

# THE MILITANT

**SPECIAL FEATURE**

**Bay of Pigs invasion and the U.S. class struggle**

— PAGES 8-12

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 65/NO. 11 MARCH 19, 2001

## Plan for drug czar in Puerto Rico is opposed

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

A proposal by Puerto Rico's colonial governor, Sila Calderón, to establish a Drug Control Office has sparked opposition by defenders of democratic rights. Even more controversial is her plan to appoint as "drug czar" a former intelligence cop and police superintendent who was associated with the government's campaign of disruption and violence against the pro-independence and labor movements from the 1960s through the 1980s.

In the name of the "war on drugs," the governor's proposed antidrug bureau, modeled on Washington's drug czar post, will have wide powers. According to an article in the February 23 issue of the pro-independence weekly *Claridad*, the drug chief will supervise police surveillance and have the power to demand information on private individuals and organizations from various government departments, including housing, family affairs, public works, and the treasury.

Calderón's proposed appointee, Jorge Collazo, sparked a storm of controversy when he sought to downplay his involvement in the political victimization of independence fighters during his long career as a cop.

In a February 25 TV interview, Collazo asserted that the March 1976 murder of Santiago Mari Pesquera, the eldest son of pro-independence leader Juan Mari Bras, was a common crime that occurred after the young man supposedly had an argument

Continued on Page 4

## Farmers discuss crisis at national convention

BY MAGGIE TROWE

ROCHESTER, New York—Deliberations at the 99th national convention of the National Farmers Union (NFU), held here March 2-5, were marked by the precarious situation small farmers face across the country.

Many are being driven out of business or live on a knife's edge, squeezed by high costs of inputs they must purchase from capitalist monopolies and the low prices they receive for their grain, livestock, and other crops from the agribusiness conglomerates. In convention sessions and in informal discussion, farmers exchanged opinions and experiences on how to defend themselves in order to survive.

The NFU organizes lobbying and education, helps farmers set up cooperatives, and provides insurance, credit card, and auto club services. The organization has 260,000 members in 25 states, with the strongest presence in Oklahoma where there are more than 115,000 members.

Other strongholds are North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, and Montana. Of the nearly 500 people attending the conference, of whom 164 were

Continued on Page 13

## Workers at four airlines step up contract fights

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

ATLANTA—"I hope President Bush does not intervene and allows us to withhold our labor. It's the only power we have right now," said Terry Samuda, a mechanic at Northwest Airlines. Samuda was part of a team of union members who distributed fliers at Atlanta's Hartsfield airport February 27 in their fight for a contract with the carrier.

The Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) represents some 10,000 mechanics, cleaners, and janitors at Northwest Airlines (NWA). They have been working under a contract that expired four years ago. Workers voted by a 96 percent margin March 3 to start job actions, up to a strike, against the airline on March 12. The vote came as flight attendants and mechanics at American; ramp and other workers at Southwest; and mechanics, cleaners, and ramp workers at United are organizing picket lines and slowdowns as part of fights for contracts at those major carriers.

Pilots at Delta set up informational picket lines around the country last week, and on

Continued on Page 5



Militant/Herb Van Burgel

March 5 informational picket at Southwest Airlines in Houston where workers are fighting for a contract that includes higher pay. Workers at Northwest Airlines voted to strike March 12, but the White House has threatened to intervene against the union.

## Auto workers strike GM in Britain

BY CAROL BALL

LONDON—Thousands of workers struck General Motors' Vauxhall plants in Luton and Ellesmere Port Friday, February 23, as part of their fight against the auto giant's decision to close the Luton plant in 2002, eliminating 2,000 jobs. Members of

the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU), backed by the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU), also refused to show up for two weekend overtime shifts.

The closure is part of GM's moves to eliminate 5,000 jobs in Europe as it seeks

to cut costs and trim production in face of slumping sales and increasing competition in the auto industry. The one-day strike builds on actions by some 40,000 workers at GM in Europe who stopped work January 25 as part of a union-organized day of

Continued on Page 4

## Celebrate at East and West Coast meetings

**The 40th anniversary of U.S. imperialism's first defeat in the Americas, the victory of the Cuban people at the Bay of Pigs, in defense of their socialist revolution.**

**A public launching of Pathfinder's campaign to sell *Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas* and *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*; as well as *Fertile Ground: Che Guevara and Bolivia***

The program will feature:

**MARY-ALICE WATERS**, Pathfinder president and editor of *Making History* and *Fertile Ground*, launched at the February 2001 Havana book fair, and co-editor of *Bay of Pigs*

**JACK BARNES**, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, author of foreword to *Bay of Pigs*

**STEVE CLARK**, co-editor, *Bay of Pigs*

**MARTÍN KOPPEL**, editor, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, organizer of Books for Cuba Fund

**OLYMPIA NEWTON**, member, Young Socialists National Leadership Council and *Militant* reporter at Havana book fair

**NATALIE STAKE-DOUCET**, YS leader from Canada

The meetings will coincide with a March 10-11 SWP trade union leadership meeting and a March 17-18 meeting of the YS National Leadership Council. They will feature efforts by SWP supporters to produce and sell Pathfinder books, and celebrate two successful Red Weekends of volunteer work at the Pathfinder Building in New York, and the new headquarters of the SWP branches in Brooklyn and Seattle.

### New York City, March 11

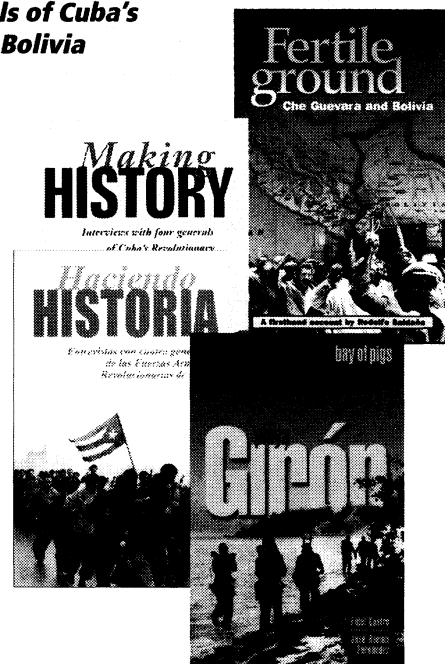
**Reception 1 p.m. Program 2 p.m.**  
**Columbia University, Roone Arledge Auditorium**  
**Lerner Hall, 2920 Broadway**

East Coast: Hosted by the Brooklyn, Garment District, Newark, and Upper Manhattan branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists. For more information call: 212-695-7358, 212-740-4611, 718-398-7850, or 973-643-3341.

### Seattle, March 18

**Reception 1 p.m. Program 2 p.m.**  
**Garfield Community Center, 2323 Cherry St.**  
**(corner of 23rd Ave. East)**

West Coast: Hosted by the Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists. For more information call: 206-323-1755, 415-584-2135, or 213-380-9460



# Sinking of Japanese training boat raises U.S.-Tokyo tensions

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Political fallout from the sinking of the Japanese vessel the *Ehime Maru* by the *Greeneville*, a U.S. nuclear submarine, continues to spread in both the United States and Japan, heightening tensions between the two governments. In Japan, the incident is being used by capitalist politicians to press for increasing the country's military capabilities.

Nine people, including three crew members, four high school students, and two teachers were lost at sea when the *Greeneville* collided from below with the 191-foot training vessel.

A partial account of what led up to the incident has been released by investigators for the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB). At the time the *Greeneville* was engaged in a practice emergency surfacing drill. In this "ballast blow" maneuver, the submarine ascended for a 90-second periscope check of the surface, descended to a depth of 405 feet, then filled its ballast tanks with air. The ascent from there to the surface took around 50 seconds. On the *Ehime Maru*, the impact felt "like iron being shredded," said its captain. Within 10 minutes the ship had sunk.

In Japan, the image of the sinking "is like that of a school bus being run over by a tank," said Japanese embassy official Hiroko Hakoda in Washington, choosing his words deliberately as he emphasized that the Japanese boat was "a high school training vessel." A CNN report explained that Japanese officials say calling the ship "a fishing boat or trawler—as the Navy has done from time to time—doesn't do justice to the accident."

On March 5, almost four weeks after the sinking, the U.S. Navy convened an inquiry into the affair, charged with determining "any fault, neglect or responsibility" for the collision. The inquiry was originally scheduled to begin on February 26, but was delayed a week to allow time for the *Greeneville's* captain, Cmdr. Scott Waddle, to prepare a defense.

Three admirals of the U.S. Navy are officiating in the inquiry. They are joined by

one Japanese admiral, who is permitted to ask questions but will have no vote in the decision on whether to proceed with prosecution. Waddle, meantime, has requested "testimonial immunity." If this is granted, his testimony cannot be used against him in any future criminal prosecution.

"I would like to know...if the court can really serve justice, and determine who was responsible," commented Tatsuyoshi Mizuguchi, whose son was lost at sea.

## Trip to entertain visitors

Shortly before the naval inquiry convened, it was revealed that the sole purpose of the *Greeneville's* trip that day was to entertain 16 visitors. All the guests were crammed into the sub's control room for the surfacing maneuver; at least three were given equipment to operate under supervision.

The NTSB investigation has also found that key equipment was out of action, and has raised questions about whether officers scrutinized information from sonar checks that showed the surface was not clear.

Apologies for the sinking have been offered by a succession of U.S. officials, including Waddle; the U.S. Ambassador to Japan; the navy's second-ranking officer, Adm. William Fallon; Secretary of State Colin Powell; and President George Bush.

Some capitalist figures in Japan either reacted with initial indifference to the deaths, or exploited the widespread anger at the conduct of the U.S. military to press their arguments in favor of a more independent role for the Japanese armed forces.

Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori of the Liberal Democratic Party damaged his already rock-bottom public standing when, on hearing news of the collision, he refused to interrupt his game of golf.

In the wake of the collision and the nine deaths, sentiment against the occupation of Japan by 47,000 U.S. troops, has gained in strength. The majority of the troops are stationed on the island of Okinawa, imposed on the fishermen, farmers, and other working people there by Tokyo in collaboration



Women with sketch of U.S. submarine protest at U.S. embassy in Tokyo February 22 over sinking of Japanese boat. They also demanded withdrawal of U.S. military forces.

with Washington.

The island's representative in the national parliament, Kantoku Teruyu, said on February 22, "The reduction of the marines' presence is the general desire of the Okinawan people."

## Washington pressures Tokyo

Washington has pressed Tokyo to assume more responsibility in policing the region for imperialism, while remaining subordinate to the U.S. military. Late last year a bipartisan group of U.S. scholars and defense analysts, headed by Richard Armitage, now deputy secretary of state, released a report terming the formal restrictions on Japan's military "a constraint on alliance cooperation."

The Japanese rulers agree that they must boost the country's military, increase its freedom of movement in the region, and eventually drop the prohibition on using it in any but a defensive way. Japan's "Self-Defense Forces," as the armed forces are officially known, number around 237,000 troops, and boast a budget that ranks among the top five in the world.

The Japanese imperialists have expanded their technical expertise as well, helping them to become more independent from Washington. "A couple of years ago we decided to launch our own intelligence-gathering satellite," said Masashi Nishihara, president of Japan's National Defense Academy. He added, "We have launched a large transport ship, which some people have claimed is a kind of aircraft carrier. And we have just approved purchase of in-flight refueling tankers, which expand Japan's defense perimeter."

"Of course," said Nishihara, "the government doesn't talk about a defense perimeter, but says that it is meant to increase our ability to support peacekeeping operations."

The satellite development caused "unease" in Washington, the *New York Times* reported February 23. The U.S. government would have preferred that Tokyo had bought the equipment "from the United States or [had continued to] rely entirely on American intelligence," the *Times* article noted.

The U.S. government's drive to establish

a "missile shield" has also become an issue in the debate in Japan. Missiles are likely to be stationed on Japanese soil under any scheme proposed by Washington. A \$10-million-a-year joint research program on the technology is under way, in spite of Tokyo's official neutrality on the issue.

"Suppose a missile was launched from North Korea aimed at the United States," said military analyst Futoshi Shibayama earlier this year, repeating the pretext used by Washington for the new development. "To shoot it down would be unconstitutional. I think we should try to introduce a new interpretation of the Japanese constitution. But this would be a big domestic controversy."

Takako Doi, the leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party, noted the same problem confronting the Japanese rulers. Involvement in the "missile shield" will "increase Japan's military power," he said. "In all the polls, the majority of the population is against strengthening the military."

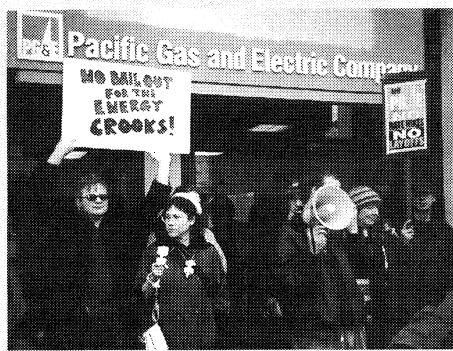
Tokyo faces opposition to its efforts to strengthen its armed forces not only among working people in Japan, but also throughout Asia. The brutal conquest and rule of many countries by the Japanese armed forces in the last century until the end of the second World War remains a vivid memory throughout the region. Tokyo was reminded of this recently when protests were organized in Taiwan against a comic book by a Japanese cartoonist that misrepresents the reaction on the island to Tokyo's occupation during World War II. One of the book's scenes portrays Taiwanese women as willing volunteers for service in military brothels.

Korean historians from both the south and north of the country have exposed plans by the Japanese government to publish school textbooks that "whitewash" Tokyo's military aggression as an act of "liberation." Their March 2 statement, issued during a seminar in Pyongyang on the 82nd anniversary of the Korean independence movement against Japanese colonial rule, demanded that "Japan apologize to the Korean people for even considering such a scheme."

## THE MILITANT

### Oppose nuclear power

*The utility companies and capitalist politicians are using the energy crisis in California to step up their campaign for the expansion of nuclear power. The 'Militant' gives you the facts about the nuclear industry and why working people should oppose it. Don't miss an issue!*



## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

#### RENEWAL

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT,  
410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$15 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 500 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,700 • New Zealand, NZ\$20 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

## The Militant

Vol. 65/No. 11

Closing news date: March 7, 2001

Editor: MARTIN KOPPEL

Business Manager: MAURICE WILLIAMS

Editorial Staff: Róger Calero, Hilda Cuzco, Greg McCartan, Maggie Trowe, Brian Williams, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for two weeks in August and one week in December.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

E-mail: TheMilitant@compuserve.com

The Militant website is: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

**Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to above

address.

**Canada:** Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4613 St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec H2T 1R2.

**Britain, Ireland:** £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address.

**France:** Send FF420 for one-year subscription to Militant, Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris; chèque postale: 40 134 34 U. **Belgium:** BF 2,400 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp.

**Iceland:** Send 5,800 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 550 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9.

**New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 1240, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.



# Workers in Iceland rally for pension benefits

BY ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ  
AND HALLBJÖRN GUDMUNDSSON

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—Protesting the government's denial of full disability pensions to individuals who are part of a couple, 500 people gathered at City Hall here at the end of January. The discriminatory practice has been carried out since 1991 under a Social Ministry ordinance that was later written into the social security law.

