite secured. Go to the highway and hang on to Pálpite—that's very important. Then I'll keep the air cover for as long as you need it there....

12:47 p.m.—You clear out anything that moves from Playa Larga to Girón, and then the same thing on the highway from Girón, and from there to near Cayo Ramona—everything that moves, and then you come back....

12:55 p.m.—To [Cuban president Osvaldo] Dorticós: ...The ships are retreating.... Now we're going to shoot at anything that moves over there....

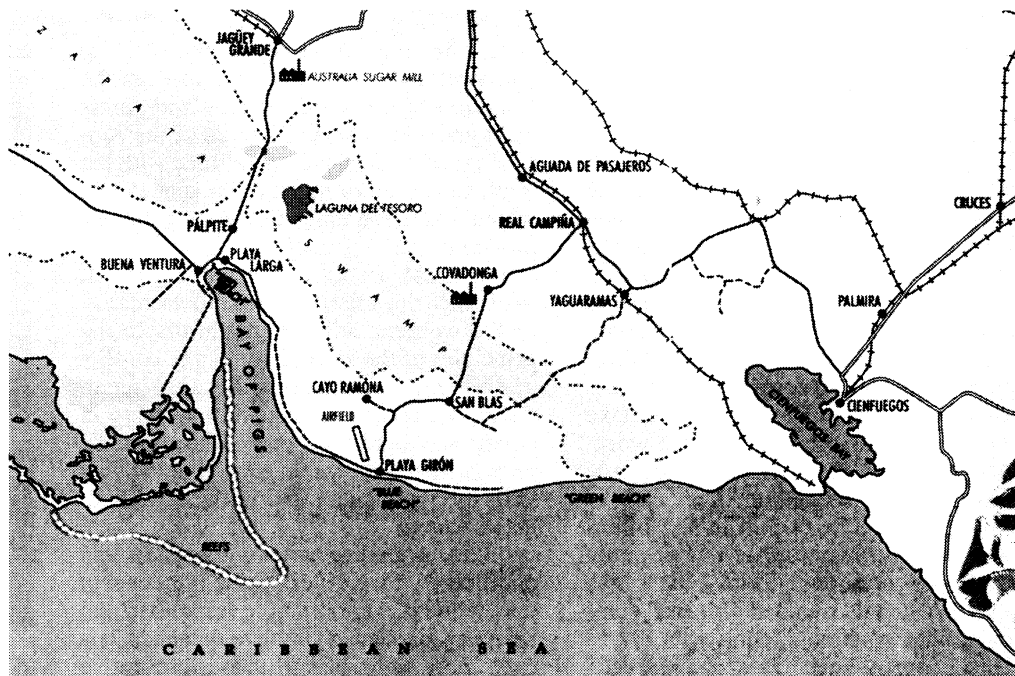
13:02—To Raúl: Hey, Miró Cardona is insisting there's been a landing in Oriente.... Just in case...you have to use a lot of anti-tank forces.... Hey, Raúl, there's a lot of anti-aircraft at the airport.... We can prob-

April 19, 1961

To Roger: Lt. Ermes will explain the column's mission to you in detail. You guys should leave as soon as Ermes arrives. Take the same route as the 111th Battalion; from there cut off the highway from Cayo Ramona to Girón and set up an ambush on that highway to keep the enemy in San Blas from retreating toward Girón, which is where the rest of their troops are.

Today we're attacking San Blas and they'll try to keep advancing as far as they can. When they make contact with the 111th, they must get the latest information on the situation. Your primary mission: to divide the enemy forces in two. It's a simple, easy operation. It's very important to avoid any confusion. Regards, Fidel.

5:52—To del Valle: We have to use the anti-aircraft units. See if we can shoot down one of those American planes.



Map of area shows many of the key sites in the battle referred to in Castro's directives

it down? Great! That's an early blow to them. We've shot down another one of theirs at 6:20; we're off to a good start.... No, devastate the enemy.... shoot with as many cannon as you can—remember, at the "Y," because they have to retreat through there.... hit them with one shot, or 20 cannon blasts....

9:07—To del Valle: I think all of our dead should be fingerprinted.... I think the most important thing of all is helping their families. We have to work on the pension law and the "Revolutionary Hero" medal. We've got to check with Dorticós on that.

9:12—To Ameijeiras: ...You have to bomb hard, you have to destroy...damn it, they're going to land and evacuate all the ring leaders.... Tell Fernández he has to fire off a lot of cannon there. Tell him not to be shooting isolated shots, he needs to unleash a barrage of fire.

9:35—To Augusto, Yaguarama: ...Give them 100 or 200 mortar rounds, but don't take the town. What you should do instead is set up a siege from where you are to the swamp and surround all of that, so that nobody gets away.... Surround them at a 1-kilometer radius.... I'm not telling you to take it, because the tanks will do that....

9:50—To Miret: ...Keep shooting until 11:00. A lot of cannon blasts. Our troops are 2 kilometers from Cayo Ramona.... I recommend that in the meantime you step up the cannon fire.... Once you're at the crossroads, throw all of the anti-aircraft batteries and tanks at them, and everybody goes to attack Playa Girón....

11:40—To Junco, at Covadonga: ...Tell Pedro to position all the howitzers in San Blas and start firing there, toward Bermeja and Helechal... carpeting the entire road.... You have to get to Helechal and the Cayo Ramona crossroads as quickly as possible....

11:50—To Tomashevich: ...Set up a siege there where you are. If you want, you can get closer, but set up a siege so that when they flee you catch all of them, because

they're going to flee there. You have to form a pocket, not on the highway, but a pocket opening up to the highway, going from the highway toward Girón and Covadonga. In short, set up a pocket on that corner, because anyone fleeing will fall into your hands.

11:55—Covadonga mill: ...I've given the planes instructions to machine-gun the highway from Playa Girón to the advance guard point at Aragonés....

12:06—To Augusto, Australia: ...Tell Haroldo to get two boys who know how to shoot antitank grenades.... We have to send them with the limp man...with 10 antitank grenades each.... They should go to Yaguarama, where Tomashevich will be waiting for them and he'll tell them where they have to take the two boys....

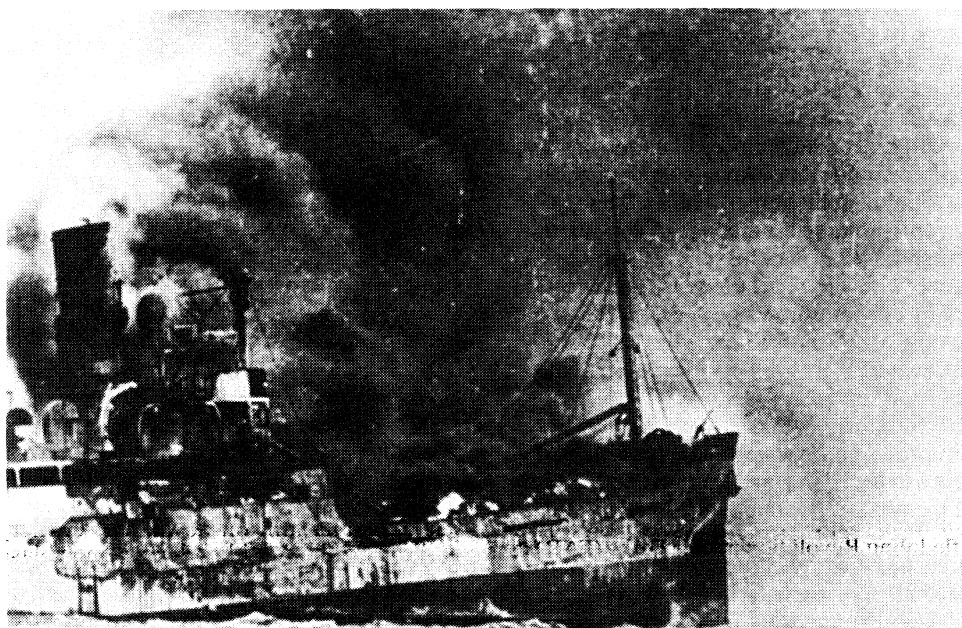
12:15—To Tomashevich: ...Don't let the cannon wander around over there; have them return to their battery...and don't let any tanks get close.... You have to hit a tank from the side, let it pass and shoot it in the flank. Surround it and don't let anybody escape.

12:50—To Curbelo, FAR: ...The only concern is the tanks.... get over to the junction, over there, to demoralize them.

13:00—Covadonga mill: ...Our infantry shouldn't advance in trucks, except for light infantry going behind the tanks.... We don't want them to be machine-gunning the truck column. They should advance on foot, along the edge of the brush, to prevent attacks on the truck columns.

13:48—To Curbelo, FAR: ...Bomb heavily next to Girón, in the area of the airport.... Give them a strong attack with everything you've got. Tell them not to stop the artillery bombing.

14:43—To del Valle: ...We're going to position the cannon to carry out an artillery barrage 1 kilometer offshore.... We have to use a lot of howitzer fire on the beach.... Tell Fernández not to let them sleep tonight. The bombing must happen at night.



The *Houston*, one of the mercenaries' transport ships, burns after being hit by ace Cuban pilot Enrique Carreras. Cuba's fledgling revolutionary air force also shot down many of the counterrevolutionaries' B-26 bombers.

ably go ahead and send you the air force [which] has performed marvelously well.... The little boats that had been messing with us were leaving....

13:06—To Santa Clara: It's Fidel.... How's it going? ...We're advancing on Playa Larga.... Yes, Pálpite's in our hands.... I think everything will be free of the enemy by tomorrow....

7:00 p.m.—[Note to Fernández]: "I've decided to send the other 12 howitzers and support them with two multiple machine-gun batteries plus one anti-aircraft artillery battery, because I think it's extremely important to open up an infernal barrage. Try to fire with as many howitzers as possible....—Fidel, Australia mill.

April 18, 1961

3:00 a.m.—[Note to Fernández]: "I'm taking care of the cannon ammunition. The other tanks will get to Australia at dawn. During the day we'll decide on the best time to move them. Augusto will stay at the Australia mill. I'll have to leave for Havana in a little while. I will be in constant communication with you guys. Send me continuous updates during the operations. Onward! Fidel.

P.S. I still haven't heard any news since that slip of paper where you told me that the enemy was no longer firing as heavily.

8:30 a.m.—To Ameijeiras: ...The only thing that can happen is if our attack is devastating and we pass them, we get ahead, but otherwise, your move will prove demoralizing.... We have to tell Camp Managua to prepare Roger's column....