The Organization of Handicapped in Iceland (ÖBÍ) called the protest together with several trade unions. The action came on the heels of a victory won by the ÖBÍ in December when the Supreme Court ruled against the Social Security Institute for cutting disability pensions in proportion to a couple's joint income. The court based its decision on a provision in the Icelandic constitution ensuring every individual the right to his or her income.

ÖBÍ lawyer Ragnar Adalsteinsson described the ruling as a victory for human rights. The court, however, left it to the government to decide how to carry out the ruling.

The government, a coalition of the center Progressive Party and the conservative Independence Party, put together a committee to interpret the ruling and work out new legislation to be put before parliament. Despite the court ruling, the bill says pension payments should take into consideration the income of a spouse. The committee also proposed that pensioners who have been receiving reduced benefits be granted retroactive payments, but only going back four years.

The protest took place as parliament was debating and preparing to vote on the bill. The most prominent slogan at the action was "human rights for everyone." Many of the protesters walked from City Hall to the parliament building.

The governing parties have tried to portray the protest by the ÖBÍ and the unions as a demand for a wage increase for rich recipients of disability pensions, but with little success. Even with the increase stipulated in the new law, disability payments are not generous. And 675 individuals, almost all women, will still have their pension cut because they live with a person who is considered under the law to have a good income.

With the new bill, the minimum income for a disability pensioner with a spouse was raised from \$212 to \$506 a month. Many ÖBÍ members became disabled after years of work but still hold full- or part-time jobs and belong to trade unions. The biggest group of handicapped people in the ÖBÍ are people with mental disorders and the sec-

ond largest group is women with muscular problems.

In an attack on the struggle for the rights of disabled people, Pétur Blöndal, a member of parliament for the Independence

party, wrote in the daily newspaper *Morgunblaðid*, that the Supreme Court ruling will "weaken the status of the family and deprive it of the role it has had throughout human history...as the oldest, strongest

and most intimate social security system."

The right to social security was won through working-class battles in Iceland prior to 1936, the year in which the first general social security law was passed.

## Picket lines condemn U.S. bombing of Iraq



Militant/Rose Ana Berbeo

One hundred people joined a picket line in Minneapolis February 17 to protest Washington's bombing of Iraq on the outskirts of Baghdad the day before. Other protests occurred in many other cities. Some 70 people picketed the U.S. consulate in Auckland, New Zealand, on February 19, chanting, "No blood for oil on Iraqi soil." In Miami, some 15 people picketed the federal building chanting in both English and Spanish, "U.S. Out of Iraq."

## Bay Area meeting hears framed-up dockworkers

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SAN FRANCISCO—Two hundred people, mainly longshore workers, attended a meeting here February 23 to defend five dockworkers from Charleston, South Carolina. The five members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) face frame-up charges as part of an antiunion drive on the Charleston waterfront by the

employers and the government.

An ILA Local 1422 picket line in January 2000 protesting Nordana Lines' use of a nonunion company was attacked by 600 riot police equipped with dogs, horses, armored vehicles, and helicopters. The union members resisted the assault, showing their determination to stop this move to undermine organized labor on the waterfront. The government later indicted the five workers as part of their attempt to portray the union as responsible for what was a well-prepared cop attack.

The five, who face five-year prison sentences on felony charges, are presently under house arrest. They were granted permission to leave town in order to participate in a speaking tour in their defense.

The meeting here, held at the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 hall, was one of a number of events in the Bay Area by a delegation of Kenneth Riley, Local 1422 president, the local vice president, and two of the workers facing frame-up charges.

Trent Willis, a member of Local 10 and secretary treasurer of the Committee in Defense of Charleston Longshore Workers, chaired the event. He reported that the Charleston unionists had just participated in a rally of 200 people demanding a contract for members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union. Riley also spoke at a rally of 300 at the San Francisco airport before members of the International Association of Machinists, which organizes mechanics, ramp workers, and cleaners at United Airlines who are in an ongoing contract fight with the company.

Riley told the meeting that Nordana's attempt to unload its ships with nonunion labor "would have spelled the beginning of the end" for the union and for "industry standards that took 40-50 years to build up in the South."

The union "tried to negotiate with the company and offered concessions," he said. "We then put up informational pickets. The second ship came and we put up informational pickets again. The third time the same thing happened. When the next vessel was scheduled to come, there were 50,000 men and women in Columbia, South Carolina,

protesting the Confederate flag flying over the capitol. Many of our members were there."

The next day, Nordana began using nonunion labor on the ship for the fourth time. "Our union hall is only 150 yards from the main gate," Riley explained. "We saw prison buses, armored vehicles, cops on horseback, and snipers on the roof." After workers set up the informational picket line at midnight January 20, the cops attacked.

"That night nine members were arrested and charged with simple trespassing. It took until 3:00 p.m. the next day to get them out. The nine men were beaten up. Every time the union bailed them out they would be rearrested.

### 'Drop the charges'

"We did get our jobs back because of solidarity, but we will not have total victory until the charges are dropped. When these men go to trial, there will be a mass rally in Charleston, South Carolina," Riley told the crowd. "The International Dockworkers Council represents workers in 14 countries," he said, indicating the labor support the defense case is receiving. "They said that if Nordana comes to their ports while they are in conflict with South Carolina dockworkers, the ships will not be loaded. A woman from West Virginia, the wife of a coal miner, said, 'I only have \$5 but I hope it goes a long way.'"

Leroy Phillips, a member of ILWU Local 10 attending the meeting, told the *Militant*, "The only way you're going to make money-hungry, greedy people listen is to take their money away. This meeting is a step in the right direction to unite the working class. The rich have exploited workers from the beginning of time."

To contribute money or messages of support to the ILA, write to The Dockworkers Defense Fund at 910 Morrison Drive, Charleston, South Carolina 29403. The union is also encouraging protest messages to be sent. Write to the state attorney general and governor's office in South Carolina.

Deborah Liatos is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120.

## Veterinarians make gains in strike at New Zealand meat plants

BY STUART NEEDHAM

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand—A one-week strike by 120 veterinarians closed down 80 percent of meat plants in the North Island and 20 percent in the South Island. Almost 8,000 meat workers were given suspension notices by their employers when the strike began. Meat production for export is New Zealand's biggest industry, along with dairy products.

The 140 vets who work at meat plants throughout the country oversee inspection and certification of meat for export. Some are not unionized and work on individual contracts, but most are members of the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE).

The veterinarians have not had a significant pay raise over the last decade, and have been negotiating with their employer, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF), for two years. As part of this fight they organized a two-day walkout last June.

Their demands included a 10 percent wage increase backdated to last March and a further 4 percent increase in December 2001. MAF offered an 8 percent wage hike to higher-paid veterinarians and 4 percent for those on lower pay scales. The government agency also demanded a range of concessions, including a lengthening of the workday from eight to 11 hours and starting overtime pay after 40 hours in a week, rather than after eight hours worked in a day.

The strike occurred at the height of the meat processing season and generated a hysterical campaign against the veterinarians from government and opposition poli-

ticians, meat industry bosses, and leaders of Federated Farmers, the largest farmer organization in the country, which is dominated by capitalist farmers.

The vets were accused of "blackmail" by State Services Minister Trevor Mallard, and their demands were labeled as "preposterous" by Prime Minister Helen Clark. One worry of the employers in the meat industry is that conceding to the veterinarians' demands would encourage production workers to push for higher wage increases as well.

In an ominous threat, leaders of Federated Farmers threatened to publish and distribute the names and addresses of striking veterinarians. While the vets are employed by the MAF, their wages are paid by the meat companies.

Despite these efforts to whip up hostility against the strike, most meat workers were in solidarity with the fight. In the Canterbury region, where some 1,500 workers were either laid off or worked reduced hours during the strike, the Canterbury Meat Workers Union Secretary, Merv Taylor, said the layoffs are "the price to pay for a struggle for rights and for the right to work a 40-hour week. The vets have achieved what we have struggled for years to maintain."

The strike was settled February 22, with the veterinarians winning a 4 percent wage increase, the retention of their overtime payments, and the promise of a review of their employment conditions.

Stuart Needham is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Christchurch.

# Puerto Rico drug czar plan sparks opposition

Continued from front page

with strangers "over drinks" in a San Juan cafe.

The National Hostos Congress (CNH), a pro-independence group, and the relatives of Mari Pesquera immediately issued statements condemning Collazo's remarks. The CNH accused Collazo of "lying and covering up the involvement of Cuban exile elements and federal repressive agencies in the assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera."

First of all, Mari Bras noted in a February 27 letter to Calderón, his son was attacked and kidnapped at a Burger King—"where they do not serve alcoholic beverages."

Mari Pesquera, 24, was driven to a remote area near the town of Caguas. His body was found on March 24, 1976; he had been shot in the head. Police arrested Henry Walter Coira, 23, the son of a right-wing exiled Cuban businessman. Coira was the only person charged, although a Puerto Rican Justice Department investigation in the 1980s concluded he could not have acted alone. He was convicted and was released from prison after three years.

## Wave of attacks

Supporters of the Puerto Rican independence struggle have pointed out that the killing of Mari Pesquera took place during a wave of violent government and right-wing attacks against the independence and union movements. This included an armed assault on the presses of *Claridad*, then the voice of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and the bombing of the paper's editorial offices.

Covering a news conference in New York by José Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), the *Militant* reported in its April 9, 1976, issue, "Shortly before Pesquera's murder, a smoke bomb was thrown at the PSP's Central Committee offices in Puerto Rico and a shot was fired into the house of PSP leader Rosi Mari, daughter of Juan Mari Bras. Alvarez linked the murder and these other recent attacks on the PSP to the election campaign the party is running in Puerto Rico."

Years later, declassified FBI files showed federal cops reporting with satisfaction that as a result of his son's death, Mari Bras had been forced to curtail his campaign as the PSP's candidate for governor of Puerto Rico.

In his press conference shortly after Mari Pesquera's murder, Alvarez pointed out that not one individual has been convicted in connection with more than 200 violent attacks against the PSP and other pro-independence groups during the last several years. Other attacks included frame-ups of independence activists, the use of agents



March for independence in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in September 1971. Colonial governor plans to appoint as "drug czar" a former cop who was involved in government campaign of violence against pro-independence movement from 1960s through 1980s.

provocateurs against the electrical workers union, and the compiling of spy files—known as the *carpetas*—on tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans.

Mari Bras, a founder of the PSP and for many years its central leader, was a special target of the FBI, which over the years compiled 75 volumes of secret spy files on him.

The disruption campaign by the FBI was part of its notorious Cointelpro operation, which was directed against the unions,

Black, women's rights, anti-Vietnam War, and other social movements, targeting millions of people both in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

Collazo's career is intimately associated with this repression. According to a detailed article in the February 23 issue of *Claridad*, he worked in the Intelligence Division of the Puerto Rican police in the 1960s, having trained at the FBI Academy and the Pentagon's notorious School of the Ameri-

cas in Ft. Benning, Georgia. As an "antiterrorism expert" his job involved maintaining files on independence supporters.

In 1977 Collazo was appointed to the newly created Security Council, established by Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló to wage war against "subversion," which targeted the independence and labor movements. After the government crisis sparked by revelations of the police entrapment and murder of two young pro-independence fighters at Cerro Maravilla in 1978, a number of low-level cops were convicted and the police chief, Desiderio Cartagena, was forced to resign. He was replaced by Romero loyalist Jorge Collazo.

## Death squad

During this time, *Claridad* has reported, several cops, led by police colonel Alejo Maldonado, organized a death squad that, among other crimes, was responsible for the 1979 murder of Carlos Muñiz Varela, a founder of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans supporting normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba. Maldonado, three right-wing Cuban exiles, and a right-wing Puerto Rican politician have been implicated in the death of Muñiz Varela. The police have never charged anyone.

In its statement, the National Hostos Congress declared, "Col. Jorge Collazo should be questioned not only about the murder of young Santiago Mari Pesquera, including the participation of federal agents, of which he knows more than he says, but especially everything related to those who planned and took part in the assassination of Carlos Muñiz Varela, as well as the killing of union leader Juan Caballero, the death of two *independentistas* by a bomb that exploded in the public square of Mayagüez on Jan. 11, 1975, and the assaults on the newspaper *Claridad* and the Impresora Nacional printshop."

In face of this outcry, the Calderón administration announced it would change the proposed bureau's name from "Drug Control Office" to "Office for the Coordination of Control, Treatment, and Rehabilitation in Face of Problems Related to Drugs."

# U.S. Navy temporarily halts Vieques bombing

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The U.S. Navy temporarily suspended bombing practice on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques March 1. The decision, announced by U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, was a concession to those fight-

ing to remove Washington's military from Vieques, where half a century of Navy occupation has devastated the livelihoods and health of the population.

"This triumph is a momentary triumph, and not an eternal victory," said Ismael Guadalupe, a leader of the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques. "We need to redouble our efforts now to try to transform this suspension into a halt to Navy bombing on the island forever."

The struggle to get the U.S. military out of Vieques, which the independence movement has spearheaded for decades, has been at the center of politics in Puerto Rico since April 1999, when a "stray" bomb dropped by a U.S. warplane killed Vieques resident David Sanes.

Under pressure by almost two years of protests, the newly elected governor, Sila Calderón, has been carrying out an intense lobbying campaign in Washington, asking U.S. officials to stop the bombing. Calderón's electoral victory was due in large part to her promise to meet popular demands to end the Navy's ravaging of the tiny island.

Calderón met with Rumsfeld and asked him to delay U.S. military exercises on Vieques until he reviewed a study indicating that noise from the Navy bombing has caused heart disease among residents. Figures show that the island's population also suffers disproportionately high cancer rates.

The Pentagon agreed to suspend training maneuvers on Vieques territory scheduled for April, but said it will carry out maneuvers off the coast of Puerto Rico.

After halting the bombing for several months in face of protests on the island, Washington sent marines and marshals last May to evict demonstrators from the bombing range and resumed its military training and war maneuvers there.

Under a January 2000 agreement signed by then-president William Clinton and the Puerto Rican governor at the time, Pedro Rosselló, training with "inert" bombs will continue until a referendum by Vieques resi-

dents—currently planned for November 2001—to decide whether the Navy stays or leaves by May 2003. Calderón has said she considers the unpopular agreement invalid and is seeking a more rapid end to the Navy bombing.

## Workers in Britain strike GM for one day

Continued from front page

action. A march a week earlier drew 10,000 people into the streets of Luton protesting the company's layoff plans.

Workers at Luton picketed at all the plant gates February 23 and national television news showed pictures of cars turning away as workers refused to cross the picket lines. "The AEEU will not cross the picket line," Mr. Haye, a TGWU shop steward, told the *Militant* during the strike. "We are in the same boat after all. Call it the Vauxhall Titanic. Our object is to keep the plant open but we are the [company's] scapegoats," he said. "The shareholders are looked after more than the workforce. It seems I am not worth the price of a car."

Haye said he thinks the government should step in to save the plant.