8:58 a.m.—...Tell Fernández to attack with howitzers, but to start right away. It doesn't matter how long the tanks take. He has to start thrashing those guys.... he shouldn't wait for anybody.... he shouldn't stop attacking those guys for even a minute....

6:07—To Pedro Miret: ...Don't shoot at Cayo Ramona, shoot at the intersection, where the highway forms a "Y." On your way back from Girón, hit the "Y." Well, shoot at the planes every time they get close to there.... I estimate that Gordo should be in San Blas by no later than 10:00 in the morning.... What happened? Did you shoot down the plane?... Well, congratulations, damn, congratulations.... And keep shooting. Go for it. Excellent! Let Fernández know, fast....

6:20—Covadonga mill: Did you shoot

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Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces

Interviews with Cuban generals Néstor López Cuba, Enrique Carreras, José Ramón Fernández, and Harry Villegas. Through the stories of these outstanding revolutionaries—three of them leaders of the Cuban forces at the Bay of Pigs that defeated the invaders within 72 hours—we can see the class dynamics that have shaped our entire epoch. We can understand how the people of Cuba, as they struggle to build a new society, have for more than 40 years held Washington at bay. With an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. In English and Spanish. \$15.95.

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Unions in Cuba fight social inequalities

Reprinted below is the third and final part of the Theses submitted for discussion and adoption at the 18th national congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC), Cuba's trade union federation, which will take place in Havana April 28-30. The first 68 theses of the document were printed in the previous two issues of the *Militant*.

Over the past several months, hundreds of thousands of workers across the island have discussed the CTC Theses in factory assemblies and other workplace meetings in preparation for the congress.

The earlier parts of this document take up the central importance of Cuban workers strengthening their active political role in defense of the revolution. They call for the union movement to join in an "offensive of revolutionary ideas" to promote what Cuban president Fidel Castro has called "a general, rounded culture," reinforcing Cuba's national identity.

The document notes that Cuba has been gradually recovering from the worst years of the economic crisis known as the Special Period, precipitated in the early 1990s by the collapse in trade at preferential prices with the former Soviet bloc countries. For the last decade the Cuban people have faced far more directly the unequal trade relations and exploitation imposed through the world capitalist market.

The Theses explain that the Special Period continues, however, and that the union movement must fight to counteract the social inequalities that have increased. The trade unions must work for "greater efficiency and increased production and services" in order to maximize resources available to meet social needs; giving priority to "families with very low incomes, including retired people, elderly people living alone, and single mothers"; and workers taking the initiative in their workplaces to combat theft and corruption.

The translation is by the *Militant*, as are the footnotes and text in brackets. Subheads are from the original document in Spanish.

The union organization

69. In our socialist society, unions play a dual role: they represent their members, defending their rights in relation to management; and they act to promote the values, duties, and norms that workers must fulfill to improve the functioning of the workplace. This dual role is based on the fact that we as workers are both the employees and the owners.

70. As such, we see our role as a counterpart to management in a mutually constructive and demanding relationship. To fulfill that role, we need a growing number of local union organizations that are capable of functioning effectively. We need a union that works with everyone, every single day, and that in its daily work acts on the basis that it is by and for the workers. This mission is carried out above all at the local union level, which is where the real existence of the union is determined.

71. The role of the collective labor contract is irreplaceable in strengthening labor, technical, and production discipline, and in shaping the correct policies of our socialist

state, aimed at improving workers' living and working conditions. It embodies the principle that responsibilities and rights must go hand in hand. The role of the contract takes on decisive importance with the implementation of improved management, which confers greater powers on the administration.¹

We must also, to the same extent, strengthen the union's role as representative of the workers, adhering faithfully to the principles of the revolution, in any conflict of difference of opinion with management.

72. The contract is equally necessary in enterprises that are not part of the improved management process, in entities associated with foreign capital, and in the state-budgeted sector.²

73. In responding to labor grievances and conflicts, we have developed the concept that, while it is important to respond to and reach an adequate solution to demands, it is even more important to take a preventive approach, which contributes to the stability and cohesion of the workforce. The aim of the union's work is for workers to appeal to the local body of labor justice only in cases where the conflict cannot be resolved beforehand.

74. Over the past few years, even with the enormous efforts that have been devoted, the Special Period has limited the ability to meet workers' health and safety needs on the job. Today, when signs of economic recovery are evident, this issue requires more priority in the resources allotted by the enterprises. It is particularly important to demand that industries that today are being revived and are making new investments include in their budgets workers' health and safety, protective equipment, adequate ventilation and lighting on the job, as well as work clothes, uniforms, and footwear. In particular, the congress must call for continuing to promote the movement for protected areas.

75. When we speak of comprehensive attention, we are referring both to improving living and working conditions, as well as achieving a deep sense of belonging to the workforce, motivation to work better, and recognition of workers' contributions and merit.

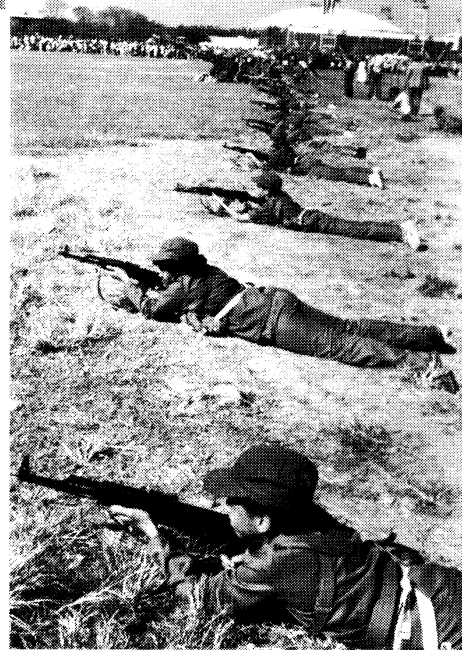
76. In this framework, we need to promote solutions that can increase housing construction, repair, and maintenance—and, in particular, revive the minibrigade movement, where the availability of resources permits and where it is possible and necessary to do so. It means gradually generalizing the experiences of the Cayo Hueso Plan in the capital and other cities.³

77. In particular, the unions of agricultural and forestry workers, sugar workers, tobacco workers, and civilian employees of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] will continue to promote housing programs carried out with the involvement of the workers needing housing and the labor power of each place, as a viable solution to stabilize the workforce in the UBPCs,⁴ farms, sugar refineries, and other rural entities.

78. The union movement will continue to combat any discrimination against women in the idling of workers and in the process of labor reorganization.



Above, Militant/Henry Lieberg; right, Granma
Above, garment shop in Havana. Right, young women of the Territorial Troop Militias during Day of Defense target practice. Cuban unionists are discussing steps to advance women's participation in all spheres of social activity, from creating more child-care facilities to giving priority to women in filling leadership positions.



79. The reduced capacity of child-care centers has forced many women workers to pay substantial amounts of money to private individuals to care for their children.

Besides the financial effect, it means leaving children's education and health care to people who do not always have the necessary training or resources. The union movement will promote the creation of conditions to extend—wherever possible, and in compliance with the regulations of the ministries of education and public health—the opening of child-care facilities in workplaces where there are working mothers who need such services.

80. Similarly, we must continue to fight to improve and increase the presence of women in leadership positions in enterprises and the rest of the state-owned sector.

81. Correct decisions by different institutions to give priority to women in filling leadership positions, when they have adequate ability and training, are not enough. Nor should these be imposed through administrative methods. Such a just allocation of responsibilities should be the result of removing obstacles that still weigh against women's opportunities for promotion.

82. This requires sponsoring the enrollment of women in courses, assigning them increasingly complex responsibilities, creating the best possible conditions for performing their jobs, making available services and items that help free them from household chores, and exercising the influence and authority of the union movement to achieve these goals. These are responsibilities that union leaders, men and women, accept together.

83. There are still formalistic and me-

chanical approaches being used that turn socialist emulation⁵ into schemas. This makes it necessary to keep combating systematically any tendency that distorts its role, and to design it based on the features of each place.

84. Organizing socialist emulation is a responsibility shared by management and the local union, which, by mutual agreement, help establish collective and individual pledges that are concrete, clear, and measurable, and which set parameters to efficiently meet plans for production, services, teaching, and research. Indicators alien to these goals should not be used.

85. Above all, the protagonists should be workers and workplaces that fulfill their obligations. Any incentive offered should correspond to a concrete achievement, combining moral and material forms of recognition.

86. We reaffirm the principled position of not offering any incentive or recognition to workplaces that divert or steal material resources due to weak internal controls and lack of vigilance, or due to not

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Mass demonstration in Quito, Ecuador, January 21 against government's austerity policies. CTC resolution highlights centrality of Cuban Revolution's support to struggles by working people worldwide against exploitation and oppression.

¹Improved management, or *perfeccionamiento empresarial*, is the term used for various reforms being implemented in an increasing number of Cuban enterprises. A range of important management policies that have previously been determined by national legislation, or have been subject to strict regulation by the responsible government ministry—such as wage scales, the number of workers employed, the hours worked, and enterprise responsibility for training—are now being determined, to a greater degree, enterprise by enterprise.

These policies are subject to discussion and agreement between management and the union at the workplace. Greater initiative by workers and management, increased efficiency, and eliminating government subsidies to less productive enterprises are among the goals.

For a discussion of the improved management system, see article "Cuban workers discuss reforms in factory management" by Jonathan Silberman and Mary-Alice Waters, in the June 5, 2000, issue of the *Militant*.

² The state-budgeted sector includes schools, medical facilities, social services, and government agencies. These will not go through the same process of reorganization as the industries adopting the improved management reforms.

³ The minibrigades are volunteer construction brigades, composed primarily of workers and others who have volunteered to be released from their regular jobs for a period of time,

receiving the wage they had been getting in their regular occupation, in order to build housing, child-care centers, schools, clinics, and other badly needed social projects. They are often joined by students, housewives, retirees, and others who volunteer to work evenings and weekends after completing their regular jobs. Through most of the 1990s, the severe shortages and other conditions of the Special Period put a sharp brake on the organization of these minibrigades, which had expanded rapidly into a genuine social movement during the latter half of the 1980s.

Cayo Hueso is one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city of Havana. The government has worked with residents there to provide building materials as they organize brigades to build new housing.