The government's "allegiance to the USA is so sweet. They could have done something. Five thousand other jobs are dependent upon our works," he said, noting the wide economic impact the plant closing would have.

Stephen Byers, the Labour government's Trade and Industry Secretary, earlier promised that "our key aim will be to find new job opportunities to replace those being lost over the next year." He has said little about the crisis since.

Union officials plan to fly to Detroit in order to talk with GM bosses. "We will be meeting... to analyze the effects of Friday's action," TGWU regional organizer John Street told a local newspaper. "We will look at the options open to us and decide whether to do it again."

## Supporters meet goal in campaign to increase contributions to SWP

BY STUART CROME

SEATTLE—Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party have concluded a successful campaign to raise their collective monthly contributions to the national work of the SWP. This campaign was launched at the Active Workers Conference last July with a goal of raising supporters' contributions to \$250,000 per year by the end of the year. The campaign was a resounding victory. Supporters are now raising \$265,896 annually or an average of \$22,158 a month.

The campaign is coordinated by a steering committee centered in Seattle, which held monthly meetings to discuss how the effort was progressing. The steering committee sent out a mailing each month summarizing the gains made and passing on ideas on how to broaden out and organize the drive. The mailing included a four-month chart of contributions from each area and a graph indicating the progress of the special campaign.

Sara Gates, the organizer of the steering committee, reports the momentum from the campaign did not end with the December deadline. In a letter sent out February 28 from the steering committee, Gates wrote, "The collection of the first month of the year 2001 indicates that the momentum is continuing. We've had additional raises in several places."

This recent success marks another step in the continuous improvement in supporters' financial contributions over the past 18 months. Both the number of supporters con-

tributing and the amount donated have risen dramatically. In May 1999, 180 supporters contributed \$138,000 a year or \$11,500 a month. As a result of a campaign launched at the 1999 Active Workers Conference later that year, a total of 270 supporters were contributing a total of \$234,888 a year or \$19,574 a month by June 2000. The total climbed to 285 supporters contributing \$265,896 annually by the beginning of 2001. These figures represent a 50 percent increase in the number of participants and a 93 percent increase in the amount of money contributed over the past year and a half.

Contributions by supporters are an important component of the party's national finances. At the 1999 Active Workers Conference, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes announced that for the first time in the party's history the party would count on supporters' contributions as part of its national operating budget.

In her remarks at the Active Workers Conference last July launching the most recent campaign, Gates pointed out that the contributions make it possible for the party nationally to make the decisions based on what is politically necessary to advance its work among workers and farmers in the United States and internationally.

Contributions are collected on a monthly basis in each area where supporters reside and are sent into the SWP national office in New York. If you would like to contribute, please contact Sara Gates at [sjgates@home.com](mailto:sjgates@home.com).



# Workers in contract fights at four airlines

Continued from front page

February 25, pilots at Comair rejected an offer of arbitration by the mediation board in their contract negotiations with the airline. The National Mediation Board released the Comair pilots, organized by the Air Line Pilots Association, for a 30-day strike count-down.

In the current round of negotiations at American, the airline won a temporary restraining order from a federal judge March 2 against the Transport Workers Union, saying that a work slowdown by mechanics at New York's JFK airport forced the company to cancel 90 flights two days earlier. The company said there were "excessive maintenance write-ups on fake safety issues," according to CNN. The union represents 31,000 workers at American. Their contract with the company expired March 1.

In a blow to the Allied Pilots Association, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a ruling this past week that the pilots association and two of its officers must pay \$45.5 million to American in compensatory damages for a pilot sick-out in February 1999 that was ruled illegal by the courts. The 10-day sick-out forced the carrier to cancel nearly 6,700 flights as pilots protested the lower pay rate for pilots at Reno Air, which American had bought up.

## Workers oppose gov't intervention

AMFA members at Northwest were recently released by the National Mediation Board (NMB) for a 30-day "cooling off" period, after which they may legally strike. However, President George Bush says he will intervene and accepted the NMB's recommendation to set up a Presidential Emergency Board (PEB), a move that would delay a strike for at least another 60 days past the March 12 deadline.

Although routinely used in labor disputes on the railroads, this would only be the second time since 1966 the White House stepped in to stop a strike at an airline. The other was in 1997 when President William Clinton ordered pilots back to work at American Airlines minutes after they walked off the job.

By ordering a presidential board "Bush is trying to force us to give in to the company's demands," stated Samuda. "The threat of a Presidential Emergency Board is a scare tactic aimed at us. He is weighing in on the side of the company. If you were Northwest would you negotiate now, or wait until the president intervened?"

Both Washington's intervention on the company's side and the restriction on the right to strike are opposed by AMFA. In a March 3 press release, O.V. Delle-Femine, AMFA's national director, said that by setting up a presidential board, "the administration would essentially be dictating the collective bargaining process and taking away labor's right to seek self-help"—a term AMFA officials use for a strike. "This has serious implications for not only AMFA, but all airline unions negotiating at this time."

According to Dave Argentina, a Northwest mechanic here and a veteran of the 1989-91 strike at Eastern Airlines, the contract fight between AMFA and Northwest has broad ramifications. "How this goes, the rest of the industry goes too," he said.

The main issue in the contract fight is wages. Quin Mathis, a NWA mechanic, gave some background to the union's wage demands. "We haven't had a contract for four years. We haven't had a contract with a raise in nine years. In 1993, we agreed to a three-year, 12.5 percent pay cut and additional concessions," he said.

Some big-business media have been on a campaign to exaggerate what AMFA is demanding of the company. For example, *Detroit Free Press* columnist Doron Levin wrote in a February 15 column that AMFA "seeks a wages scale higher than any airline's current scale, so much higher it would vault mechanics' pay to about that of some pilots." Workers in Minneapolis report that the company sent a letter to employees stating that the mechanics are demanding wages equaling \$170,000 a year.

"The company's figures are bogus, irresponsible," Samuda said. "All we're asking for is what we would be making if we had a 3 percent raise over the last nine years when we didn't get a raise." According to the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, AMFA is asking for

wages of \$31.07 an hour. Since 1996 the company has reported more than \$2 billion in net income.

Mike Tschida, a mechanic in Minneapolis, said AMFA is demanding a "top pay for mechanics of \$32 per hour. Adjusting for inflation, this is equivalent to the pay NWA mechanics received in 1990 before we made the big givebacks. The company offer is \$27 per hour, so there is quite a difference. Resisting the continuing demands of the company for givebacks is important. Unless you do this, the company will degrade your income and your working conditions."

Another mechanic in Minneapolis said leaders of AMFA "have been saying since the start of the negotiations that if the mechanics act like professionals then the company will treat us like professionals, and pay us accordingly. This has not worked. The company is underestimating our resolve. The mechanics are preparing for a strike."

In December the union's negotiating position was to increase top pay for cleaners and janitors to \$20 an hour. This is a smaller percentage raise than for the mechanics.

*Arlene Rubinstein is a meat packer and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1996. Tom Fiske from St. Paul, Minnesota, contributed to this article.*

## BY PHIL DUZINSKI AND HERB VAN BURGEL

HOUSTON—Southwest airlines workers March 2 marched through the passenger pickup, baggage claim, and ticket counter areas at the Houston Hobby airport here, a hub of the "low-cost" carrier. The action, organized as part of informational picketing, was part of the fight for a contract with Southwest by the Transport Workers Union of America (TWU) Local 555.

Negotiations between the union and the company have been going on since December 1999. A tentative agreement was rejected

## 'Militant' subscription drive to start in late March

### BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Socialist workers, members of the Young Socialists, and other supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are preparing to launch an international circulation drive to sell subscriptions to the two publications. The subscription effort will begin in late March and will coincide with the campaign to sell the Pathfinder titles *Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas* and *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*. Both are published in English and Spanish.

Warm-up plans for the circulation campaign include sales at political events, contacting subscribers and others about purchasing the new books, and attending the celebration meetings over the next two weeks in New York and Seattle.

A team to the coalfields in Wyoming and Colorado will begin a five-day sales effort March 11. "The team will visit coal portals at union and nonunion mines, meet with miners who became recent subscribers to the *Militant*, introduce Pathfinder titles to bookstores in the region, and set up literature tables on college campuses," said Frank Forrestal a coal miner in Pennsylvania.

Socialist unionists who work in the packinghouse industry are also making plans to visit meatpacking plants, like the one owned by Excel Corp. in Fort Morgan, Colorado, where workers recently staged a wildcat strike after rejecting a proposed six-year contract.

Campaigning with Pathfinder titles is a complement to winning new subscribers to the two periodicals. These books, along with the *Militant* and *PM*, are among the best tools for helping workers and revolutionary-minded youth to see the capacities of working people to forge a revolutionary leadership, fight to take power, and begin transforming themselves and all of society. What workers and peasants in Cuba did in making their revolution and defending it from attacks by U.S. imperialism help show that the employers and their government are not



Militant/ Deborah Liatos, Inset photo, Michael Pennock  
February 21 picket line at the San Francisco airport by mechanics, ramp workers, and other members of the International Association of Machinists. Inset, workers picket Northwest Airlines at Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport March 7.

in a vote by union members last November over the length of employment necessary before a worker reaches top pay, benefits, low wages, and forced overtime. Beside a one-day strike 20 years ago, this is the first organized job action in this airline's 30-year history. The TWU has represented 5,300 ramp, operations, and provisioning workers at the airline for four years.

Tim Waddell, a ramp worker with seven months seniority, was forced to work three double shifts in a row the previous weekend. "We have to push ourselves to make a wage you can live on," he said. Another ramp worker, Marcus Garcia, said he had been denied overtime until recently, forcing him to get a second job.

TWU District Representative Jerry

McCrummen pointed to the record profits the company has made over the last six years and confirmed that the low wages paid by the airline "make it necessary for many workers to do large amounts of overtime just to live." At Southwest it takes 15 years seniority to reach the top pay scale, compared to five-and-one-half years at Northwest and nine years at Delta.

Workers also say they are fighting the excessive workload demanded by the company. One example of this is that there are approximately 90 workers employed per airplane at Southwest compared to 140 at American airlines. Union members say they are planning further pickets over the coming weeks.

*Phil Duzinski is a textile worker.*

invincible, and that working people can take power and begin reconstructing all of society in the interests of the vast majority.

Through the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*, socialist workers can make advances in rooting their headquarters in workers districts. This includes setting up weekly sales tables and going door-to-door in the neighborhood. Organizing sales to co-workers and at factory plant gates is another way to broaden the readership of the *Militant*.

## Capital Fund launched to advance production of revolutionary literature

### BY MAGGIE TROWE

A Capital Fund to make possible the continued production of Pathfinder books and pamphlets will be launched at the March 11 and 18 meetings in New York City and Seattle being organized by the communist movement.

The meetings will celebrate the publication of Pathfinder's new book, *Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, which will be issued in Spanish and English, and the initiation of an ambitious campaign to promote and sell the title. The two events will also mark the recent publication of *Haciendo historia*, the Spanish edition of *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*, and *Fertile Ground: Che Guevara and Bolivia* by Bolivian revolutionary Rodolfo Saldaña.

"Capital contributions are necessary to finance the next steps in Pathfinder's long-term publishing efforts," Dave Prince, Capital Fund director, said in an interview. Prince explained that Pathfinder volunteers organized to put the new books into formatted, digital form, ready for publication. In order to produce *Bay of Pigs* in record time, the volunteers set up a round-the-clock, international operation to turn the copy, photo signature, and cover into a digital file, ready

Making this a regular part of the drive will take planning and weekly coordination.

The drive takes place at a time of continued strikes and other resistance by working people. These include the growing ferment among airline workers; the strike by 8,000 rail workers at Union Pacific in late January; and coordinated one-hour walkouts in Georgia, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Ohio by workers at the UNITE-organized Kmart warehouses to protest contract violations and the bosses' assault on union rights.

to produce in Pathfinder's printshop.

The Pathfinder Reprint Project is also turning out a growing number of titles from Pathfinder's extensive catalog. Reprint volunteers are pushing to achieve their goal of having 50 percent of all Pathfinder titles in digital form by May Day. At the same time, Pathfinder's printshop is working toward a steady rhythm of printing four to five Pathfinder books every week to ensure these titles are available to workers and farmers the world over.

The Capital Fund accepts contributions of \$1,000 or more, Prince explained. "Contributions come from individuals who want to help sustain the publishing efforts, and can make available capital from inheritances, bequests, trusts, and other 'accidents of birth,' or from windfalls that occur from time to time," he said.

"Capital Fund contributions are needed now to assure the long-range stability of this book production pipeline," Prince said, "including the capital needs for Pathfinder's printshop and for the building that houses the printing and publishing facility."

To find out more about the Capital Fund or to make a contribution, attend one of the meetings advertised on page 1, or write to the Capital Fund Committee, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

## Bosses need women in the reserve army of labor

As part of celebrating Women's History Month, the *Militant* is reprinting an excerpt from the introduction to *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, and Mary-Alice Waters. Copyright © 1986 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The capitalists' offensive against women's rights is not aimed at driving women out of the work force. That is historically precluded. The percentage of wage and salaried workers who are female has

been rising, from one plateau to another, ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution. Instead, the aim is to make women more vulnerable to increased exploitation. The goal is not to push women out of the labor market but to push them down—to jobs with fewer paid holidays, more piece work, less safety, shorter lunch breaks, less union protection, and lower wages.

Women have always made up an important component of the pool of unemployed workers that Marx called the industrial reserve army of labor. This reserve army never disappears under capitalism, even in the best of times. But in a period of capitalist stagnation such as we have lived through over

the last decade, the owners of capital need to expand this army of the unemployed in order to intensify competition among workers and thus drive down wages. Hundreds of thousands of women workers were forced into its ranks during the 1980-82 recession, eroding some of the employment gains they had previously won.

### Bosses' ideological campaign

The bosses' ideological campaign seeks to reinforce the idea among both sexes that women are "natural" recruits to this reserve army. They are "normally" only marginal workers, temporary workers, part-time workers, home workers. Women are only a

"second" wage earner in the family. In periods of rising joblessness, there are always assertions by ruling-class "opinion molders" that unemployment statistics are artificially high, since women should not really be counted as unemployed in the same way as men, who are considered the main breadwinners. This propaganda is aimed at convincing women to accept, with less resistance and resentment, temporary unemployment, or new jobs at lower wages. All this is true despite the increase in female heads of household, a trend that will continue as the evolution of capitalism continues to disintegrate the family.

The capitalists want women to blame themselves, not the social relations of production, for the economic and social problems they confront every day. The goal is to make women feel guilty that their children are being permanently damaged by "abandonment" in child-care facilities (if they exist), or are being turned into lonely latch-key delinquents. Rather than demanding—as a right—both child-care facilities and equal access to high-paying jobs previously barred to them, women are pushed toward being grateful for any job, at any wage.

### Rulers' strategy: deepen race divisions

Part of the rulers' strategy is also to deepen race divisions. They seek to break down solidarity and intensify competition between women workers who are fighting their way into nontraditional jobs and Black workers, who constitute a large proportion of the politically more conscious, vanguard layers of the working class. Since women are getting jobs that men "ought" to have, they are alleged to be responsible for the high rate of unemployment of Black males. The employers also attempt to pit white women and Black women against each other along similar lines.