⁴ The Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPC) are agricultural cooperatives that resulted from the reorganization of the large state farms in 1993-94. UBPC members are organized by the CTC. They own and sell what they produce, but the land they work remains nationalized.

⁵ Emulation is a form of fraternal contest among cooperating groups of workers to see which factory or enterprise can produce the most, with the greatest productivity and of the highest quality. The opposite of competition among individual workers—the dog-eat-dog condition of life and work under capitalism—emulation is only possible when workers are producing for themselves, not for exploiters.

Miami event discusses Bay of Pigs victory

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2506 that invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.

John Due, a lawyer who is on the executive board of the Miami-Dade NAACP; Rafael Cancel Miranda, a Puerto Rican independence fighter who served more than a quarter century in U.S. jails for his political activities; and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of its latest book, *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, were also on the panel.

Sponsors from Miami included Florida International University professors Ronald Cox and Jean Rahier; the Antonio Maceo Brigade; Association of Workers in the Community (ATC); Alianza Martiana, a recently formed loose organization of Cuban-Americans who oppose all or aspects of current U.S. policy toward Cuba; Veye Yo, a Haitian rights organization; Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice; Jewish Cultural Center of Miami Beach; Lumer-Robeson Club of the Communist Party USA; Rescate Cultural Afro-Cubano; and the Socialist Workers Party.

Some rethinking views on Cuba

Present in the audience were many longtime supporters of the Cuban Revolution. Also participating, however, were a substantial number of Cuban-Americans rethinking their earlier attitude toward revolutionary Cuba and U.S. policy against it. These included two dozen Cubans associated with the Alianza Martiana. This group was founded here in January at a meeting of 200. Its manifesto states that the organization "opposes Washington's policy towards Cuba" and its ranks are open "to all Cubans residing outside the island, regardless of their political or ideological positions, be they backing the revolution or having differences with the Cuban government."

Opening the program were Martínez and Dueñas from Cuba. Martínez, 23, is a law student in Havana and a leader of the Federation of University Students (FEU) of Cuba. Dueñas, 28, teaches journalism at the University of Havana and is a leader of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba.

Speaking about the generation of Cubans she and Dueñas are part of, Martínez said, "We were born blockaded," in reference to the four-decade-long U.S. trade ban against Cuba. "Neither I nor Javier had the privilege of being a combatant at Playa Girón," she pointed out, using the name with which the Bay of Pigs battle is known in Cuba.

In response to several questions about Blacks in Cuba, Dueñas explained that in Cuba "rights don't have to do with the color of your skin." The 1959 revolution eliminated legal segregation and uprooted institutionalized racism.

But there is a legacy of racism from the days before the revolution, he continued. However, unlike in the United States, the Cuban government promotes programs aimed at eliminating these inequalities, such as an ongoing campaign to organize brigades of youth to go to the poorest neighborhoods to learn about the social problems there and collaborate with residents to confront and begin to resolve them, Dueñas explained.

News of Bay of Pigs in U.S. prison

Another panel of speakers concentrated on the "Impact of Playa Girón in the Americas." Puerto Rican independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda said he was in a U.S. prison when news arrived that the Cuban people had defeated the mercenaries at Playa Girón. "It gave us confidence that we could fight and win, too," he explained.

"It had seemed like the United States was invincible, but Playa Girón and Vietnam showed that was not true."

The Bay of Pigs was not only a triumph for the Cuban people, he added, "but for all humanity, including the people in the United States."

Pathfinder Press president Mary-Alice Waters noted that Ernesto Che Guevara, the Argentine-born leader of the Cuban Revolution, had said the imperialists at the Bay of Pigs "failed to measure the relationship of moral forces."

"The U.S. ruling class was not blundering or vacillating," Waters insisted. "The invasion was not something that Kennedy inherited from Eisenhower and just decided to go along with." It was a calculated move to defend the interests of the U.S. rulers by trying to militarily overthrow the young Cuban Revolution and erase the example it

set for millions of toilers around the world.

Understanding the social forces that clashed on the beach of the Bay of Pigs is not an historical exercise, Waters noted, but is about the present and the future. Similar social forces are in motion today, "in the streets of Cincinnati, in the protests in China, in the resistance in Yugoslavia, in Palestine, on the beaches of Vieques, and the mountains of Ecuador."

Noting that Washington's response to the deepening of working-class struggles in the United States is more prisons and more cops, Waters said, "The policy of the U.S. rulers toward Cuba is an extension of their policy toward the working class at home. It's not a Miami exception."

Just as in Cuba, she concluded, "the revolutionary capacities of working people in this country will be thoroughly discounted by the U.S. ruling class, and they will be just as thoroughly wrong."

Changes in last decade

John Due stated that "regardless of the political differences we may have, we have one agenda: Shut down the blockade of Cuba!" He proposed efforts to get organizations like the NAACP to oppose U.S. sanctions on Cuba. Due said he thought it would be effective to campaign against the embargo by arguing that "it's not good business to keep the blockade." He noted, "Ten years ago I would not have accepted an invitation to speak here. It was dangerous to speak out against the opponents of Cuba, especially if you were Cuban."

Due and others at the conference made the point that the political atmosphere in Miami has changed substantially from those days. There is a greater willingness, including in the labor movement, to be associated with opposition to U.S. policy on Cuba. Rightist Cuban-American forces have continued to fracture and weaken.

The final panel of the conference was titled "Impact of Playa Girón on Three Generations." Joining Andrés Gómez and Javier Dueñas at it was Luis Tornés, a former member of Brigade 2506, the U.S.-organized invading force at the Bay of Pigs.

NY meeting marks 1961 Cuban triumph

RÓGER CALERO
AND LUIS MADRID

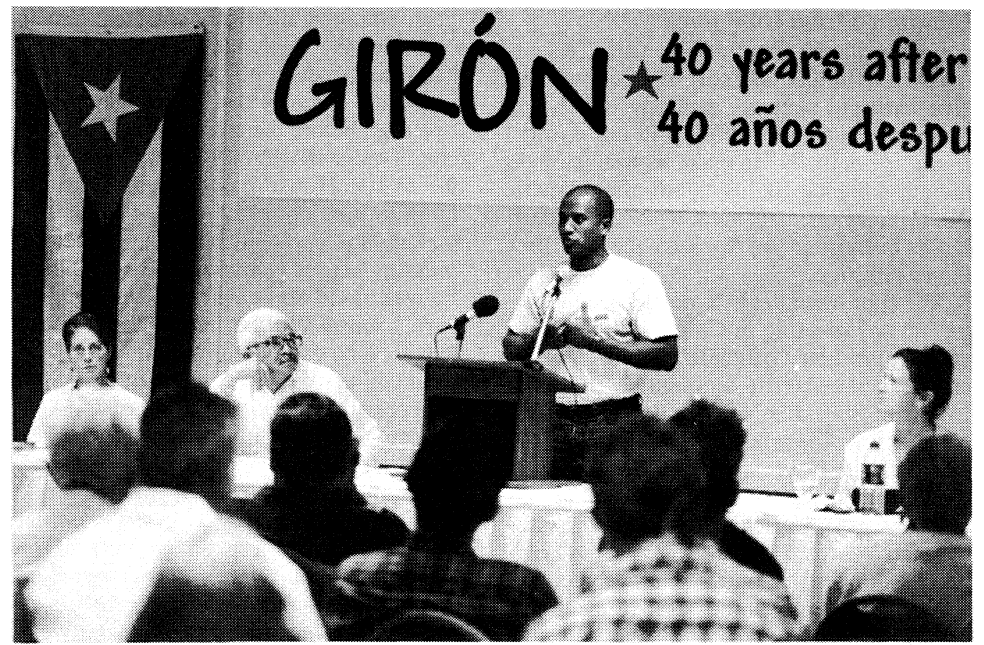
NEW YORK—In a festive atmosphere, close to 200 people jammed a public meeting here April 14 to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Cuba's victory at the Bay of Pigs over a U.S.-organized invasion. It was one of the largest meetings in recent years sponsored by Casa de las Américas, an organization of Cuban-Americans in the New York area who support the revolution.

Luis Miranda, director of Casa de las Américas, noted that apologists for Washington cannot explain how in April 1961 revolutionary Cuba was able to deal such a decisive blow to the most powerful imperialist government in the world. "Many are amazed at how the invasion was crushed in 72 hours," he said. "They forget the numerous gains the Cuban people had made with the revolution," such as the wiping out of illiteracy through a mass mobilization of young volunteer teachers and a sweeping land reform.

The new generations in the United States must learn the truth about these events, Miranda stated, "like the fact that the captured mercenaries were exchanged for baby food and medicine." The 1,179 counterrevolutionaries who surrendered at the Bay of Pigs were convicted of treason and sentenced to 30-year prison terms. The following year the revolutionary government released them in exchange for Washington supplying \$53 million in food, medicine, and medical equipment as partial compensation for the damages inflicted on Cuba.

To warm applause, Miranda welcomed Yanelis Martínez, a leader of Cuba's Federation of University Students, who had just returned from an unprecedented public meeting in Miami, drawing a broad array of forces, that also marked Cuba's victory at the Bay of Pigs.

Also speaking were Bruno Rodríguez, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations; Martín Koppel, editor of the *Militant*; Farouk Abdel Muhti, of the Palestinian National Alliance; Teresa Gutiérrez of the International Action Center; and Carlos Rovira



Militant/Eric Simpson

Cuban youth leader Javier Dueñas speaking at April 14 Miami conference on "Bay of Pigs: 40 Years Later." On the left are two of the panelists, Mary-Alice Waters, coeditor of *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, and longtime Puerto Rican independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda.

Gómez noted that the conference had brought together former leaders of the counterrevolution and supporters of the revolution. "Many of the 'exiles' have been transformed into the 'immigrants,'" he said. Many former supporters of Washington's policy "are confronting the reality in this country and are at least against the U.S. aggression."

For several decades, he pointed out, Miami was the scene of violent terrorism by opponents of the Cuban Revolution. What brought that chapter to a close was "our perseverance in exercising our rights and the high cost they were paying in public opinion."

Some 15 years ago, Luis Tornés broke with the ultrarightists and began opposing U.S. policy toward Cuba, said Gómez. Today, he edits the *Miami Post*, a small newspaper.

Tornés told the audience, "I don't come here to celebrate the defeat at the Bay of Pigs. We were not mercenaries. We were de-

fending honor, dignity, and patriotism."