Even the notion that backward, prejudiced men are the source of women's problems is accorded a favored niche in the employers' propaganda arsenal as an alternative to the truth that the capitalist system is responsible for perpetuating the oppression of women.

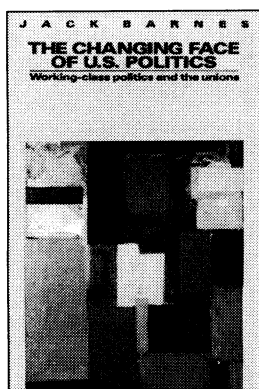
### Glorification of the family

Because the advances in women's status in the 1960s and 1970s were so broad, and the changes in consciousness so sweeping, the counteroffensive against women's rights in the last few years has been all the more concerted. It has taken numerous forms:

- The defeat of Equal Rights Amendment
- The onslaught against abortion rights—from the withholding of government funds; to the bombing of clinics; to the propaganda, day in and day out, that abortion is murder, murder, murder. State, local, and federal legislation and court rulings have placed more and more restrictions on abortion rights, and government officials are seeking to make even deeper inroads.
- The concerted drive to roll back affirmative action gains, to foster the "white-male" backlash against Blacks and women.
- Glorification of the family, built around the theme of a woman's special fulfillment of herself as a mother. Supermom is in. She often works a full-time job. That is accepted. But it's only when she comes home, we are told, that her real responsibilities, and her true possibilities for fulfillment, begin. Supermom makes sure her kids—and husband—don't suffer too much for her selfish absorption in her own life. And, deep down, she has a lot of doubts about whether she's doing the right thing. Isn't this "new woman" wonderful? How many guilt-tripping articles with that reactionary message have been published in the last few years?

## Special for members of the Pathfinder Readers Club

**25% Discount**  
Offer ends March 31



### The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

*Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*

JACK BARNES

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century that accompany the arrival of the twenty-first century. It shows

how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and their conditions of life and work. Also available in Spanish and French. \$19.95 **Special offer \$14.95**

### Feminism and the Marxist Movement

MARY-ALICE WATERS

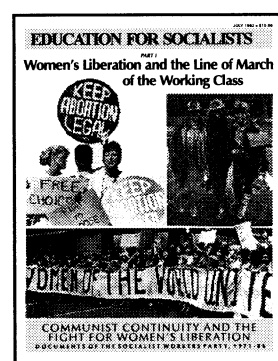
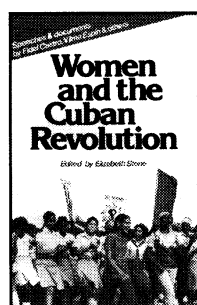
Since the founding of the modern revolutionary workers movement 150 years ago, Marxists have championed the struggle for women's rights and explained the economic roots in class society of women's oppression. \$3.50 **Special offer \$2.65**

### Women and the Cuban Revolution

*Speeches and Documents by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín, and others*

EDITED BY ELIZABETH STONE

The transformation of women's economic and social status in Cuba since the 1959 revolution. \$14.95 **Special offer \$11.25**



### Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation (3 parts)

*Documents of the Socialist Workers Party 1971-86*

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

How did the oppression of women begin? Who benefits? What social forces have the power to end the second-class

status of women? This three-part series helps politically equip the generation of women and men joining battles in defense of women's rights today.

**Part 1: Women's Liberation and the Line of March of the Working Class**

**Part 2: Women, Leadership, and the Proletarian Norms of the Communist Movement**

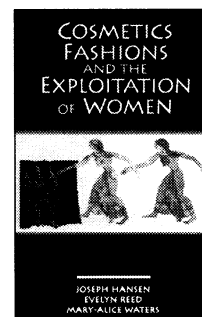
**Part 3: Abortion Rights, the ERA, and the Rebirth of a Feminist Movement**

Set \$30 **Special offer \$15.75**

### Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

JOSEPH HANSEN, EVELYN REED, AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

How big business promotes cosmetics to generate profits and perpetuate the inferior status of women. How the entry of millions of women into the workforce during and after World War II laid the basis for the advances women have won through struggle in recent decades. \$20.95 **Special offer \$11.25**

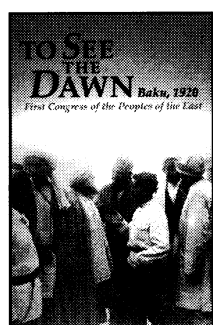


### Woman's Evolution

*From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*

EVELYN REED

Assesses women's leading and still largely unknown contributions to the development of human civilization and refutes the myth that women have always been subordinate to men. \$22.95 **Special offer \$17.50**



### To See the Dawn

*Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East*

How can peasants and workers in the colonial world achieve freedom from imperialist exploitation? By what means can working people overcome divisions incited by their national ruling classes and act together for their common class interests? These questions were

addressed by 2,000 delegates to the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East. \$19.95 **Special offer \$15.00**

### JOIN THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

The Pathfinder Readers Club enables workers, young people, and others to build up their libraries of revolutionary books. Club members get a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder titles at any of the Pathfinder bookstores around the world. Periodic special offers, such as the titles promoted in this advertisement, offer even bigger savings. Join today! \$10 annual fee

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 13, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Visit

**THE MILITANT**

on line

[www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com)



# Coal miners' union fights moves by bosses to stop implementation of new black lung rules

BY TONY LANE

PITTSBURGH—Legal efforts by the coal miners' union to have a court order lifted that blocks the processing of most new claims for black lung benefits was rebuffed February 16 by Judge Emmet Sullivan.

Prior to the judge's latest ruling, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Cecil Roberts stated, "I promise you the UMWA and our friends in the black lung community will continue to fight this lawsuit with all our might."

UMWA safety director Joe Main said that it is the union's "strong belief that if the Bush administration had chosen not to support the coal industry's lawsuit, there never would have been a preliminary injunction issued.... We are very angry about it."

The injunction, approved February 9 by Sullivan, puts on hold many sections of the new regulations governing black lung benefits. The rules were published in December and came into effect on January 19, the last day of the Clinton administration, after an almost four-year review process.

Sullivan granted the injunction in response to a lawsuit brought by the coal bosses, through their National Mining Association. When the suit reached court, the Bush administration weighed in on the side of the bosses, backing their request that the new regulations not be implemented. The coal bosses have vigorously opposed the rule changes, claiming they will result in the closure of many small mines.

The union pointed out that contrary to the claims of government attorneys that only 1 or 2 percent of new claims for black lung benefits would be delayed, nearly half of all claims could be delayed by the injunction granted by the judge. Almost 500 new claims are filed every month by miners and miners' widows. The union filed a "motion to reconsider," contending that the injunction was granted based on inaccurate claims by the government's attorneys. A final ruling by the judge on the suit will not come until late May.

## Rules a modest improvement

Roberts explained that the new rules "would have only modestly increased the approval rate—from just above 7 percent to about 12 percent—although we considered any movement upward as positive movement." He noted, "The costs to the coal operators were estimated by their own experts to amount to six cents per ton.... In the grand scheme, these costs are nominal and did not warrant the lawsuit."

At the same time as the coal bosses are mounting this campaign against changes in the black lung regulations, with their claims that it will bankrupt some coal operators, industry sources have been reporting a resurgence in coal. Share prices of coal companies have gone up and coal contracts have increased.

The UMWA president also challenged George Bush to "talk to the many black lung victims...and explain his administration's support for the industry's lawsuit." Roberts said, "What appalls me most is that President Bush campaigned throughout the coalfields on his strong support for black lung benefits. It did not take long for that rhetoric to fall flat."

The UMWA has also issued a five-page summary of the new regulations that ex-

plains how some of the rules are favorable to miners and some are unfavorable.

Those benefiting miners include:

- Limitation on evidence. The summary explains that "because operators have far more money than miners, they currently swamp miners with scores of...expert medical reports as well as countless depositions." But that under the new regulations, "each side would have the opportunity to submit only...two medical reports." The summary concludes that this "will substantially help to level the playing field and ensure that cases will be decided on the basis of the most reliable evidence, and not always in favor of the party who can purchase the most evidence."

- Recognition of treating physician. The regulations include a rule that says the opinion of the miner's treating physician may be given controlling weight on the question of whether the miner suffers from black lung

and whether it is disabling.

- The summary explains that the new rules make it easier for a widow to win black lung benefits. The operators said that black lung had to be the sole cause of the miner's death. The new rule says that as long as death is hastened by black lung, the widow wins the claim.

- A miner's lawyers can now be paid for all his work, from the beginning of the case. But a lawyer can only collect a fee if a miner's claim wins.

## Adverse effects

The UMWA summary also points to a number of rule changes which will hamper miners' efforts to win black lung benefits, many of which flow from the lengthy rules and regulations miners will have to follow in filing a claim. These setbacks include:

- Quality standards which can be used to invalidate evidence. The UMWA explains

that "many of these rules are unnecessarily strict" and that "there is no question that these new rules will hurt miners whose doctors are not as familiar with these hyper-technical standards." This could be used to invalidate evidence submitted by a miner's own doctor, undercutting the value of the special weight given to this evidence.

- Miners have to take their initial medical examinations from doctors in their own state or contiguous states. In the past, a miner could select any doctor on the list. The UMWA points out that "particularly for miners in Alabama and Wyoming, this may make it very difficult to obtain a fair initial evaluation."

- If the miner misses a conference on his case, his claim will be denied.

- Miners who are disabled by a combination of diseases cannot win claims. It explains that under the new rules, a miner must prove that black lung alone disables him.

# Supreme Court allows cops to bar entrance to homes while getting a search warrant

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The U.S. Supreme Court dealt another blow to democratic rights with a February 20 ruling that allows cops to detain individuals outside their homes until they get a search warrant. The decision marks a further step by the U.S. ruling class over the past year to chip away at Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches and seizures.

The nine judges also decided to take under review a case on government intrusion into the privacy of a person's home, which involved police using a thermal imaging device to snoop on residences in working-class neighborhoods.

In an 8-1 vote the High Court overturned an Illinois appellate court decision stating cops violated the constitutional rights of Charles McArthur when they prevented him from going into his house trailer while they were getting a search warrant. McArthur was kept outside his home in Sullivan, Illinois, for two hours in 1997 after he told the police they could not enter his residence without a warrant. When a cop returned with one, they conducted a search and allegedly found less than 2.5 grams of marijuana in the house.

The Fourth Amendment, which provides guarantees against illegal searches and seizures, requires police to have a warrant before conducting a search. The government has established several exceptions, including when cops claim a person is supposedly destroying evidence.

"Given the nature of the intrusion and the law enforcement interest at stake, this brief seizure of the premises was permissible," wrote Justice Stephen Breyer for the eight-member majority. The police "imposed a restraint that was both limited and tailored reasonably to secure law enforcement needs while protecting privacy interests."

In a concurring opinion, Justice David Souter said the cops could have allowed McArthur to enter his home and followed him inside under the pretext that they believed he was destroying evidence. He said the cops' decision to impound his home was less intrusive than this action that they could have taken.

## High-tech snooping devices

After announcing their decision in the Illinois case, the justices decided to review a 1992 case from Oregon involving the government's use of technology against a person's right to privacy. Among the tools at the disposal of cops to spy on individuals is the Agema Thermovision 210, which measures heat patterns. "Police use them because sometimes a suspicious heat flow can be evidence of criminal conduct," the *Washington Post* reported February 21.

While snooping on a neighborhood in Florence, Oregon, on Jan. 16, 1992, the cops used a thermal imager to record infrared radiation emanating from the house of Danny Kyllo, a 35-year-old laundry worker. Ten days later cops burst into Kyllo's home with a search warrant and found heat lamps

and marijuana plants. He was arrested and sentenced to more than five years in prison. Kyllo appealed his conviction on the grounds that the cops should have had a warrant before using the thermal imager.

The Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at first overturned the lower court's decision against Kyllo, but in a rehearing a new panel of judges sided with the government, saying the cops' use of the thermal imager did not amount to a search and did not violate Kyllo's Fourth Amendment rights.

Kyllo's attorney, Timothy Lerner, asserted that use of the snooping tool was an invasion of his right to privacy. "Home is a ba-

sic refuge for all citizens," said Lerner. He compared the thermal imager to wiretapping and other electronic spying tools for which Supreme Court rulings mandate warrants be obtained prior to being used by the cops.

Government lawyers claim that the device only shows heat emissions, emphasizing that it does not reveal any particular objects or people behind walls. But witnesses have testified in the courts that a thermal image taken through an open window can reveal some activities of a person in a darkened room.

The Supreme Court is expected to rule on this case by the summer.

# Bosses end lockout of hospital cleaners in New Zealand



Militant/Christine Beresford  
**Locked-out hospital cleaners picket outside main hospital February 26 in Wellington, New Zealand. Workers won round in contract fight when bosses called off lockout.**

BY CHRISTINE BERESFORD

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—After three days on the picket line, cleaners at public hospitals in Wellington, New Zealand, won a round in their fight for a new contract when their employer called off the lockout.

The 100 cleaners at four public hospitals in the Wellington area, members of the Service and Food Workers Union, had been locked out by Spotless Services after rejecting the company's proposed contract and threatening to strike. Spotless brought in scab labor, mainly management personnel, to do the union members' work. Spotless is a private company contracted to provide cleaning services at the hospitals.

"The key issue is they're trying to get rid of our job security," said Lalopua Sanele, a union delegate at Wellington hospital, while on the picket line February 26. "We'll be on the picket line for as long as it takes," she added. A young woman also walking

the line said she was protesting for "wages and to protect our redundancy [pay]."

The workers rejected a contract proposed by the company that includes a new provision whereby laid-off workers will receive a maximum of only 12 weeks redundancy [layoff] pay, regardless of how long they have been employed, and nothing at all if redundancies are the result of changes initiated by management—the most likely reason.

The cleaners also want a rise in their base pay of NZ\$9.71, and cite Spotless's NZ\$13 million profit last year (NZ\$1=US 43 cents).

The majority of the cleaners are Pacific Islanders, especially from Samoa. They carried placards and chanted and sang in both Samoan and English. Many of the cleaners' children joined them on the picket line at the end of the school day.

*Christine Beresford is a member of the Service and Food Workers Union in Wellington.*

## From Pathfinder

### Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes

"The capitalist rulers offer us social disaster. They offer us depression. They offer us death from curable disease. They offer us war. They offer us fascism. They offer us an unending list of horrors. But we offer ourselves the ability to prevent those horrors from becoming the final reality, the confidence that we can transform that future." **\$23.95**

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 13.

# Washington's Bay of Pigs invasion and the

## Foreword to new book tells how advancing Cuban revolution won new genera

Reprinted below is the foreword by Jack Barnes to *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs: Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas*, which Pathfinder Press is releasing this month in both English and Spanish editions. The new title includes the July 1999 testimony of Brig. Gen. José Ramón Fernández before a Havana, Cuba, court, detailing the background to the Cuban people's victory over a U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary invasion near the Bay of Pigs on April 17-19, 1961. Fernández was the commander of the main column of Cuban combatants that fought and crushed the invading force. The book also includes excerpts of three speeches by Cuban commander-in-chief Fidel Castro, given immediately before and after Cuba's revolutionary victory at Playa Girón.

Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Copyright © 2001 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

*"The October Crisis was a continuation of the U.S. fiasco at Girón. The defeat they suffered there led them to risk an atomic war. Girón was like a bone sticking in their throats, something they don't accept to this day. In war one either wins or loses. But they can't admit having lost in their efforts to dominate such a small country."*

Division General Enrique Carreras  
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba  
October 1997

### BY JACK BARNES

On the morning of April 18, 1961, readers of daily newspapers across the United States woke up to front-page headlines proclaiming, "Rebels Near Havana, Invade Four Provinces." An Associated Press news dispatch reported that "Cuban rebel forces"

had landed within thirty-eight miles of Havana and at numerous other points on the island. Citing a press release from the "Cuban Revolutionary Council," the dispatch said that much of the Cuban militia had already defected to the invading forces and "in the next few hours" the deciding battle for the country would be fought. "Rebel" forces were "in control of the Isle

Around the country, however, in dozens of cities and on a number of college campuses, there were pockets of individuals who knew from the beginning that every word of the AP story was a lie. We had been carrying out an intensive educational campaign for weeks. We had been getting ready for the invasion we knew was coming, preparing to act here in the Yankee heartland,

and asserting that, all press reports to the contrary, the U.S.-government-organized and -financed invasion was being defeated, not winning.

As we had been doing for months, we pointed to the immense popularity of the revolution among the Cuban people in response to the measures the new government was organizing them to take. The mafia-run gambling dens and brothels, a national shame, had been shut down. Land had been distributed to more than 100,000 tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and squatters. House and apartment rents, as well as electricity and telephone rates, had been slashed. Racial discrimination was outlawed and equal access not only made law but enforced. Public beaches, previously off limits to Blacks, had been opened to all. A nationwide campaign to eliminate illiteracy had been launched—part of a broader extension of public education to the countryside, among the poor, and for women. Popular militias had formed in factories, other workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, and towns across the island, as Cubans demanded arms and military training to defend their new conquests. The huge money-gouging U.S. monopolies had been nationalized, as well as the major landed, commercial, and industrial property holdings of the wealthy Cuban families who had been the social and political base of the Batista dictatorship.

Through more than two years of popular mobilization, the workers and farmers of Cuba had begun transforming not only their country but themselves, we explained. It was precisely for this reason that Cubans could, and would, fight to the death to defend their revolution—and do so successfully.

Only thirty-six hours after the initial AP stories made headlines across the United States, the counterrevolutionary "rebel forces"—who had landed not thirty-eight miles from Havana or on the Isle of Pines, but near the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of the island—had been ignominiously routed at Playa Girón by Cuba's popular militias, Revolutionary National Police, and Rebel Army. Not only the decisiveness, but also the speed of the April 19 defeat was crucial. The strategic plan authorized by President John F. Kennedy called for the 1,500-man mercenary force to establish and hold a beachhead on an isolated slice of Cuban territory long enough to declare a provisional government and appeal for direct military intervention by Washington and its closest allies in Latin America.

The shock of this very first military defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Americas began to register in Washington, and among its defenders in pressrooms, factories, and schools across the country. In the weeks that followed, as bitter and self-serving re-creations among organizers of the invasion spilled out, more and more information about the U.S.-run military operation and the background of the individual Cuban "freedom fighters" began to make its way into the mainstream press in the United States.

As these facts became known, supporters of the Cuban Revolution took full advantage to spread the truth, point to the accuracy of what we had been arguing for months, and underline the sober exactitude of the speeches and statements of leaders of the Cuban Revolution over the previous two years.

The first issue of *Time* magazine to appear after the Cuban victory, for example, revealed that the purported authors of the Cuban Revolutionary Council press release cited so authoritatively by AP, including "prestigious" figures such as José Miró Cardona, not only had nothing to do with the invasion plans but had actually been held as quasi-prisoners by the U.S. government while the operation was under way. The press release issued in their name had in fact been written by the CIA men in charge of the invasion, while the members



Cuban Council of State

**August 1960 mobilization backs nationalization of imperialist-owned properties in Cuba. Coffins symbolizing main companies being expropriated are carried to sea to be dumped. During summer spent in Cuba, Jack Barnes, along with other young people from across the Americas, participated in these actions, which "constituted one of the most important turning points of the revolution."**

of Pines and had freed some 10,000 political prisoners held there."

Most Americans took the story as good coin, expecting to soon hear that the "pro-Communist dictator" Fidel Castro had been ousted.

side by side with the Cuban people the moment it happened. Between April 17 and April 19, as the battle was being fought in Cuba, we confidently took to the streets, organized speak-outs, posted marked-up newspaper clippings, and went on the ra-

**Special offer for members of the Pathfinder Readers Club**  
**Both books for \$25**

## Playa Girón/ Bay of Pigs

### Washington's First Military Defeat in the Americas

Fidel Castro  
José Ramón Fernández

In less than 72 hours of combat during April 1961 near the Bay of Pigs, Cuba's revolutionary militias, police, and armed forces defeated an invasion by 1,500 mercenaries armed,

trained, supported, and deployed by Washington. In the process, the Cuban people not only transformed their country and themselves, but set an example for workers and farmers across the Americas and the world. With political consciousness, class solidarity, unflinching courage, and a revolutionary leadership displaying an impeccable sense of timing, it is possible to stand up to enormous might and seemingly insurmountable odds — *and win*. Forty years later the U.S. rulers can still neither accept nor extinguish this example.

In English and Spanish. □ Foreword by Jack Barnes

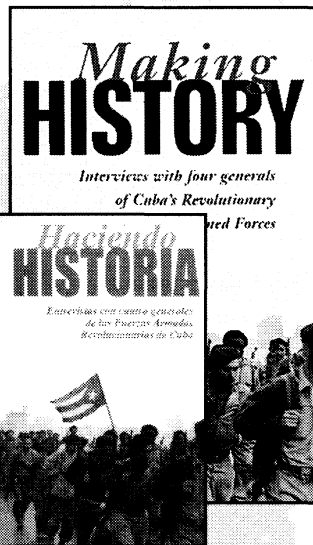
**\$20 Special offer \$15**

## Making History

### 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.

**\$15.95 Special offer \$12**



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 13, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.  
Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.



# ie U.S. class struggle tion in U.S. to communist movement

of the CIA-created Cuban government-in-exile were held incommunicado under military guard in a barracks at the deserted Opa-Locka airfield near Miami.

Both the AP wire story and *Time* magazine article, and the use we made of them, were part of the intense argument that raged on a number of campuses, as well as in factories, rail yards, and other workplaces throughout the United States during the opening years of the Cuban Revolution. It was a propaganda battle that, from one end of the country to the other, became a confrontation in the streets both during the days surrounding the U.S.-organized invasion at the Bay of Pigs and a year and a half later during the October "missile" crisis.

This political battle that began more than forty years ago was one that changed the lives of a not-insignificant number of young people in the United States. It transformed the communist movement here in a way that paralleled the profound changes taking place in Cuba and elsewhere around the world. Nothing since the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has had such an impact.

There are moments in history when everything ceases to be "normal." Suddenly the speed of events and stakes involved intensify every word and action. Neutral ground seems to disappear. Alignments shift and new forces come together. The polite conventions of civil discourse that normally reign in bourgeois circles evaporate, including within the "academic community."

April 1961, when the bombing and invasion of Cuba by mercenaries organized, financed, and deployed by Washington met the fearless resistance and lightning victory of the Cuban people, was such a moment.

At the time I was the organizer of the campus Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) at Carleton College, a small, very respectable liberal arts school in Northfield, Minnesota, a few miles south of the twin cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul. The billboard at the Northfield city limits welcomed visitors to "Cows, Colleges, and Contentment." The contentment was sorely tried by the rise of the Cuban Revolution, and by the historic and irreconcilable conflict of class forces reflected at the Bay of Pigs. The cows continued to fare well.

The experiences we went through at Carleton were not unique. To one degree or another they were repeated at several dozen colleges and universities across the United States.

## The Carletonian

Student Newspaper of Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.  
EDITOR: JOHN MILLER  
MANAGING EDITOR: TONY SEDGWICK  
BUSINESS MANAGER: JOHN P. NELSON  
Sports Editor: Jim Graves, Tom Nelson  
News Editor: Bob Bergman  
Feature Editor: Libby Nybakken  
Political Editor: Jack Barnes  
Photography Editor: John Herzog  
Copy Editor: Nancy Jensen  
Proof Editor: Marcia Miller  
Advertising Managers: Stu

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Barb Thompson, Kathy Abigail, John Brown, Gerri Carlen, Doug Canikins, Ford, Linda Hale, Mary Hardin, Paul Langford, Bob Lee, Judy McNally, Joe Oberholtz, Gail Omvedt, Karin Peter, Dahl, Sue Scoville, Harriet Scrum, Le Turnbull. TYPIST: Kay Pover. L. READERS: Sue Ford, Mary Hardin, PROOFREADERS: Alice Davemport, Metach. CARTOONISTS: Joan Anderson, Margot Dufrene, Rolf Oliver, Bob Rud. LINES: Bruce Blattenberger, Dave J. Sipe. PHOTOGRAPHERS: Dave B. Hagquist, George Hill, Bob Kelsey. SPORTSWRITERS: Dave Beckwith, Solomon, Garick Uley. CIRCULATOR: Marsha Berg, Sally Broad.

Minnesota campus newspaper *The Carletonian* carried exchanges on Cuban Revolution and other political questions. Right, cartoon blasts paper's editor for running editorial backing recognition of campus Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Below, notice for forum on Cuba, part of the student-sponsored Challenge speakers program.



## Carletonian

Challenge Presents  
Third Cuba Program  
Tomorrow Evening

Students concerned with Cuban-United States relations will have a chance to ask questions and discuss problems Thursday when Jack Barnes, Doug Dewey, Jim Gilbert and George Tuelos present the third in a series of Challenge programs.

The January 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution, combined with Washington's intense hostility to the economic and social transformation being wrought so close to U.S. shores, led three Carleton students to decide to visit Cuba in 1960 to see for themselves. I was one of those students, spending the summer in Cuba on a Ford Foundation grant to study the economic changes taking place there. I was deeply affected by these ten weeks of daily participation together with other young people and with the workers and farmers of Cuba in actions that constituted one of the most important turning points of the revolution. Returning for my senior year, I was determined to find those in the United States whose response to what was happening in Cuba was similar to mine. I had two intertwined goals: to work together with whomever possible to oppose Washington's attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution, and to find among them those who wanted to organize their lives to emulate here the example set by the Rebel Army and Cuba's working people.

From the spring of 1960 on, every political person in the world knew an invasion of Cuba was imminent. Reports on the CIA recruitment and training facilities in Florida, Louisiana, and Guatemala circulated for months. Despite heavy government pressure on mostly pliant journalists and publishers alike, bits and pieces of news found their way into print. Cuba's foreign minister, Raúl Roa, speaking before United Nations bodies, at least three times publicly detailed the scope of the preparations under way. He made it clear beyond challenge that the only question was exactly when and where the invasion would occur, not whether.

Under the impact of experiences in Cuba, we organized a Socialist Study Group on campus to read and discuss Marxist theory—from *The German Ideology* and other early works by Karl Marx that had recently been published in English translation for the first time, to the *Communist Manifesto*, to works by communist leaders in the United States. We organized other students to subscribe to the *Militant* newsweekly—which we had begun reading in Cuba and was our most thorough, regular, and reliable source of information about the revolution.

Early in 1961, convinced the invasion could not be more than weeks away, we organized a campus chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and began to carry out virtually nonstop political education activities to lay the groundwork for deepening and broadening opposition to Washington's plans.

The bulletin board in the student union became a battleground. Every day we posted clippings with the latest news reports from the big-business dailies and weeklies, from the *Minneapolis Tribune* to *Newsweek*—marked up and annotated to underscore Washington's acts of aggression against Cuba and to expose the fabrications and self-contradictory information emanating from U.S. government sources. We also tacked up speeches by Cuban leaders that we clipped out of the *Militant*, and we made the unqualified assertion that their assessment of the U.S. rulers' response to the advance of the revolution would soon be proven correct. Opponents of the revolution, from liberals to ultra-right-wingers, would reply by posting articles they thought bolstered their views; we would answer the next day, often using the very same sources to expose their arguments. We were learning a valuable

lesson about the existence, and effectiveness, of imperialist disinformation campaigns.



Cuban militia unit goes into action near Bay of Pigs to repel U.S.-organized invasion. Revolutionary militias, police, and army crushed mercenary force in less than 72 hours. Ranks of supporters of the Cuban Revolution expanded as news of the rout came in.

Bohemia

lesson about the existence, and effectiveness, of imperialist disinformation campaigns.

No one tried to tear down clippings or halt the debate, however, which we counted as our first victory. We had done what communists in plants and mills across the country were simultaneously doing: we had taken the moral high ground, proving that defenders of Cuba, not our opponents, were the ones pressing for debate, for openness, for reading the press critically and discussing the facts.

In February 1961 we initiated a series of public meetings on Cuba. These programs were sponsored by Challenge, a public lecture series we had established earlier in the school year after winning support from the student government for the initiative. The campus newspaper, *The Carletonian*, described the program as designed to "challenge the underlying beliefs and assumptions of the student body by bringing to the campus 'numerous intelligent and committed individuals who hold dissenting views which are not heard by the Carleton student body.'"

Challenge had already had a broad impact on campus. It organized debates on U.S. covert operations in Laos. Marxist literary critic Annette Rubinstein, an editor of *Science and Society* magazine, had lectured on Shakespeare. Challenge sponsored a debate on the May 1960 San Francisco "riots" against the so-called House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). We held a showing and discussion of *Salt of the Earth*, the blacklisted movie about the battle to organize zinc miners in the Southwest, and a member of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers spoke after the film about their 1950 strike and ongoing battle against the mine operators. Another program on the unions—an "unknown institution" at Carleton in those years—featured Mark Starr, the longtime education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

All these events were controversial on campus. But nothing compared to what broke out around programs on Cuba.

In March 1961 a Mr. Dupree, a representative of the American University Field Service who had spent one and a half years in Latin America, spoke at a Challenge meeting. A letter to the editor in the next *Carletonian* complained of the "rude treatment" he allegedly received from several students who had sharply challenged him on the facts in response to statements he made about Cuba. Dupree acknowledged at the meeting that he wasn't an authority

on the subject and later had to admit to the student paper he had never even been to Cuba.

The following week two members of the National Fair Play for Cuba Committee spoke on campus about the Cuban Revolution and the deepening struggle for Black rights throughout the United States. One was Robert F. Williams, a founding member of Fair Play who two years earlier had been removed by top NAACP officials as president of the Monroe, North Carolina, chapter for organizing fellow Black war veterans into armed self-defense of their community against racist thugs and nightriders. The other speaker was Ed Shaw, Midwest organizer of Fair Play, who was a



Jack Barnes (third from left) in Havana, 1960, with Cuban militia member, far left, and other youth from the U.S. Barnes returned from Cuba "with two intertwined goals: to work together with whomever possible to oppose Washington's attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution, and to find among them those who wanted to organize their lives to emulate here the example set by the Rebel Army and Cuba's working people."

typesetter and member of the International Typographical Union from Detroit, as well as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. That meeting had a powerful impact on campus. What impressed us above all was that Williams and Shaw each talked about both the struggle for Black rights and the Cuban Revolution with similar ease and insight.

The next week, four Carleton students who had visited or lived in Cuba—three of them organizers of the campus Fair Play for Cuba Committee—presented a slide show and debated the issues.

We organized to make sure that every issue of *The Carletonian* carried articles, letters, cartoons, and other commentary that was part of the deepening discussion about the Cuban Revolution among students and faculty. Jim Gilbert, a supporter of Fair Play who had visited Cuba during the Christmas break at the end of 1960, wrote an extensive article describing his experiences and observations about the social and political gains of the Cuban people. By chance

Continued on Page 10

Continued from page 9

Gilbert had visited Playa Girón, where the revolutionary government was focusing development efforts that had already begun transforming conditions of life and work for the impoverished residents of the Zapata Swamp, previously one of the most isolated and backward regions of the country. Little did we know at the time the special significance Playa Girón would have in a matter of weeks, not only for the Cuban people but for the work of supporters of the Cuban Revolution.

The unfolding debate at Carleton, as elsewhere, was deeply affected by hearing accounts in early 1961 of the murder of young literacy campaign workers in Cuba by CIA-financed and -armed counterrevolutionary bands in remote areas. Homilies from liberal opponents of the revolution about the need to see both sides of the story seemed brutally hypocritical beside photos of Cuban teenagers lynched for the crime of teaching peasant families to read and write. Or for the crime of having on a militia uniform as they walked home at night, unarmed.

Supporters of the revolution also put a spotlight on the unjust and brutal treatment of prorevolutionary Cubans in the United States. Only days before the Bay of Pigs invasion, Francisco Molina, an unemployed Cuban worker who supported the revolution, was convicted in New York City on second-degree murder charges. *The Carletonian* carried the story. Molina had been framed and found guilty of murder for the accidental death of a young Venezuelan girl during a fight, provoked by an assault by Cuban counterrevolutionaries, that broke out in a New York restaurant during Prime Minister Fidel Castro's September 1960 visit to speak before the United Nations General Assembly. On grounds of "national security," the judge prevented Molina's defense attorneys from pursuing the identity and other relevant information about the counterrevolutionary Cubans involved in the incident. As the respectable press howled about the lack of justice in Cuba, the class character of "justice" in the United States could not have been more clearly demonstrated for us.

During these same weeks, a major fight involving much greater forces than those at Carleton alone broke out over campus recognition of the student Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In early February the student government association, by a two-thirds majority, approved an application for recognition from the campus chapter of the FPCC. A very vocal minority objected, arguing that a group avowedly dedicated to "dissemination of material both of fact and opinion on contemporary U.S.-Cuba affairs" and establishing "broader understanding of U.S.-Cuba relations" could not be a legitimate campus organization since, they charged, the FPCC was "vulnerable to communist influence." A cartoon in the following issue of the campus paper depicted Nikita Khrushchev, Mao Zedong, and Fidel Castro standing behind *Carletonian* editor John Miller, who had run an editorial supporting recognition of Fair Play, and chortling, "Well, boys, what'll we put in next week's *Carletonian*?"

The large majority vote by the student government association didn't settle the matter, however. A faculty meeting also had to approve the charters of all student organizations before they could be recognized, normally a formality following a favorable student government recommendation. After stalling for a month on technicalities, in mid-March the faculty assembly took up the FPCC application, along with a letter from three students objecting to recognition of the campus chapter. Appended to the letter were excerpts from the records of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, chaired by Democratic Party senators James Eastland of Mississippi and Thomas Dodd of Connecticut, which was at that time conducting a congressional witch-hunt hearing on "communist influence" in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Dean of the College Richard Gilman told a closed faculty meeting "he had information saying that the Socialist Workers Party have a special and partisan interest in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee—that they are using it for their own purposes." According to *The Carletonian*, "Gilman admitted that this information presented was not documented evidence but rather was the 'opinion' of two sources," whose identity he refused to reveal because of the "nature of the information and the sources."

The campus paper reported that a request from the campus Fair Play organizers that they be given even "one documented incident to indicate use of the FPCC by another political group for purposes other than those enumerated in its charter" was denied.



Protesters condemn Jim Crow segregation. Young militants defending the Cuban Revolution had cut their political eyeteeth as part of the civil rights battles.

Also refused was a request that they be provided with the identities of even one of the purported "sources" so they could "confront Fair Play's accusers" and either refute or corroborate their "opinions."

A few days before the faculty vote on recognition, Gilman asked me to drop by his office. He handed me copies of expurgated pages from an FBI file on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee containing informers' reports on meetings of the committee in Minneapolis-St. Paul, including garbled comments attributed to individuals identified as members of the Socialist Workers Party. When the dean asked me if I recognized any of the names, I assured him I did, and considered a number of them my comrades. They were members of the party I was soon to join. I also protested that I knew them well enough to assure him they could not have made the kinds of remarks attributed to them by the FBI's apolitical stooges.

"That really makes no difference, does it Jack?" was Gilman's only reply. It was a very short meeting.

It wasn't the facts or content that mattered, it was the accusation, or rather the threat behind the accusation. That was the message. This was the tried-and-true witch-hunting method machined during the war administration of Franklin Roosevelt, broadened in use by Harry Truman, then honed over more than half a decade in the late 1940s and early 1950s by Richard Nixon, Joseph McCarthy, and their ilk. It was a method still very much in use in 1961. "X" and "Y" were known members of the Socialist Workers Party, a communist organization, and the Socialist Workers Party was on the Attorney General's List of Communist or Subversive Organizations—in those days that was often sufficient to end further discussion.

Even with all this, Gilman wasn't sure enough of a majority to allow a faculty vote on recognition of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. On March 11 the faculty accepted the dean's recommendation not to act on the student government proposal, pending clarification of some matters about which he was awaiting "further information." Everyone got the point. The school year would soon be over, and the central leaders of the committee were seniors. The dean and others hoped their "problem" would be eliminated before the next academic year began.

But wars register sharpening not diminishing class struggle. Far from disappearing, their "problem" was about to get worse.

With the bombing of the Cuban airports on April 15; the April 16 mass mobilization that registered the socialist character of the revolution, politically preparing the Cuban people for the impending invasion; and the April 17 landing of the mercenary forces at the Bay of Pigs followed by their crushing defeat fewer than three days later—all documented by Fidel Castro and José Ramón Fernández in the pages that follow—everything ceased being normal.

One of the routines of campus life at Carleton was the lunchtime reading of the day's news dispatches. In each dormitory dining room, as a sit-down lunch was being served by student waiters working for their scholarship funds, the head waiter would read a handful of the morning's press dispatches from United Press International. UPI's teletype service was provided free of charge by Lucky Strike cigarettes to the

campus radio station on condition that Lucky Strike be acknowledged as the sponsor of all news programs. Which it was. Except when "The Sleepy Fox," who hosted the morning wake-up music and news program, sometimes announced the sponsor was a popular brand of Havana cigar. He also prepared students for the day by opening with the "July 26 Hymn," an antidote to "The Star-Spangled Banner" with which radio and TV stations in the United States signed on and off each broadcast session.

On Monday, April 17, the dry, slightly cynical style of the lunchtime news readings changed. Initial reports of the assault on Cuba were suddenly greeted by slightly flushed right-wingers leading rhythmic chants of "War! War! War!" The rapidity of the transformation, and the incipient violence that lay so close to the surface beneath the "political debate," was something none of us had seen before.

Three days later, for those who had led the chants, the unimaginable had happened. You could almost see the ranks of supporters of Fair Play for Cuba expanding as the news readers flatly intoned UPI dispatches announcing the utter rout of the mercenary forces at "Cochinos Bay." We were surprised as some campus workers, instructors, and students we barely knew—who



Top, cadres of right-wing Young Americans for Freedom tried to bust up April 18, 1961, speak-out called by campus Fair Play for Cuba Committee at University of Minnesota. A small core of the largely hostile crowd pelted speakers with snowballs and milk cartons. Confrontation sparked extensive debate on campus.

Bottom, April 19, 1961, picket line in Detroit, Michigan. Photo was "Exhibit 39" in publication issued by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in June 1961. Booklet contains the witch-hunting committee's unsuccessful effort to grill Ed Shaw, Midwest organizer of Fair Play for Cuba Committee (at center left in photo).



"Our understanding of class questions," Barnes says, "was accelerated immeasurably by the fact we were sharing our day-by-day experiences with communist workers in the Twin Cities, such as V.R. Dunne," (above).

had remained poker-faced during the previous three days—came up with a handshake or smile to say something friendly, even if not openly mentioning Cuba.

The year 1961 in Cuba was "The Year of Education," when more than 100,000 young people, the big majority of them teenagers, left their homes and spread out across the country to eradicate illiteracy from Cuba before the year was up. In unexpected ways, 1961 was the year of education for us as well.

One of our biggest lessons was what happens in an imperialist country when war begins.

In a matter of hours on April 17, the broad undecided center had shrunk to a voiceless kernel. Months of concentrated political action preparing for the war fell into place in a few decisive days. Committed builders of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at Carleton in early 1961 had been



fewer than half a dozen. But now came the payoff for the weeks of education, propaganda work, writing, talking, pushing for and organizing open political debate, and taking up the challenges of every opponent on every issue. As the workers and peasants of Cuba inflicted a crushing defeat on U.S. imperialism, support for the political positions we had been defending exploded overnight. But only because we were there, we were prepared, and we were ready to respond.

The sharp and violent polarization that erupted as the first shots were fired taught us another big lesson. As opponents of the U.S.-sponsored invasion, we were in the streets within hours. But so too were the ultra-right-wing cadres of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), who mobilized to try to physically prevent Fair Play for Cuba Committee actions from taking place.

On the steps of the University of Minnesota student union on April 18, where the campus FPCC had called a protest speak-out, a largely hostile crowd of several hundred swelled to well over a thousand as right-wingers pelted the speakers with snowballs and milk cartons, while the cops smiled. With the predominantly liberal and pacifist rally organizers unprepared to defend the meeting, John Greenagle, state chairman of the YAF, forced his way onto the platform to deplore the defeat of Batista, while a few other students appealed for tolerance and dialogue. Even one of those who had been lined up to speak as an opponent of the invasion rushed to take his distance from the Cuban Revolution, bleating out, "We don't support Castro. Once again the Cuban people are under the heel of a dictator, but is an American-supported invasion the way to help them? Is this armed force any better than Batista or Castro?"

An effigy of the "commie" Fair Play for Cuba Committee was hung in front of the chemistry building the next morning.

Similar confrontations took place at other schools across the United States, from Madison, Wisconsin, to Providence, Rhode Island.

We learned in practice what Batista and the Cuban Revolution had already taught us from afar: that in the United States, too,



**Robert F. Williams, a founding member of Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Williams organized fellow Black war veterans into armed self-defense of their community in Monroe, North Carolina, against racist thugs and nightriders.**

we would have to defeat the reactionary thugs in the streets even to have the right to make our positions known.

We got an education in liberalism, too, as our faculty friends went silent or absented themselves, rather than take on a dean (a supposedly reserved and tolerant one, of course) waving the Attorney General's list and FBI informer reports in their faces. We saw student allies who had previously been staunch defenders of the Cuban Revolution, or at least of Fair Play's right to function like other campus organizations, suddenly develop cold feet; they were discovering that future career plans were incompatible with continued association with friends who were becoming communists.

Others made the opposite life decisions in a matter of days.

Our understanding of these class questions was accelerated immeasurably by the



**Demonstration of 5,000 people in New York's Union Square on April 20, 1961, condemns U.S.-organized invasion. Peter Camejo of Young Socialist Alliance addresses the crowd.**

fact we were sharing our day-by-day experiences, talking about them into the wee hours of the night with communist workers in the Twin Cities. They were people like V.R. Dunne, who had been a member of the Communist International at its founding, a leader of the Teamsters strikes and organizing drives in the Upper Midwest during the 1930s, and one of the first victims railroaded to prison by the federal government under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act for opposition to U.S. imperialism leading up to and during World War II.

These workers pointed us to the history of the class struggle in the United States, to the lessons we needed to learn from the workers and farmers whose fighting legacy we inherited. They drew on this rich history to help us understand what we had to be prepared for as we went up against the most violent and brutal ruling class in the world.

Above all, they taught those of us who, like themselves, were so strongly and passionately attracted to the example being set by the fighting workers and peasants of Cuba that the challenge—for us—was not there. Cuba's workers and farmers had proven they could take care of themselves. They helped us see that *our* fight was in the United States. That Washington, to paraphrase Cuban Division General Enrique Carreras, would never be able to get that bone out of its throat.

Those workers like Dunne and others helped us see that the contest would end only with the defeat of the revolution in Cuba or a victorious socialist revolution in the United States.

"There is one thing we can most certainly tell Mr. Kennedy," Fidel Castro told a cheering crowd in Cuba on March 13 of that year. "A victorious revolution will be seen in the United States before a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba."

That had become our conviction too. As beyond belief as this appeared to the average American, it seemed the only *realistic* perspective to us, and we set out to speed the day.

The continual interchange between new, young activists, mostly on the campuses, and communist workers whose experiences on the job and in the unions paralleled ours as we all went through the same rapid political shifts and changes, helped deepen our understanding of what we were living through. Our rail worker comrades reported receiving a friendly nod from fellow workers for telling the truth about Cuba in the same way that we were being encouraged in many indirect ways by those on campus we had not previously realized were following so closely what we were saying and doing.

We came to appreciate that everything depended on the political work done beforehand. We learned firsthand how dan-

gerously wrong and class-biased were the fears and semihysterical reactions of many of our campus-based colleagues. The source of reaction was not "backward American workers" but the U.S. ruling class. And the danger came also from those who, whether they owned up to it or not, had set out on a life course to camouflage, help divert attention from, and politically rationalize the rapacious and brutal actions of that ruling class. The battle before us was first of all a political battle inside the working class, as part of the working class.

As Cuban workers and farmers pressed forward their socialist revolution and U.S. aggression mounted in reaction to their

gains, the lessons transformed the way we looked at the battle for Black rights in the United States as well. The mass proletarian struggle to bring down the Jim Crow system of legal segregation throughout the South, with its various forms of discrimination extending throughout the country, was marching toward bloody victories at the same time that the Cuban Revolution was advancing. We could see in practice that there were powerful social forces within the United States capable of carrying out a revolutionary social transformation like the working people of Cuba were bringing into being.

The core of the activists defending the Cuban Revolution were young people who had cut their political eyeteeth as part of the civil rights battles, supporting the Woolworth lunch counter sit-ins and joining or supporting marches and other protests in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and elsewhere in the South.

The many faces of reaction, some in Ku Klux Klan hoods, others with sheriff's uniforms and FBI jackets protecting them; the lynchings and murders on isolated country roads; the dogs and water cannons unleashed on protesters—all were burned in our consciousness, as part of the lessons we were learning about the violence and brutality of the U.S. ruling class and the lengths to which it will go to defend its property and prerogatives.