Tornés said at a certain point he felt he had to choose between Cuba and Jorge Mas Canosa, the now-deceased head of the Cuban American National Foundation, which virulently opposes Cuba's socialist revolution. "I am not a socialist or a communist," Tornés declared. "I am a Fidelista."

Meanwhile, *El Nuevo Herald*, the main Spanish-language daily here published by the *Miami Herald*, featured Cuban youth Martínez and Dueñas in its article on the April 14 conference. The paper, which rarely gives any space to supporters of the Cuban Revolution, quoted Martínez as saying, "The lesson of Girón that the imperialists have not learned is that we are a people united on the side of the revolution."

Cindy Jaquith is a garment worker in Miami. Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

of the Socialist Front. Accompanying Rodríguez at the speakers' platform was Rafael Dausá, Cuba's alternate UN ambassador.

Rodríguez stated that 40 years after defeating the U.S.-directed invasion, the Cuban people continue to stand up to the hostility of the U.S. empire, and today are in an even stronger position to defend their revolution. If Washington ever tries to launch another assault on the island, he said, "We are prepared to inflict another military defeat on imperialism."

Commenting on Washington's drive to get a resolution passed at the UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva condemning Cuba for alleged human rights violations, Rodríguez pointed out that Washing-

ton has no moral authority to lecture others about human rights anywhere in the world.

Koppel pointed to the protests erupting in Cincinnati against the police killing of a Black youth—the 15th such killing since 1995—and the city government's arrest of hundreds of people after imposing a curfew. "It's this kind of daily brutality that Cuban working people put an end to in making a revolution in 1959," he said. "The young people demonstrating in Cincinnati in face of the cops' rubber bullets and arrests will be among those most interested in learning the truth about the Cuban Revolution."

Cuba's socialist revolution, he concluded, "points the way today for a new generation who will not only want to know how the

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Cold war failed against workers states

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the workers states has demonstrated its ability—even within the limits of bourgeois trade union consciousness—to resist the economic and social consequences of the deepening parasitism and bureaucratism of the governing castes.

(a) This resistance, beginning with the Polish workers' uprising in 1980, has triggered the crises that are now ravaging the regimes across Eastern and Central Europe and in the Soviet Union.

(b) The workers of these countries will resist the consequences of moving toward capitalist restoration even more fiercely.

(3) These events confirm the continuing truth of the prognosis advanced by communists in the 1930s. As succinctly put by Trotsky: "As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution. But a victorious revolution is fortunately

not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations. To betray it is not enough. You have to overthrow it. The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overthrown."

3. With the betrayers—who have been the biggest obstacle to strengthening the workers states—either crumbling or on the defensive, and with prospects of a military assault against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe less feasible than ever before, imperialism still confronts the same historic battle, but from a weakened position. Instead of waging a "Cold War" against the petty-bourgeois regimes of the bureaucratic caste, imperialism will have to directly take on and try to defeat the working class in order to overthrow the workers states and reestablish capitalism in Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union.

³Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* (Pathfinder, 1972), pp. 227.

Washington keeps up pressure on China

Continued from front page

the spying missions, what he calls "reconnaissance flights," as "part of a comprehensive national security strategy that helps maintain peace and stability in our world." Bush "is not likely" to make any decision on the surveillance flights "until after American military officials meet with Chinese officials in Beijing" on April 18, the *New York Times* reported.

The eight-member U.S. delegation preparing for the meeting in China will be dominated by military officials, including officers from the Pacific Command, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Navy, and the State Department. At the talks they will demand the return of the Navy spy plane being held at the Chinese military airfield on Hainan Island. "The EP-3 aircraft is United States property. It was worth in excess of \$80 million," Rumsfeld snapped. "That subject will be front and center at the April 18 meetings, just as it has been every single day since the crew landed in China."

The Bush administration has already dismissed Beijing's demand to end the U.S. surveillance flights near its coasts.

'We're going to keep doing it'

Pentagon officials said the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff planned a meeting for April 17 to discuss how to resume the spy flights. "We're going to keep doing it," said Rear Adm. Craig Quigley, a senior Pentagon spokesman. "But...we're not going to announce the schedule or the details how."

The Pentagon has downplayed an April 16 report by the *Washington Post* stating that the USS *Kitty Hawk*, an aircraft carrier that carries 70 fighter jets and is accompanied by several other warships, was sailing toward the South China Sea. The *Post* article said the ship could be ordered to the region where it could "protect the U.S. reconnaissance flights," which could resume the day after the meeting in Beijing. And "depending on the Chinese reaction, the addition of U.S. warplanes to the mix could lead to new confrontations."

An unnamed Pentagon official who denied the report told Reuters, "Of course anything can happen. But there are just no plans to put that carrier in the South China Sea."

The Pentagon considered and began preparing for an assault using "special forces commando units in Japan" to rescue the crew detained for 11 days on Hainan, wrote *Washington Times* reporter Bill Gertz. "Every night—the best time for such raids—the Chinese are placing concrete barriers at either end of the damaged EP-3E aircraft just in case U.S. commandos attack and try to get the intelligence-gathering plane out of the country," Gertz wrote in his "Notes from the Pentagon" column.

A number of rightists and former Repub-

lican administration officials have harshly criticized the Bush administration over its handling of the conflict with Beijing. In a four-page editorial that hit the newsstands two days before the crew was released, the conservative *Weekly Standard* magazine said the White House has brought "national humiliation...upon the United States" by making an "apology" to China. "Even expressing 'regret' would make Bush look like he was afraid and caving to Chinese pressure," stated William Kristol and Robert Kagan, who coauthored the editorial.

In China, the government has sought to suppress outrage of millions of workers, peasants, and students opposed to the U.S. spy flights. The regime barred anti-American protests and posters, but many Internet users in China managed to express their anger at the Chinese government before their comments were quickly removed. According to a number of press reports, remarks like "our government is too weak; we have lost face," and "this shows the Chinese government is incompetent" were reflective of a large number of messages.

Meanwhile, the U.S. big business media's anti-China propaganda has fueled racist caricatures and stereotypes of Chinese people. At a recent convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, a white man performed in a skit dressed in a black wig and thick glasses, impersonating a Chinese official who gestured wildly as he said, "ching, ching, chong, chong." The room full of top editors, predominantly whites, "laughed heartily," wrote Marsha Ginsberg of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Calls for internment of Chinese

Philip Ting, president of the Organization of Chinese Americans in San Francisco, said radio commentators throughout the United States have called for Chinese American internment. "Xenophobic climates lead to persecution, hate crimes, and

murder," he wrote to a radio station in the Bay Area that performed a reactionary spoof of the spy plane conflict.

In the Bay Area, where Asian Americans are 20 percent of the population, more than 90 percent of the callers into two popular Chinese-language radio and television programs expressed opposition to Washington's aggressive actions against China.

Response in United States

"Many Chinese Americans have grown skeptical of the U.S. government, particularly after its investigation of nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee, who was accused of spying for China," Mei Ling Sze, news director for KTSF-TV 26, told the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Lee, who was indicted on 59 counts of espionage and held in solitary confinement, was released after the FBI's case collapsed with no evidence of him committing any crime.

The FBI has begun a new probe against the rights of Chinese people living in the United States, claiming that a "pro-China" group called "Hacker Union of China" may have been responsible for attacking U.S. government and business web sites. "All we are aware of is an intrusion emanating from abroad. We are coordinating with appropriate government agencies," said FBI spokesperson Debbie Weierman.

Washington's escalation of tensions with Beijing points to its long-term goal of overturning the social conquests of the 1949 revolution in China, in which workers and peasants overthrew the landlord-capitalist regime and through massive mobilizations carried out deep-going land reform, established nationalized property relations, state monopoly of foreign trade, and the degree of economic planning that still dominates society there.

Despite its drive by the bureaucratic regime in China to integrate the country into the world capitalist market, the U.S. rulers

will not reconcile themselves to the social relations there, which puts them on a collision course with the workers and peasants in the region. Washington's military pressure on China and neighboring north Korea involves an arsenal of nuclear weapons, naval and air forces, and some 300,000 troops in the U.S. Pacific Command, which includes nearly 60,000 stationed in and near Japan, and 37,000 in south Korea.

The U.S. military encirclement of China also includes support to the government in Taiwan and an effective drifting away from recognizing China's sovereignty over the territory. The *Washington Post* reported that one move contemplated by Washington is "granting visas to prominent Taiwanese politicians to visit or transit in the United States," a move that would be vigorously opposed by China. The U.S. government pledged to downgrade official relations with Taiwan when it established diplomatic relations with Beijing in 1979.

In addition, Washington intends to increase advanced weapons available to Taiwan, including sales of submarines, antisubmarine planes, and Kidd-class destroyers. Plans to arm Taiwan with advanced destroyers equipped with an antimissile system are still on the table.

With the backing of Washington, the capitalist governments in Taiwan and the Philippines have stepped up pressure on China. According to the Reuters news agency, on April 16 Taiwan's president requested the U.S. government provide the regime with more weapons.

That same day the government in the Philippines announced it ordered its air force to "investigate" reports that the Chinese government has built shelters for fishermen on Mischief Reef in the Spratly islands, a cluster of potentially oil-rich isles, reefs, and shoals. Beijing claims sovereignty over the Spratlys, which are also claimed by Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei.

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Speaker: Martin Koppel, editor of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sun., April 29, 4:30 p.m. 372A 53rd Street. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Celebrate the 40th Anniversary of Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas. Speakers: Leslie Salgado, chairperson, Howard County Friends of Latin America; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party; Richard Hazboun, Pathfinder Reprint

Project volunteer. Sat., April 21, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. 3541 14th St. NW. Donation: \$4 for program, \$5 for dinner. Tel: (202) 722-6221.

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—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Rally to Fight for Housing Rights. Thurs., April 26, 12 Noon to 2:00 p.m. *Oakland State Building, 1515 Clay Street.* For more information, call (510) 915-3434.

San Francisco

Vieques Libre! U.S. Navy Out of Vieques. Fri., April 27, 7:15 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. *S.F. Women's Building, 3543 18th St.* For more information, call Comité '98 at (510) 389-5660.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Public Hearing on Security Guard Abuse. Thurs., April 26, 6:00 p.m. *New Galilee Missionary Baptist Church, 11241 Gunston.* For more information, call (313) 521-1248.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

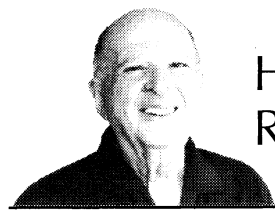
March for Women's Lives. Sun., April 22. Assemble: 11:00 a.m. Senate Park. March: 12 Noon step-off; Rally: 1:00 p.m. near Capitol. *Sponsored by the National Organization for Women.* For more information, call (202) 628-8669.