And we were learning lessons, too, from

the armed self-defense organized by Black veterans in Monroe, North Carolina, and elsewhere in the South. Immediately following the U.S. defeat at the Bay of Pigs, during a debate in the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, Cuban Foreign Minister Raúl Roa read a message that former Monroe NAACP president Robert F. Williams had asked him to convey to the U.S. government.

"Now that the United States has proclaimed military support for people willing to rebel against oppression," Williams wrote, "oppressed Negroes in the South urgently request tanks, artillery, bombs, money, use of American air fields and white mercenaries to crush racist tyrants who have betrayed the American Revolution and Civil War."

We rapidly came to see that the legal and extralegal violence directed against those fighting for their rights and dignity as human beings here in the United States was one and the same as the mounting overt and covert aggression against the people of Cuba. We placed the struggle for Black rights in the world. It became totally intertwined for us with the stakes in defending the Cuban Revolution.

This was exemplified above all by the convergence of the Cuban Revolution and Malcolm X, whose voice of uncompromising revolutionary struggle—by any means necessary—was then increasingly making itself heard. Fidel Castro met with Malcolm at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem during the Cuban delegation's trip to the United Nations in 1960. Malcolm invited Che Guevara to address a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity during Che's trip to New York in 1964.

For us, these and other expressions of the growing mutual respect and solidarity that marked relations between Malcolm X and the Cuban leadership were further confirmation of our own developing world view.

The April 1961 actions condemning the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba—held in a score of cities across the United States, as well as a number of small college towns—registered an important moment in U.S. politics in another regard.

In many cities, for the first time in decades, these were united front actions, called under the banner of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and organized both by those identified with the *Militant* newspaper and by those who looked for leadership to the *Daily Worker*, newspaper of the Communist Party. Representatives of each of these historic currents in the broad working-class movement joined July 26 Movement speakers and prominent individuals not affiliated with any current on speakers' platforms from New York to Detroit, from Minneapolis to San Francisco. The actions were testimony to the impact of the Cuban Revolution as well as the leadership of the July 26 Movement.

The potential for unified actions had re-

**Continued on Page 12**



**Protest against the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Together with rising fight for Black rights, Cuban Revolution and response by young people helped deal one of the first blows to the anticommunist witch-hunt and red-baiting.**



Continued from page 11

ceived a boost during the summer of 1960 when scores of young people from the United States, affiliated and unaffiliated, traveled to Cuba, many of us participating in the July 26 celebration in the Sierra Maestra mountains and attending the First Latin American Youth Congress in Havana. We took part in the wide-ranging political debate among young people from all over the Americas and the world, trying to understand the onrushing struggle we were part of and thinking through the questions addressed by Che Guevara in his opening speech to the youth congress, where he asked: "Is this revolution communist?"

The answer Guevara gave posed the issues we were all discussing. "After the usual explanation as to what communism is (I leave aside the hackneyed accusations by imperialism and the colonial powers, who confuse everything)," Guevara responded, "I would answer that if this revolution is Marxist—and listen well that I say 'Marxist'—it is because it discovered, by its own methods, the road pointed out by Marx."

Guevara's explanation coincided well with the conclusions I was groping toward during that decisive summer when all the major imperialist-owned industries in Cuba were nationalized by massive mobilizations of working people from one end of the island to the other. Guevara's view was far from a unanimous one, however, and we spent many long hours debating among ourselves the political and theoretical issues that were posed.

Despite sharp political differences over the dynamic of the revolution in Cuba and class politics in the United States, the fact that different currents were able to come together in action against the U.S. government, even if briefly, registered the weight of the Cuban Revolution in the Americas, and the degree to which it opened up a historical potential to shatter old molds and alter the relationship of class forces that had for years dominated what was broadly considered the "left."

The campus Fair Play for Cuba Committees and the actions in response to the U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bay of Pigs also dealt one of the first blows to the anti-communist witch-hunt and red-baiting. As the Carleton example illustrated, the hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee aimed at dividing and destroying the effectiveness of Fair Play simply failed to have the same effect on students they would have had several years earlier.

Throughout these same months of intense political action in defense of Cuba, Committees to Abolish HUAC, the House Un-American Activities Committee, had been mushrooming on campuses across the country. On April 21, one day after a Union Square demonstration of 5,000 in New York City condemning the U.S. invasion, nearly the same number turned out for an anti-



First company of Battalion 134 at Playa Girón celebrates victory over mercenary forces.

HUAC rally in the city to protest the imminent jailing of several prominent civil liberties and civil rights activists for refusing to cooperate with the House committee.

Among students, especially, conviction that the U.S. rulers were lying about Washington's total control of the invasion and other actions against Cuba went hand in hand with rejection of the government's witch-hunt methods. Openness to searching for the truth about Cuba was incompatible with a belief that the opinions of some should not be heard because they were communists or were labeled communists.

In a prelude to what happened during the opening years of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the mid- and late 1960s, the witch-hunting moves of right-wing students and faculty, far from paralyzing organizing efforts, became targets of derision and scorn. The majority of students awakening to political life simply refused to support attempts to exclude members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, or any other group, from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The victory at Playa Girón punctured the myth of U.S. imperialism's invincibility. It left us with the conviction that the Cuban Revolution would be at the center of the class struggle inside the United States as long as the working class was in power in Cuba, and we had become convinced that such would be the case for the rest of our political lives. The U.S. rulers could never accept revolutionary Cuba and would never stop trying to get rid of it and the example it set. Their most vital class interests were at stake. That was the truth we had to bring to working people in the United States and prepare to act on.

Within a matter of days of the Bay of Pigs defeat, President Kennedy stepped up covert operations against Cuba and began organizing directly from the White House even more extensive military preparations for a U.S. invasion. We didn't know the scope of those operations at the time, nor that the administration only a year and a half later would push them to the brink of unleashing a nuclear war. But we did know that Fidel Castro was speaking the truth to the people of Cuba and the world in his April 23 report on the victory at Playa Girón when he emphasized that the victory "does not mean that the danger is past. Quite the contrary. We believe that the danger is now great, above all, the danger of direct aggression by the United States."

The victory of Cuban working people at Playa Girón, together with the concentrated class-struggle experience we had gained over a few months of intense action, had in a matter of a few days transformed a group of young people for the rest of our lives. Before the Bay of Pigs there had been only one member of the Young Socialist Alliance at Carleton College, myself, and one

at the University of Minnesota, John Chelstrom, an eighteen-year-old freshman who, when everyone else froze in front of the rabidly hostile crowd, stepped forward and led off the April 18 speak-out on the steps of the student union, not only opposing the invasion but openly identifying himself with the Cuban Revolution.

Between those days of concentrated politics, and similar experiences lived through during the October 1962 "missile" crisis, we recruited scores of young people who were won to the communist movement not for months or years, but for life. At Carleton College alone during that brief span, these recruits included over a dozen who later became leaders of the communist movement—national officers of the Young Socialist Alliance, national officers and National Committee members of the Socialist Workers Party, editors of the *Young Socialist*, the *Militant*, the *New International*, leaders of the movement's industrial trade union work, and of countless defense committees and coalitions, editors of Pathfinder Press—individuals who to this day remain committed to the political current and active along the political course they became convinced of in those decisive days. In fact, forty years later, a large majority of them were involved in bringing this book into print!

Through those experiences four decades ago, we were won not just to an ideological position or a moral stance, but to a course of political conduct and, most importantly, to the habits consistent with it. With a sense of history, we signed on for the duration, recognizing that the revolutionary fight for power is a struggle that can only be waged country by country, and possibly the most satisfying victory of all will be the United States. For us, what Cuban workers and peasants had accomplished was the example in our own political lifetime of the necessity and the possibility of revolution, of how to fight to win, of the capacity of ordinary human beings to transform themselves as they confront challenges and take on responsibilities they would have previously deemed impossible. We and millions like us were the only ones who could "remove the bone"—by following the example the revolutionary militias, police, and army had set in smashing the invasion at Playa Girón.

The pages that follow are not primarily a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the victory at the Bay of Pigs. Rather, in clear and unambiguous words, these pages register accurately the historical accomplishment achieved there.

The July 1999 testimony offered by José Ramón Fernández draws its unusual power not only from being the firsthand account of the field commander of the main column that fought and defeated the U.S.-organized invasion, but also from his use of the major accounts published by those who recruited, trained, and commanded the enemy forces. He points not only to what the revolutionary leadership of Cuba knew and did at the time, guaranteeing the decisive victory at Playa Girón. Fernández also cites the judgments and opinions rendered in the maps and charts the mercenary forces later drew for themselves, as well as the balance sheets of top CIA officials during the months and years that followed their totally unexpected defeat.

The three speeches by Cuban commander in chief Fidel Castro excerpted here capture the intensity of the moment, the stakes for the people of Cuba, and their confidence in ultimate victory. The same is true of the April 15 calls to battle by Raúl Castro and Che Guevara, as well as the war communiqués issued by the revolutionary government between April 17 and the victory on April 19. The confidence marking each of them is born not of some unfounded belief in military invincibility, but of the recognition that history and justice are on their side, and that the price the empire will have to pay to conquer them is one no capitalist politician will be capable of doing or willing to try.

The U.S. rulers, and those who follow their lead, still to this day cannot grasp what Fidel Castro stressed in his April 23 report to the Cuban people on the victory at Playa Girón, and what José Ramón Fernández underlines in his testimony: that the military strategy and tactics of those who



Cuba's foreign minister, Raúl Roa, speaking at United Nations. In 1960 and early 1961, Roa "at least three times publicly detailed the scope of preparations" for the invasion.

planned the invasion at the Bay of Pigs were sound; the defeat was rooted in their class blindness to what the men and women of Cuba had wrought, to the objective power of a just cause and of an armed and revolutionary people committed to defend it and acting with the decisiveness and speed necessary to shape the course of history.

The invading forces lost their will to fight before they ran out of bullets. During three days of battle, they could never even get off the beaches, and additional U.S. air or naval support would have made no difference to the ultimate outcome.

Most importantly, for those of us living and working in the United States, this is a book about the future of the class struggle here. It is about the workers and farmers in the imperialist heartland, and the youth who are attracted to the line of march of these toilers—workers and farmers whose revolutionary capacities are today as utterly discounted by the ruling powers as were those of the peasant and proletarian masses of Cuba. And just as wrongly.

The Bay of Pigs was the first great defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Americas. It will not be the last.

That will occur right here.

## 20% discount

Through April 1 for members of Pathfinder Readers Club

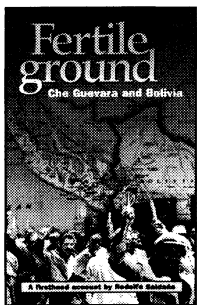
### Fertile Ground CHE GUEVARA AND BOLIVIA

A firsthand account  
by Rodolfo Saldaña

Rodolfo Saldaña was one of the Bolivians who joined ranks in 1966-67 with Ernesto Che Guevara to forge a revolutionary movement of workers, peasants, and young people to overturn the military dictatorship in Bolivia and open the road to socialist revolution in South America. Here, Saldaña talks about the unresolved battles of the tin miners, peasants, and indigenous peoples of his country that created "fertile ground" for Guevara's revolutionary course and mark out the future of Bolivia and the Americas.

Special offer \$8.00  
(regular price \$9.95)

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 13.





# Farmers discuss crisis at national meeting

**Continued from front page**  
delegates, many were small farmers who employ little or no labor. Others, such as farmers operating large dairy farms in California or Pennsylvania, or large potato and sugar beet operations in Idaho, employ half a dozen or more workers on a seasonal basis or year-round.

Many convention participants had joined the NFU-organized Rally for Rural America, in Washington, D.C., a year ago. The event, attended by 3,000 people, was endorsed by a broad coalition of labor, religious, and farm organizations, including the AFL-CIO, and had the backing of a number of Democratic Party politicians. About one-fourth of the convention delegates were women. Last year the NFU women's conference in Minneapolis attracted 100 members from eight states, and a regional women's meeting hosted by the Oklahoma Farmers Union drew 70 participants.

## 'I don't want to give up'

Marcy Svenningsen, 39, from Valley City, North Dakota, farms 1,500 acres with her husband. They have 200 head of cattle and raise wheat and nine other crops. "We diversify to spread the risk," she said. "We're hanging in there, but we're not making it. Our equipment is old. We have a 20-year-old tractor." She has worked for years full-time as business manager of a company in Valley City to make ends meet. "I run the combine on my vacations and my son works after school," she said. "All I ever wanted to do is farm, but I can't because we can't afford it, even though 200 head of cattle and

1,500 acres is enough to keep both of us busy."

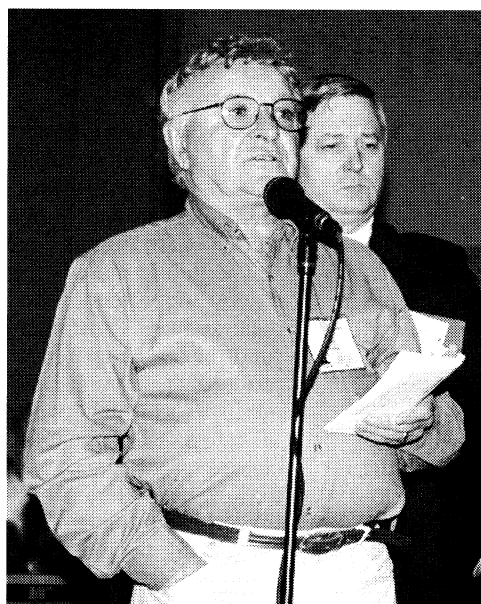
Cattle prices have risen enough to make some money, Svenningsen said, but grain prices are down, and the government has raised land taxes every year for the past decade. "Our cattle supports the rest," she said, "but you need \$4.25 a bushel to make money on wheat, and it's \$3.00 or \$3.25 a bushel now. That's when I got started in the Farmers Union. I've noticed a lot of gloom among farmers over the last couple of years. People say, 'What can we do?' and some of them give up and sell. But I don't want to give up."

Wheat farmers in North Dakota and Minnesota have been hit hard by rainy weather, low prices, and scab, a disease that attacks the wheat plant, Svenningsen said.

Dairy farmer Gene Murtz runs the Skyline Dairy farm in Pennsylvania with his two brothers. He said it costs \$14.00 per hundred pounds to produce milk but he is only receiving \$12.00.

Joe Rankin, 52, a cotton farmer from Ralls, Texas, said cotton prices are at the lowest level since the 1940s. He and other farmers in the Lubbock, Texas, area, which with 2 million acres is one of the world's largest cotton patches, are receiving 40 cents a pound for cotton. "My cost of production is 75 cents a pound," Rankin said, "and the government has put the disaster payments under review, so payment is stalled." Rankin's costs are rising, especially fuel. "When I started farming, propane was six cents a gallon. Now it's \$1.50."