BRITAIN

London

On the 40th Anniversary of the Cuban Victory at the Bay of Pigs. Celebrate the publication of the new Pathfinder book *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas.* Speakers: Manuel Rubido, First Secretary of the Cuban Embassy; Jonathan Silberman, Pathfinder; representative of the Cuba Solidarity Campaign. Ausp: Pathfinder. Donation: £2. Tel: 020-7928-7993.

Let there be light—A February 20 clipping got snarled in the mail, but it's still worth use. Reporting on genetic findings, the Oakland, Cali-



Harry Ring

fornia, *Tribune* cited the view of Dr. Mildred Cho, a senior researcher at Stanford University: "I actually think that the research at the genomic level will tell us that there is no such thing as race."

Cops will be cops—Washington,

D.C., cops have been using their patrol car computers to exchange e-mail messages laced with racist, sexist, and homophobic themes. The chief, who vowed to fire everyone he caught, said he looked into the matter after learning the same thing was going on in other police departments. He said a sampling of the mail being circulated was "truly shocking."

Union, anyone?—Competing with traditional French producers, farm operators in the Catskill region of New York, are marketing the gourmet duck liver called foie gras. They ensure a maximum size, rich-tasting liver by force-feeding the ducks three times a day for 30 days and then marketing them for slaughter. One farm, Hudson Valley, employs 80 feeders, mainly

Mexican émigrés. (Wait there is more.)

Anti-stress program—At the Hudson Valley farm, the workers feed nearly 30,000 ducks three times daily with funnel-type tubes. They're required to work 30 days in a row at \$6 an hour. Some haven't had a full day off in years. It's hard work and workers complain conditions are worse than for the ducks. How do the operators explain these near-medieval conditions? They say the ducks get used to one feeder and suffer stress—and smaller leaner livers—if others feed them.

A caring system—A United Kingdom nursing committee confirmed that elderly patients in government-operated hospitals experience hunger and thirst and are de-

nied privacy and independence. The report came on the heels a disclosure that "Do not resuscitate" notices were appended to the charts of elderly patients without the authorization of the patients or their families.

Including hub stop in Duluth?—Given the insatiable greed of airline operators and consequent steady deterioration in safety and service, we had a nervous reaction to the news that scientists are near completion of a plane that is expected to fly 5,000 miles an hour—30 minutes from New York to L.A. Nor were we reassured by the plan to initially use it for cargo and the military.

Big-time petty larceny—The use of electronic ticketless flight

reservations is obviously a savings for the airlines. For the passengers too? Hardly. American Airlines has begun what's likely to be the pattern. Those who still need or want paper tickets will pay a surcharge of \$10 each.

But body-and-fender folks love them—"Pickups and sports-utility trucks might look tough, but seven models that recently were crashed into poles for low-speed bumper tests proved to be cream puffs."—News item.

It figures—The Bush budget includes shrinking the staff that's supposed to probe stock market fraud. Associated Press notes that the cut-back comes at a moment when market gyrations are conducive to more fraud.

U.S. rulers' 'Cold War' failed to destroy workers states

Printed below are excerpts from *U.S. Imperialism has Lost the Cold War*, by Jack Barnes. The resolution was discussed and adopted by the 1990 national convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The entire resolution is published in *New International* no. 11 Copyright © 1998 by 408 Printing and Publishing Corp., reprinted by permission.

1. The "Cold War" was the term used to describe the strategic military course forced upon U.S. imperialism and its allies in face of the limitations imposed by the international balance of class forces coming out of World War II. These limitations made impossible for the foreseeable future the use of massive armed forces to accomplish Washington's strategic goal—overturning the Soviet Union and Eastern European workers states and reestablishing capitalism there.

a) During the period just after World War II, Washington was blocked from pursuing this goal by the refusal of the GIs to go back to war, this time against former allies, the Soviet Union and the workers and peasants of China. Faced with a popular "Bring Us Home!" movement organized by the soldiers themselves, the imperialist rulers were politically forced to live up to their promises to demobilize the bulk of their armed forces.¹

b) The U.S.-organized imperialist assault on Korea in 1950, which tested the

"back door" military approach to the Soviet Union, failed in its objective to overturn the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as the war ended in a stalemate at the thirty-eighth parallel.

(1) The consequences of the aggression against Korea speeded the overturn of capitalist property and the consolidation of a workers state in neighboring China. Massive numbers of Chinese worker and peasant volunteers poured across the Yalu River to fight together with the Korean people to turn back the imperialist invading forces.

(2) The imperialists concluded that the political price they would pay throughout Asia for unleashing nuclear weapons for a second time in the region precluded their use in the Korean conflict. The difficulties of maintaining a politically unpopular land war in Asia against a workers state foreshadowed the U.S. defeat in Vietnam some two decades later.

(3) The war left a divided Korea, denied its national unification after more than half a century of occupation by Tokyo and Washington. This remains the most important and explosive unresolved national division imposed by the victors of World War II.

c) By the latter half of the 1950s, the USSR's development of nuclear weapons and space technology convinced the imperialists that the risks of massive destruction not only of capitalist

Europe but also the United States were too great to consider a direct assault against the Soviet and Eastern European workers states. Since the end of the 1960s, the Soviet Union has had rough parity with U.S. imperialism in nuclear weaponry and delivery systems (parity not in the sense of equal numbers of warheads and missiles, but the capacity of both governments to inflict devastating damage against each other—Mutual Assured Destruction, or MAD, in Pentagon lingo).²

2. Given these realities, Washington was restricted during the Cold War to using its

²Despite John F. Kennedy's demagoguery during his 1960 U.S. presidential campaign against Richard Nixon, alleging a "missile gap" that gave the USSR a military advantage over Washington, the truth was the opposite. In 1962 the U.S. government had some 5,000 nuclear warheads and 500 intercontinental missiles, while the Soviet Union had 300 or fewer nuclear warheads and only a few dozen missiles. The Soviet government stated that it reached parity with Washington in the number of missile launchers in 1971, although Moscow continued to have many fewer warheads. Currently Washington has more than 7,100 nuclear warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine launchers, and bombers; Russia has some 6,200 warheads.

military power to attempt to contain any extension of the revolutionary overturn of imperialist domination and capitalist property relations. Its strategic effort to weaken the Soviet and Eastern European workers states became one of applying pressure on the bureaucratic castes to police the working class, squelch all political initiatives, and keep working people isolated from the struggles of workers and peasants around the world, with all the depoliticizing and demoralizing consequences that flow from such a separation.

a) For imperialism this was an unavoidable interlude, preparing for the day when the workers states would be sufficiently weakened by Stalinist policies that demoralized the working class to make possible their destruction in a direct imperialist assault.

b) Instead, what has culminated in 1989 and 1990 is an accelerating and irreversible crisis of the Stalinist parties and parasitic petty-bourgeois castes on which they are based, whose counter-revolutionary policies have been weakening the degenerated or deformed workers states for decades.

(1) The workers states and their proletarian property foundations have proven stronger than the castes.

(2) Although brutalized and depoliticized, the working class in

Continued on Page 11

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS
THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

April 30, 1976

BOSTON, April 21—In face of rapidly escalating anti-Black terror here, which has sharply increased the race polarization in this city, leaders of the Black community in Boston have decided to postpone the national probusing march scheduled for April 24.

March coordinator Maceo Dixon, speaking for the April 24 coalition, told the media: "This city is hot. It is tense. The race polarization has escalated with the recent beating of two Black bus drivers in South Boston and the beating of a white man in Roxbury.

"The reason why this city is hot, tense, and racially polarized rests with Mayor Kevin H. White, City Council President Louise Day Hicks, Gov. Michael Dukakis, and President Gerald Ford," Dixon said. "They are responsible for the over two-year campaign against school desegregation and for the physical and violent attacks against Blacks and Puerto Ricans."

As Dixon told the news media, the level of anti-Black violence is such that "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time."

Boston is a city on the brink of explosion. Months of unchecked racist attacks have generated deep rage and frustration in the Black community.

In the wake of recent night-riding forays by carloads of racist thugs into Roxbury, and the gang beating of two Black bus drivers in South Boston on April 17, this pent-up anger erupted into retaliation by Blacks against whites.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

April 30, 1951

Truman claims that his continuation of the "limited" war in Korea will bring "peace" and "save lives." MacArthur answers that his command to extend the war to China will also "bring hostilities to an end...at a saving of countless American and Allied lives." Both lie.

Ten long months have passed since Truman intervened in the Korean civil war. He called it a "police action"—implying that a brief display of American armed might would suffice to "restore order." Gen. MacArthur too gave the impression that all that was needed was for a couple of divisions of American troops to march in and the North Korean forces would scurry like scared rabbits.

But the North Koreans didn't run. They almost drove the U.S. and South Korean armies out of Korea.

The more forces the U.S. has committed the greater have been its losses and the fiercer the resistance of the Chinese and North Koreans. At this writing the U.S.-U.N. armies, despite their tremendous superiority in fire power and air forces, are again in retreat.

U.S. bombs have flattened almost all of Korea, slaughtered and maimed millions of Koreans. That has not stopped the war. Japan not only bombed but seized all China's coastal territories and Manchuria and sent more than 2 million troops into China. The fate of Japanese intervention alone should show the merits of MacArthur's scheme to "save lives."



Peasants in Shanghai, China, burn deeds of former landlords in 1951 during land reform. The consequences of U.S.-organized assault against Korea speeded overturn of capitalist property and the consolidation of a workers state in neighboring China.

Jail the killer cops!

Working people across the country and all opponents of racism and police brutality should back the near-daily protests in Cincinnati by joining the call for the immediate jailing and prosecution of Stephen Roach, the cop who killed Timothy Thomas. Such a move would send a signal to the cops who since 1995 have killed 15 people—all Blacks—that they cannot continue their violence and brutality with impunity.

The mobilizations in the city have been met by the city government with rubber bullets, police mobilizations, a curfew, and mass arrests. But this show of force has failed to stop the demonstrations, meetings, and large turnouts at City Council meetings.

These actions have exposed on the national arena the extent of police violence and discrimination against African-Americans in the city. Cop violence goes hand in hand with discrimination in hiring and housing, lack of public resources for community infrastructure and schools, and broader assaults on democratic rights. These policies aid the employers, who benefit from the second-class status of African Americans and the violence meted out to them in many forms.

City and police officials, the head of the Fraternal Order of the Police, and the big-business media have turned reality on its head by labeling as “violent” those who have had the courage to protest this brutality. Rather than rein in the cops, the city government has emboldened them by declaring a state of emergency. Rather than getting the cops out of the Black community, the city has put them on 12-hour shifts with shotguns and other weapons. And rather than

putting the killer cops in jail, the city has arrested more than 800 people swept up in police dragnets for “curfew violations.” Residents have hammered away at this double standard by pointedly asking the mayor and other city officials where they were over the past years as police violence targeted their families and friends, and why the recent unprovoked cop attacks on protesters do not elicit a proportionate response from the city government.

The outpouring of thousands at Thomas’s funeral and other protests are testimony to the determination of Cincinnati’s Black community and other working people to bring an end to the cop killings and discrimination that Blacks face. Their actions are resonating around the country. This is because police brutality and racist discrimination are a fact of life throughout the United States and are inherent to the system of capitalism, where oppression and exploitation of the vast majority for the profit of a wealthy few are embedded in every aspect of society.

The statement by the president of the Fraternal Order of the Police calling the demonstrators “terrorists” accurately shows how the ruling rich and those in their governing institutions view workers and farmers who stand up and resist—not only in the United States but around the world. Their repressive measures will more and more mark the government’s response to the resistance of working people around the globe.

Solidarity with the protests in Cincinnati can help strengthen the struggles of unionists, fighters for women’s rights, and farmers defending their land. Jail and prosecute cop Stephen Roach! Stop the police killings!

Defend the right to choose abortion

When thousands gather in Washington, D.C., April 22 to defend a woman’s right to choose abortion, they will be acting in the interests of women everywhere. They will also be striking a blow against one of the deepest divisions in the working class, and strengthening the resistance of all working people to the assault on our wages, working conditions, and dignity.

Women are being infected by the same spirit of resistance seen among workers and farmers fighting against speedup on the job, attacks on our standard of living, and assaults on our dignity and unions. This is fueling a deepening consciousness in the working class about the need to defend women’s rights.

Women are stepping forward to build street protests such as that on April 22, in union organizing drives, protests such as those in Cincinnati against police brutality and racism, and the struggle in rural areas of farmers to retain their land in the face of exploitation by agribusiness billionaires and bankers. All of these make women less likely to stand for sexual harassment on the job, discrimination, or a rollback of abortion rights or other hard-won gains.

Historic, irreversible structural changes in the working class are taking place. These include the rising percentage of women who work, the wave of immigration that is changing the composition of the class and bringing fresh combatants to the labor movement, and the sharp rise in nearly every industrialized country of the percentage of women who head households. These changes, like the shifting of tectonic plates beneath the earth that build up the pressure that moves mountains, contribute to the combativity of the working class as a whole.

Relying on either big-business party to “give” us our rights can only lead to disaster. As a young woman said at the 1995 women’s rights march in Washington, “We

shouldn’t have to ask for our rights, we should take them.” The mobilizations of the last decade by women’s rights supporters pushed back a rightist, antiwoman offensive that threatened to shut the abortion clinics. The president, the Congress, and the Supreme Court all take heed of the relationship of class forces and the level of protest in the streets around social questions such as abortion. If this weren’t so, Jim Crow segregation would still exist, and women would still be doomed to back-alley butchers.

Victories for women’s rights cause problems for the bosses and their government. That is why they are driven to wage a war of ideas that aims to scapegoat women, blame them for the crisis caused by the lawful workings of capitalism, and make them feel less confident in themselves.

The struggle by women against their oppression as a sex is a form of the class struggle. While important for women of every class, this struggle is essential for the working class in its line of march toward a colossal showdown and struggle for power. Fighting relentlessly against everything that treats women as less than human and less than equal is in the material interest of every worker or farmer, male or female, because it removes an obstacle to the unity workers need to forge. Only with this kind of unity can working people build a movement that can defeat the death grip of the billionaire families, whose system inevitably drives toward war and fascism and generates race and sex oppression and anti-immigrant chauvinism.

Rallies like the Emergency Action for Women’s Lives are a step toward taking what is rightfully ours. The labor movement has every interest in supporting such actions and in demanding:

Keep abortion safe, legal, accessible, and affordable!
Defend affirmative action!

The sham of campaign ‘reform’

Like others before it, the current ‘reform’ of campaign finance laws being debated in Congress will do nothing to end the corruption of capitalist politicians and parties. If adopted, the new regulations will only further erode democratic rights and put obstacles in the way of independent working-class political action in the future.

No matter what the Democrats and Republicans do to try to clean up the image of the two parties and the election process, it will not change the fact that a handful of immensely wealthy capitalist families control the means of production, the political parties, and the government, and thus the lives of working people around the world. The wealthy rulers will find a way to keep hundreds of millions of dollars flowing to their parties and their monopoly on political power with or without the so-called reform.

These laws target constitutional protections for freedom of expression and the right to privacy. Working-class parties such as the Socialist Workers Party have waged a fight over several decades against federal, state, and local laws that, under the guise of “fair elections,” require disclosure of the names of contributors and those who the campaigns pay for services. This effort has forced the courts to recognize the intrusive character of these laws. But onerous record-keeping and other restrictions remain.

One aspect of the offensive around the McCain-Feingold bill is capitalist politicians putting an equal sign

between wealthy individuals and the trade unions. Both are called “special interest groups” in order to blur the distinction between the handful of superwealthy families that exploit working people and the vast majority who are not represented by either big-business party.

Today, officials of the trade unions give away labor’s power by handing over tens of millions of dollars and the time and labor of thousands of union members to support either the Democrats or Republicans who represent the very bosses who are attacking working people. But the campaign finance “reforms” put obstacles in the way of the future funding of a labor party independent of the bosses, and of candidates who challenge capitalist rule.

Another assault on democratic rights is the proposed ban on broadcast advertising referring to candidates within 30 days of a primary or 60 days of a general election.

The only way forward for working people is to build a strong union movement, to forge an alliance between workers and small farmers, to break away from reliance on the “friends of labor” in the big-business parties, and to chart a course of revolutionary action in the interests of the majority. This is the road that will make it possible for those who labor, the vast majority of the population, to take power away from the capitalists and establish a workers and farmers government that can begin the construction of a system where human needs are the only “special interest.”

Cuban unions

Continued from Page 10

having an effective accounting system.

87. Organizing thousands of retirees and pensioners means organizing a considerable force of great value to the union and to society. They voluntarily assist the CTC and the unions in carrying out important economic, social, and political tasks, which helps raise their self-esteem and quality of life. The congress must commit itself to continuing to pay careful attention to this valuable contingent.

88. Our congress points to the basic responsibility of higher leadership bodies in the effort to achieve the necessary stability of local union leaders by motivating them, zealously serving their needs, supporting and backing them in the most difficult and complex situations in order to ensure the best performance of their duties. The cadres of the CTC and the unions, from the national level to the bureau, are responsible for attending to their union locals with the same intensity, dedication, and consistency with which local leaders must serve their members.

The world today, the union struggle

89. The decade that is ending has been marked by a triumphalist orgy in the centers of world capitalism, which embarked on a dizzying implementation of globalization, under the ruthless banner of neoliberal doctrines, with a tragic toll for workers and the peoples of the entire world. Neoliberalism has globalized poverty, and has waged a brutal offensive against the gains workers had made in the prolonged battle against exploitation.

90. In recent years the capitalist power centers have planned or promoted the gutting of unions, seeking to divide, fragment, and eliminate them.

As a result, the international union movement has been weakened, a fact seen in the decreasing numbers of unionized workers and their lack of a coherent strategy and ability to struggle.

91. Despite the diverse political, philosophical, and religious positions that mark the international union movement today, and the diverging views among many organizations, including within a single country, we believe it is possible and necessary for the international union movement, and in each region and country, to take steps forward in search of roads toward unity and common action.

92. The CTC backs the implementation of the Declaration of Principles on basic labor rights, adopted by the International Labor Organization (ILO). We also call attention to the fact that these rights cannot be seen outside a fair and comprehensive view of human rights, including the right to life, employment, health, education, social justice, and the irrepressible aspiration of all nations to development, self-determination, and sovereignty.

93. On this basis, the Cuban union movement recognizes the importance of promoting solidarity among workers and peoples, and calls for an end to the repression and assassinations that target thousands of union leaders. We recognize the need for a struggle against racism, xenophobia, and discrimination to which immigrants, women, and ethnic minorities are subjected in many parts of the world.

94. The CTC values the need for collaboration between union organizations around the world, in the framework of a true spirit of solidarity and mutual respect, with the right of each organization to chart its own course in defense of the workers’ cause.

95. Cuban workers are proud of our political, economic, and social system, of our democracy, based on real and leading participation by workers and the entire people in the decisions and actions that affect the future of the country.

96. As Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro emphasized at the rally last year for the 47th anniversary of July 26, held in Santa Clara, “The Cuban Revolution cannot be destroyed either by force or through seduction.”

NY event marks 1961 triumph

Continued from Page 11

workers and farmers of Cuba defeated Washington, but will want to follow their example.”

The evening’s event drew a crowd that ranged from longtime activists in Casa de las Américas to a number of young people from New York and New Jersey attending for the first time a meeting about the Cuban Revolution.

Among them were several Cuban-Americans who were founders of Casa de las Américas four decades ago. They proudly noted that in April 1961 they had taken part—despite harassment by the FBI and ultraright thugs—in public protests in New York condemning the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba.

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Campaign finance 'reform' bill attacks rights

BY MAGGIE TROWE

The McCain-Feingold campaign finance "reform" bill, touted by its backers as a measure to "reduce the influence of big money on political campaigns" and to "clean up a discredited system," is the latest effort of the two big business parties to give a pristine sheen to their political system and, like previous measures, contains attacks on the democratic rights of working people.

The bill was approved by the U.S. Senate April 2, and moves to the House of Representatives. If it is passed by the House, it may run into trouble in the White House, where President George Bush has not committed himself to signing it. If he does, opponents have already announced they will challenge its constitutionality.

The bill, sponsored by Senators Russell Feingold, a Democrat from Wisconsin, and John McCain, an Arizona Republican, would ban so-called soft money, the contributions of tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars by large corporations, wealthy individuals, and by union political action committees (PACs) to political parties. The Republicans and Democrats took in a total of nearly \$500 million in such funds over the past two years.

In the 2000 U.S. presidential election, the candidates themselves raised substantial sums—\$133 million for Gore and \$192 million for Bush—in addition to the money raised by their two parties.

McCain, who ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000 against George Bush, made campaign finance reform a central plank in his platform.

The bill would increase the caps on regulated contributions for the first time since 1974. It would double the amount individuals may contribute directly to a candidate, from \$1,000 to \$2,000. The \$2,000 limit would be indexed to inflation. The measure would also increase the total contributions individuals may make per year to all federal candidates, parties, and PACs from \$25,000 to \$37,500, also indexed to inflation.

In addition, the bill would prohibit corporations, interest groups, and labor unions from paying for broadcast advertising clearly referring to a specific candidate within 30 days of a primary or 60 days of a general election.

An alternative measure, proposed by Nebraska Republican senator Charles Hagel and supported by Bush, would have limited, but not banned, soft money, and would have tripled the current caps on direct contributions. The Hagel measure failed, but backers of the McCain-Feingold bill did adopt one part of Hagel's proposals, a step to tighten disclosure rules for political spending and advertising.

Kentucky Republican Senator Mitchell McConnell, a leader of the opposition to the bill who says the soft-money ban will hurt the two big political parties, asserted that political spending "will not be reduced; it just will not flow through the parties," going instead to ad hoc committees.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), joining forces with James Bopp, Jr., general counsel for the anti-abortion-rights National Right to Life Committee, is opposing the bill, charging that restrictions on campaign donations violate the First Amendment to the U.S. constitution, which states that "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech."

In an effort to assuage critics' assertions that McCain-Feingold limits issue advocacy by prohibiting advertising referring to a can-

didate by corporations and unions in the period leading up to the elections, Sen. Paul Wellstone, a liberal Democrat from Minnesota, added an amendment that expanded the prohibition to all "outside interest groups." Wellstone has said the bill "will let us get away from the obscene money chase."

An ACLU news release quoted Joel Gora, Brooklyn Law School professor and ACLU consultant on campaign finance issues, saying that "you shouldn't have to register with the government in order to criticize it."

In his book *Unfree Speech: the Folly of Campaign Finance Reform*, Bradley Smith, a member of the Federal Election Commission, gives the example of Suffield, Connecticut, resident Leo Smith, who designed a web page to urge viewers to support former president William Clinton during the impeachment debate in 1998, and to defeat the local Republican congresswoman, Nancy Johnson, who was supporting impeachment. The FEC ruled that Smith's action was an independent expenditure in favor of Johnson's opponent, and thus subject to reporting requirements of the campaign finance laws.

This isn't the first time the Democrats and Republicans have carried out highly publicized efforts to "reform" campaign finances. At the turn of the century, in response to widespread sentiment against the influence of capitalist millionaires, Congress passed a number of measures regulating campaign contributions by the "trusts" and requiring public disclosure of contributors.

In 1974, in the wake of the Watergate scandal that resulted in the resignation of former president Richard Nixon, Congress passed a series of measures in response to popular outrage against capitalist political corruption, including limits on campaign contributions and spending and a "tax checkoff." The latter allows taxpayers to contribute \$1 of their tax return to a fund to finance candidates from the two "major" parties and any "minor" party that received at least 5 percent of the vote in the last election, something that only the rightist Reform Party has achieved to date. Thus the "reform" had the effect of bolstering the big business parties.

Like the current measures, the post-Watergate regulations were celebrated as the end of graft. Sen. Edward Kennedy exclaimed in 1974, "At a single stroke, we can drive the moneylenders out of the temple of

politics. We can end the corrosive and corrupting influence of private money in public life."

The *Militant* wrote at the time that "supporters of the law, such as Common Cause, a self-styled 'citizens' lobby' that helped write it, claimed the legislation would limit corporate influence in elections and make candidates responsible to the ordinary voter." The law required candidates to file frequent, detailed reports identifying contributors of more than \$100 and those they pay for printing, rent, and other services.

The Socialist Workers Party went on a vigorous campaign to explain the law would do nothing to solve the problem of political corruption or make capitalist parties such as the Democrats and Republicans more accountable to working people. The socialists explained the law did pose a significant threat to political freedom and would further restrict expression outside the two big-business parties. The SWP pointed out that making lists of contributors public would

open those who wanted to support the socialists' campaigns to harassment and victimization by the FBI, local cops and other police agencies, or right-wing groups.

The Supreme Court struck down the limits on campaign spending in the 1976 *Buckley v. Valeo* decision, but upheld those on contributions and campaign disclosure. In that ruling, the Court also conceded that parties or candidates could be exempted from the public disclosure requirements if they could show that disclosure might lead to harassment of their contributors.

The Socialist Workers Party filed a lawsuit against the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) demanding exemption from the public disclosure requirements, citing years of documented government harassment of the party, its candidates, and its supporters. The party won broad support for its suit. In 1979 a federal court issued a consent decree granting the exemption, for which the party has successfully won a renewal each time the exemption expires.

Teachers strike in Hawaii



Teachers in Hawaii walked off the job April 6 after negotiations broke down. The strike shut down all public schools and universities in the state.

Vote planned on Confederate flag in Mississippi

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—A statewide referendum will be held in Mississippi April 17 to decide whether or not to replace the current state flag, adopted in 1894 with its Confederate emblem, with a new design. The state legislature called the referendum in January, after a gubernatorial commission on the state flag came up with the new design. The revised flag would replace the Confederate "stars and bars" battle flag in the upper left hand corner with a field of 20 stars.

The Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* has made much of several polls showing that a majority support keeping the old flag, some 66 percent. Among Black residents polled, however, a majority say they favor the change. J.D. Jones, an 80-year-old retiree who lives in Gulfport, Mississippi, told the *Clarion-Ledger* that he wants the current flag changed because it reminds him of the

flag the Ku Klux Klan once waved on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. "It symbolizes hatred to me, especially the way I was treated," he said. Jones fought in Europe during World War II and returned home to Mississippi to confront racism all over again. "That made me so mad," he said. "If I'd been God, I would have burned the world up. I hope that's all behind us now."

James White, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 303L from Natchez, Mississippi, told the *Militant* that he favors a change in the flag and believes many other workers, especially Black workers, feel that way too. "That flag represents slavery and oppression against Blacks," he explained. "It should be changed." White and other USWA Local 303L members have been on strike for more than two years at Titan Tire's Natchez plant. White was pleased to report that their local recently quit flying the

old state flag above their union hall.

The NAACP, Black members of the state legislature, and other Black rights groups have been waging a low-key "get out the vote" campaign in favor of the new flag. On the other hand, various Confederate "heritage" groups and other right-wing outfits have been urging a vote against the new flag.

Anxious to promote Mississippi as an attractive investment site, a number of state government officials, along with business and banking groups, have come out in favor of the new flag. "The choice is between an old flag that shows a state interested in attracting new business and new ideas, or an old flag that shows a state resistant to change," argued the editors of the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* April 8.

At the present time, Mississippi is the only state where the Confederate battle emblem remains the centerpiece of the state flag.

LETTERS

Cuba and AIDS drugs

The *Bay Area Reporter*, a gay weekly here, reports that after meetings this week in Havana with South African president Thabo Mbeki, Fidel Castro announced that Cuba and South Africa had signed an agreement to cooperate in the manufacture of low-cost AIDS drugs while ignoring the protests of multinational drug companies.

This news should be instructive to fans of the movie, "Before Night Falls," which dramatizes the "memoir" of exile author Reinaldo Arenas in order to paint revolutionary Cuba as a repressive, antigay hellhole. Arenas, who fled Cuba for the United States in 1980, learned

the reality of "freedom" under capitalism when, after developing AIDS, he was denied proper medical attention and evicted from his New York apartment. He committed suicide in 1990.

The announcement is a blow to those who defend the right of pharmaceutical companies to deny treatment to millions of people with AIDS in order to protect their profits. Apparently for them, the rights of gays and lesbians only applies if you live in imperialist countries and can afford high-cost health insurance.

For the rest of us, the above announcement only confirms the humanity and attractive power of the

Cuban Revolution in today's world. Peter Anastos
San Francisco, California

Spying on China

The map shown with the *Militant* story on the collision between the F-8 China fighter with the US Navy EP-3A (issue no. 15) shows the initial collision occurred within international air space. The EP-3A did not violate Chinese air space until after the collision.

No pilot would want to have a midair collision because it would be a crap shoot as far which plane survived. It could very well have resulted in the EP-3A crashing at sea with no survivors and the Chinese

plane going home.

The U.S. engages in electronic spying from outside the national borders of countries it perceives as hostile. Its main purpose is to force them (in this case China) to scramble their fighter jets, allowing the EP-3A to record where they take off from, how long it takes for the Chinese to respond, what do they use for communication frequencies, and so on. The Chinese are rightfully indignant. It cost a lot of money to put jets in the air every time an unidentified plane approaches China.

U.S. corporations today engage in lots of trade with China. It's become a major importer of Ameri-

can tobacco products without warning labels and an exporter of numerous electronic products and parts. The U.S. captains of industry are in no hurry to give up trade with China over a Navy plane.

Kim O'Brien
by e-mail

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged.

Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Working people win support in fight to expose dioxin danger in New Zealand

BY FELICITY COGGAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Working people in the New Plymouth suburb of Paritutu have attracted national attention to their campaign to uncover the facts about high rates of serious illness in their area, which they believe are linked to soil and air contamination by dioxins from the adjoining Dow Agrosciences chemical plant. The illnesses among people who have lived in the suburb include multiple sclerosis, diabetes, birth defects, and cancers.

"They've turned New Plymouth into a dumping ground for their waste—marine, airborne and onshore," Andrew Gibbs told the *Militant* in a phone interview. Gibbs, along with Roy Drake and others, has been investigating the issue for several years.

Drake, who has multiple sclerosis and has lived in the area for 45 years, has compiled a map with 25 red dots showing others with multiple sclerosis who live within one kilometer of the Dow plant. "You hit 60 here and any days after that, you count them," Drake said.

The campaign comes at the same time as Vietnam War veterans are pressing the government for improved health care and social welfare benefits for themselves and their families. The veterans are suffering the effects of the defoliant Agent Orange used by the imperialist forces led by Washington in their assault on the people of Vietnam. The New Zealand government to date has not acknowledged a connection between Agent Orange and these health problems.

The Dow plant was the target of protests during the Vietnam War because of its production of the components used to make Agent Orange.

Activists in New Plymouth have formed the Dioxin Investigation Network and the Dioxin Investigation Action Group. They organized two large public meetings to demand answers to their concerns and compensation to cover medical bills and the costs of their devalued properties. "We want to raise awareness among the community about what has gone on," said Gibbs. "To raise awareness of the government white-washes and lies, not only in New Plymouth but with the Vietnam vets and other dioxin-affected groups, such as the spraying contractors and timber workers."

Timber workers

Timber workers and their unions have been raising concerns for some years over the health effects of the fungicide pentachlorophenol (PCP), containing dioxin, used in timber treatment. The *New Zealand Herald* reported February 16 that an estimated 286 sawmill and timber treatment sites are contaminated by PCPs and dioxins. Timber workers and union representatives have joined New Plymouth residents at the recent meetings.

On March 1, 80 people, led by a small group of Vietnam War veterans, and including timber workers' union representatives, marched to the plant gates in protest.

The Dow plant, originally Ivon Watkins Ltd, was built in 1960, before the adjacent land was subdivided for houses. It employed several hundred workers, producing agricultural chemicals, including the herbicides 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D, which were extensively used in farming. Dioxin is a by-product of the manufacture of 2,4,5-T. Agent Orange is made from a mixture of the two chemicals.

In 1987, the plant became the last in the world to stop making 2,4,5-T after growing concerns about the health effects of its dioxin by-products, in particular the cancer-causing compound TCDD. Today it employs around 70 people in blending and packaging.

Dioxins are a highly toxic family of chemicals produced through a range of in-

dustrial processes including timber treatment, pulp and paper manufacture, and waste incineration. They accumulate in the fat and tissues of people and wildlife and cause the immune and hormonal systems to malfunction.

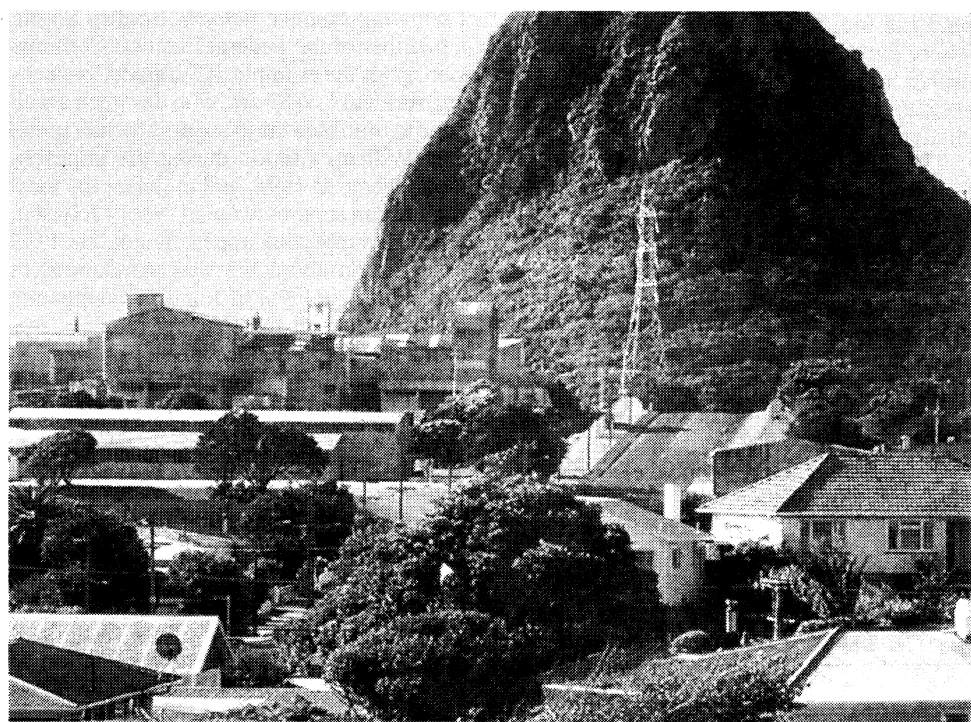
New Plymouth residents have been raising health concerns for more than 30 years, fueled by a 1972 explosion at the plant, and leaks at a company dump in 1982. Gibbs explained that a number of ex-workers from the plant have also come forward with health problems, and cites a 1990 study that showed a 30 percent increase in cancer rates among these workers.

Company denies risks

A series of government inquiries and reports have claimed to show no links between the plant's operation and illnesses suffered by nearby residents. The company has denied that discharges from the plant have posed health or environmental risks. A 1999 inquiry also ruled there was no connection between Vietnam veterans' military service and health problems suffered by their children.

In recent years, the World Health Organization has concluded that dioxins, especially TCDD, are far more toxic than was previously thought. The Environment Ministry reported last year that New Zealand residents' intake of dioxin is 70 times above the daily limit recommended by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

The campaign against dioxin contamination in New Plymouth has thrown a spotlight on other contaminated sites around the



Dow chemical plant in New Plymouth, New Zealand, next to Paritutu rock and residential neighborhood. Residents are protesting dioxin contamination from factory.

country, denting the "clean, green" image of the country promoted by New Zealand's rulers. A 1992 report for the Ministry for the Environment concluded that 7,200 locations in New Zealand were contaminated by toxic chemicals, with 1,580 of them being "high risk."

To date, all the government has offered working people in New Plymouth is to test

100 Paritutu residents for dioxins.

"They're the acceptable casualties of productivity," said Gibbs of those affected. "To bring pressure on government will take everyone to do this—we need everyone's support."

Felicity Coggan is a member of the National Distribution Union in Auckland.

Contract ends lockout at Vancouver meat plant

BY JOE YATES

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Meat packers at Fletcher's Fine Foods here approved a concession contract, ending an eight-month lockout by the company. The vote was 238 to 117. Since 1998 the unionists have fought demands by Fletcher's for steep wage cuts and work rule changes. During the lockout, they kept up picket lines, reached out to other struggles for solidarity, and stood up to threats by the bosses to close the plant.

While the workers pushed back many of the concession demands, the contract allows the company to institute a permanent two-tier wage structure, to force 170 workers to take a "buyout" and a wage cut if they want to continue to work, and imposes a wage freeze during the five-year life of the agreement. The pact was proposed by a government mediator and supported by union officials. The lockout began August 19 after the workers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1518, rejected the company's last offer by a 96 percent margin.

At a February 18 meeting union members received a letter from Ross Bremner, executive vice president of the union, arguing that "the reason for the concept of a buyout is an effort to create room for new employees to come in at the new second tier rate of pay. If there are enough people that take the offer of a buyout this will assist in protecting the current rates of pay for those employees who do not take the buyout and return to work."

Following the April 8-9 vote, Sam Uppal, who works in packaging, said that the two-tier wage scale "splits us in two. We will have two classes of people doing the same job with one getting significantly less than the other. Everywhere there are people fighting for pay equity. This is pay inequity. It will weaken the union."

Julio Caballero, who has two years in the plant, said that compared to the company's original wage proposal, the new contract "offer is much better. Like the

union said, choices have to be made. It does protect the more senior group."

Some workers were influenced in their vote by the company's threat to close the plant. During the strike the company sold its facility in Red Deer, Alberta, which is Fletcher's biggest plant and the only one that kills hogs. Alejo Bie, who has 20 years at the plant and works in the pork cut, asked, "What is your choice? Some people are scared they might close."

Pushed back some concessions

Among the concessions demanded by the company not in the contract are the lowering of the base wage by 40 percent, from \$16.50 to \$10.00; reducing the maximum vacation time to four weeks from the present seven; lengthening the probationary period from 60 to 90 working days; reducing the shift premium; and limiting use of the washrooms while on the job to 20 minutes a week, one of the most humiliating measures rejected by the workers.

The union's fight against concessions at the Fletcher's plant here came amidst a major attack by packing companies on workers and their union. In 1998 Fletcher's cut wages of workers at its kill operation in Red Deer by 40 percent following a 10-week strike. And despite a four-month walkout at Maple Leaf's plant in Burlington, Ontario, the company imposed similar wage cuts there and closed its plant in Edmonton, Alberta. Two years ago bosses at Quality Meats in Toronto carried out a wage cut after a two-month strike by workers.

Under the new contract workers not forced to take the buyout will retain their current wages and receive a \$1,000 signing bonus. For new hires, the starting rate will go up to \$9.50 an hour from \$8. After about a year, the wage will increase to \$10.75 an hour and remain there until 2006. Under the old contract a new employee would receive \$16.50 an hour in three years. Meat cutters who used to start at \$16.50 an hour will now make \$13.25.

More than half of the current union members will be affected by the buyout scheme. The buyout formula is \$5,000 per employee plus \$73 per complete month of service up to the date of ratification. If 170 workers do not volunteer for the plan, the company will start at the bottom of the seniority list with mandatory buyouts. These workers will go into the two-tier wage structure but retain their seniority.

Manuel Medeiros, who has 17 years in the plant, said, "At Maple Leaf, they took cutbacks. Compared to the rest we did gain. We showed the people of Canada that if you fight you get results." He added, "I'm really proud of our people on the picket line. We put up one hell of a fight. People are stronger. We've come closer. We're more a family now because of what happened in the last eight months."

Coming out of the ratification meeting, Nancy Darlington, who has five years seniority, objected to the mandatory buyout. "I don't agree with forcing people to take a buyout. People should have a choice." Commenting on the fact that workers only got to see the mediator's proposal one hour before the meeting, she stated, "We shouldn't have just had it shoved at us with a threat to vote yes or the company was going to close. I don't see what was so secret that we couldn't have had a week to think and to discuss something so important. We need to be able to discuss things as a group, because that's what we are."

Coming out of the meeting to discuss the mediator's proposal on April 8, Rhonda Weber, who works in the kitchen, commented, "We've made our mark. Across Canada we showed that we were willing to take a stand for what we felt was right." Nancy Darlington, who opposed the mediator's proposal, said the workers' most important accomplishment was that "we stood up to them and said no" to the demand for a 40 percent wage cut.

Annette Kouri and Steve Penner, both meat packers, contributed to this article.