Hog prices are now around 40 cents a pound, close to the cost of production for



Militant/Maggie Trowe

**Participants in the National Farmers Union convention, held in Rochester, New York, March 2-5. Left, farmer from Canada said farmers face the same crisis across North America. Right, delegate from South Dakota. Women made up one-quarter of delegates to the convention.**

many farmers, but small hog producers are still staggering from several years of extremely low prices. Alvin Bauman, 87, drove to the convention from his home in Subetha, Kansas. "I got involved in the fight when my two sons, who are farmers, ran into problems. One had to sell hogs for 11 cents a pound. When he told me, it made my blood boil and I got active in the Farmers Union. The other is a dairy farmer, and milk dropped

from \$16 per hundredweight to \$10."

## Farm income dropping

On the first full day of the convention, Gregory Pompelli, an official from the U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, ticked off the stark figures that document what every farmer attending the convention knew from direct experience. After several years of falling or flat prices, farm income is projected to be even lower next year, the lowest since 1995. While prices are up 5.4 percent this year, overall costs are up 5.9 percent, with the price of fuel up 18 percent and of fertilizer up 44 percent. Pompelli said that while average farm household income is slightly above the average of \$58,842 for all U.S. households, without the off-farm income of one or more household members it would be far below the average.

In response to the pressure to keep costs down, some farmers who employ wage labor expressed opposition to efforts by farm workers to eliminate piecework pay, which often results in earning less than the minimum wage. Gary Turner, president of the Idaho Farmers Union and a potato and sugar beet farmer, spoke against the proposals, which he said would raise his labor costs. "We shouldn't lose the prerogative to ask them to work at a certain rate," he said of

**Continued on page 14**

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Grand Opening of the Pathfinder Bookstore.** Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, garment worker who recently returned from the Havana International Book Fair as part of the *Militant* reporting team. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. 1035 NE 125th St. #100, North Miami. Donation: Program: \$4. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (305) 899-1861.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**Why Can't Everyone Have a Job? The Fight Against Rising Unemployment, the Importance of Affirmative Action, and the Debate Over the Ashcroft Nomination.** Fri., Mar. 16, 7:30 p.m. 3720 6th Avenue. Tel: (515) 288-2970.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**The Energy Crisis: How Workers and Farmers can Respond to the Monopolies' Profit Drive.** Speaker: Don Brown, Jr., diversified farmer and president of Illinois Grasslands and Forage Council; and Cappy Kidd. Sat., March 17, 7:00 p.m. Dinner, 6:30 p.m. 1212 N. Ashland, 2nd floor. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Attacks on Women's Rights.** Speaker: Ilona Gersh, member United Auto Workers, and representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 16, 7:30 p.m. Dinner, 6:30 p.m. Northwest Activities

## CALENDAR

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Defend South Carolina dockworkers.** Support five dockworkers and members of the International Longshoremen's Association in Charleston, South Carolina, facing frame-up charges. **Meeting at Tulane University.** Fri., Mar. 16, 4:00 p.m. Jones Hall, Room 204. **Panel: Community Labor United Breakfast.** Sat., Mar. 17, 10:00 a.m. to 12 noon. Tulane University. Contact: John Arena (504) 314-6218.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**March for Women's Lives.** Sun., April 22. Sponsored by the National Organization for Women. For more information, call: (212) 627-9895.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**Socialist School. Classes on the historic change in the family structure and coming social battles; the Jewish question and the fight against anti-Semitism.** March 17-18. Sponsored by the Communist League. For further information, call 020 928 7993.

Center, 18100 Meyers Rd. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**The First Two Months of the Bush Administration: the Continuing Bipartisan Assault on Workers and Farmers.** Speaker: Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Mar. 10, 7:30 p.m. Reception, 6:30 p.m. 372A 53rd Street at 4th Ave. Tel: (917) 379-6379.

#### Upper Manhattan

**Education is a Right! Defend Bilingual Education, Oppose Privatization of Schools.** Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 540 West 165th St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

#### Garment District

**The Crisis Facing Farmers Today.** Speaker: Maggie Trowe. Fri., March 9, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th

Ave., 14th floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

**Defend Bilingual Education!** Speaker: Laura Garza. Fri., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Ave., 14th floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

### AUSTRALIA

#### Sydney

**The Legacy of Malcolm X.** Speaker from the Communist League. Sun., Mar. 18, 5:00 p.m. 176 Redfern St., 1st floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9690 1533.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**Eyewitness Report from Havana Book Fair on the Cuban Revolution Today.** Sat., March 17, 6:00 p.m. 47 The Cut. Tel: 020-7928-7993.

6325. E-mail: TC6446325@cs.com

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** 506 Springfield Ave. 3rd floor. Zip: 07103. Mailing address: Riverfront Plaza, P.O. Box 200117. Zip: 07102-0302. Tel: (973) 643-3341. E-mail: swpnewark@usa.net

**NEWYORK: Brooklyn:** 1068 Fulton St., 3rd floor. Mailing address: PMB 197, 655 Fulton St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-7850. E-mail: swpbrooklyn@yahoo.com **Garment District,** 545 8th Ave. Mailing address: P.O. Box 30. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 695-7358. E-mail: nygd@usa.net; **Upper Manhattan:** 540 W. 165 St. Mailing address: 3792 Broadway #250. Zip: 10032. Tel: (212) 740-4611. E-mail: swpuptown@usa.net; **Pathfinder Mural Bookstore:** 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

**OHIO: Cleveland:** 7535 Broadway. Zip: 44105. Tel: (216) 641-9405. E-mail: 103253.1111@compuserve.com

**PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia:** 5237 N. 5th St. Zip: 19120. Tel: (215) 324-7020. E-mail: PhiladelphiaSWP@yahoo.com **Pittsburgh:** 1003 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. E-mail: 103122.720@compuserve.com

**TEXAS: Houston:** 619 West 8th St. Zip: 77007. Tel: (713) 869-6550. E-mail: swphouston@cs.com

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 3541 14th St. N.W. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 722-6221. E-mail: dc-swp@starpower.net

**WASHINGTON: Seattle:** 126 SW 148th Street PMB #C100-189. Burien. Zip: 98166-0996. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: swpseattle@qwest.net

### AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 1st Flr, 176 Redfern St., Redfern NSW 2016. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879,

Haymarket Post Office, NSW 1240. Tel: 02-9690-1533.

E-mail: 106450.2216@compuserve.com

### BRITAIN

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 020-7928-7993.

E-mail: 101515.2702@compuserve.com

### CANADA

**Montreal:** 4613 St. Laurent. Postal code: H2T 1R2. Tel: (514) 284-7369. E-mail: 104614.2606@compuserve.com

**Toronto:** 2761 Dundas St., Postal code: M6P 1Y4. Tel: (416) 767-3705. E-mail: milpathtoronto@cs.com

**Vancouver:** #202D-4806 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3R8. Tel: (604) 872-8343. E-mail: clvancouver@cs.com

### FRANCE

**Paris:** Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 47-26-58-21. E-mail: 73504.442@compuserve.com

### ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 0233, IS 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. E-mail: milpth@mmedia.is

### NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. E-mail: milpath.auckland@actrix.gen.nz

**Christchurch:** Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Postal address: P.O. Box 13-969. Tel: (3) 365-6055. E-mail: pathfinder.militant@paradise.net.nz

### SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. E-mail: 100416.2362@compuserve.com

# Join campaign to sell new books

*“The Bay of Pigs was the first great defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Americas. It will not be the last.*

*“That will occur right here.”*

*—Jack Barnes, foreword to ‘Bay of Pigs’*

Two upcoming public events, in New York and Seattle, provide an important opportunity to celebrate and discuss a historic advance for working people—the victory scored 40 years ago by Cuba’s workers and farmers in dealing the world’s mightiest imperialist power a stunning defeat and defending their socialist revolution.

The crushing of a U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, won through the fearless resistance of Cuban working people and the revolutionary decisiveness of their leadership, has had a lasting impact on world politics.

As Jack Barnes explains in his foreword to the new Pathfinder book *Bay of Pigs: Washington’s First Military Defeat in the Americas*—reprinted in this issue—the opening of the Cuban Revolution and its effect on U.S. politics changed the lives of an entire layer of young people in the United States and transformed the communist movement here.

The March 11 East Coast meeting and March 18 West Coast event will be a launching pad for a campaign to sell three new books—Pathfinder’s *Bay of Pigs*, *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces*, and *Fertile Ground: Che Guevara and Bolivia*. These political tools are necessary for mili-

tant workers and farmers and a new generation of revolutionary-minded youth to study and conquer—together with communist workers of all generations—the lessons of the class struggle and the fight to build a revolutionary workers party in this country.

The public meetings will also highlight the effort today by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party to produce and sell Pathfinder books, and the launching of a fund-raising campaign to assure the long-term ability to produce these books and meet the capital needs of the publisher’s printshop. Both weekends of these events will include sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, classes on aspects of Marxism, and inaugural forums in the new headquarters of Socialist Workers Party branches in workers districts of Brooklyn and Seattle.

Working people and youth who are interested in the communist movement are urged to participate along with socialist workers, young socialists, and supporters of the SWP in these two full weekends of political activity, and to join the efforts to sell these new titles. Socialist workers and young socialists can start making plans for this campaign, discussing the books with co-workers or fellow students, introducing the titles to workers and farmers on picket lines and at protest actions, and getting the books into bookstores and libraries where they can be found and read by working people and youth hungry for the historic lessons and revolutionary politics needed to advance the struggles of the working class and its allies around the world.

# Airline workers find ways to fight

Despite court orders, threatened intervention from the White House, and “cooling off” periods imposed by the labor board, workers in the airline industry are finding ways to organize and advance their fight for contracts at major companies across the United States. The overwhelming vote authorizing a job action at Northwest Airlines shows the determination of many workers to break out of the red tape and antiunion legislation that aim to intimidate them from “withholding our labor,” as one mechanic put it, to force the company to agree to the union’s demands.

Picket lines and other actions at airports across the country provide a good opportunity for meat packers, dockworkers, coal miners, workers in the auto and garment industries, and farmers who are themselves waging struggles to link up their common fights.

Building on the record of the Clinton years, President George Bush and Congress are pressing ahead the ruling-class assault against working people—both at home and abroad. This week both houses of Congress carried through a rapid, wholesale repeal of regulations that provided some measure of protection from repetitive motion diseases. Bush and the courts have stepped in to back the coal bosses in their suit to block implementation of new black lung rules and have intervened against the unions in several of the major disputes in the airlines.

Dockworkers in South Carolina are battling a drive to railroad five union members to jail by the state government, which is hoping to send a signal to all working people about what can happen to you if you organize and defend your union. And meat packers in Colorado had to

deal with two workers being arrested by cops after the union members overwhelmingly voted down a proposed contract with Excel.

Pointing to this alliance of class forces workers confront at Northwest Airlines, a mechanic succinctly stated, “If you were Northwest would you negotiate now, or wait until the president intervened?” These workers have been working under a contract that expired four years ago. And they haven’t had a contractual raise for nine years!

When workers take to the picket lines, the bosses are quick to seek court injunctions to halt or limit them. They often try to get the courts to impose huge fines on the unions in an effort to break or weaken them. The power of working class solidarity is the most effective answer to this drive by the bosses and their government against unions and workers’ rights.

As the resistance of working people against the effects of the crisis of capitalism deepens, they will more and more face the cop, court, and state and federal government assaults on their struggles. And these go hand-in-hand with attacks on democratic rights, the social wage, and other conquests of the struggles of workers and farmers. But the drive by the ruling class pushes working people in the United States together and helps all see the commonality in their existence across the artificial divides nurtured and created in class society. It also points to the need for the labor movement to champion the interests of all the exploited and oppressed, oppose Washington’s aggression abroad, and fight to replace the capitalist government in Washington with one of workers and farmers.

# Protest frame-up of dockworkers

The fight by the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) to defend five union members facing frame-up charges in Charleston, South Carolina, is an important one for the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights. Workers and farmers are encouraged by the union to join its campaign to beat back the government’s attempt to railroad the dockworkers to prison.

The unionists, who are members of ILA Local 1422, were among hundreds of others participating in a peaceful picket line against the use of a nonunion company on the docks by the Nordana Lines last year when they were attacked by hundreds of cops in riot gear. Even though initial charges of inciting to riot filed against nine union members were thrown out of court due to lack of evidence, the state, in its determination to press its antiunion drive, indicted the five workers on felony charges. The cops’ attack was an assault on union rights and the right to peaceful assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The longshoremen’s struggle to defend their union against the boss’s moves to open the door to nonunion outfits is part of other labor struggles in the Charleston area. And the union is in the middle of fighting the state government over its racist and antiunion policies. Port Authority workers—including crane operators, clerks, and yard crews—have signed cards to join the ILA but are

banned from doing so by state law, which the union is fighting to overturn.

The police assault on the dockworkers came three days after nearly 50,000 people marched on Martin Luther King Day in Columbia to demand the government remove the racist Confederate battle flag from atop the Capitol. The mobilization struck a blow not only against the symbol of slavery and emblem of reaction against the social gains of the titanic civil rights battles that buried the system of legalized segregation in South, but against the ongoing drive by the wealthy rulers to assault civil rights. Local 1422 members, overwhelmingly made up of workers who are Black, were among the largest organized contingent in the march. “It’s our duty,” one union member remarked about the local’s participation in the demonstration.

A number of longshore workers link the fight for Black rights with struggles to advance unionization in the South. Their actions highlight the advances within the working class that have undercut the ability of the bosses to use racism in their divide-and-rule tactics. And the dockworkers are reaching out for solidarity internationally and across the United States to defend their union. Labor support for their fight to get the charges dropped will be weighed by the state government and the wealthy rulers in South Carolina in determining how much of a political price they will pay for prosecuting this frame-up case.

# Farm meeting

Continued from Page 13

the farm workers who are generally not covered by minimum wage laws.

Central topics of discussion were the next farm bill, which NFU leaders expect will be adopted by Congress in 2002, and proposed cuts by U.S. president Bush in agriculture spending.

The last major farm bill, passed with bipartisan support and signed by President William Clinton in 1996, was called the Freedom to Farm Act. The law phased out price supports, land set-asides—payments for farmers to leave land fallow for a period of time—and other aid. The bill encouraged expanded production to meet projected growing markets in Asia and other parts of the world. But prices for nearly all farm commodities plummeted in the following year as the world capitalist crisis spread financial disasters from Asia to Latin America to Russia, resulting in a precipitous drop in food exports to those countries. Many working farmers now call the 1996 measure the “freedom to fail” act.

In response to farmers’ demands and protests, the federal government has issued emergency direct payments to farmers totaling \$23 billion in 1999, three times what the previous price supports provided. While the emergency payments help stave off bankruptcy for some small farmers, most are distributed on a per-acre or per-bushel basis with no cap, a policy that disproportionately benefits the wealthiest farmers. For example, the biggest 35,000 farms, or 16 percent, receive fully half of the government payments, Pompelli said. The USDA representative said that one-third of wheat farmers are expected to experience “cash flow problems” in 2001.

## Government backs big farmers

Chris Petersen, a delegate from Clear Lake, Iowa, who raises hogs and grows corn and soybeans, spoke about loan deficiency payments (LDPs), which are ostensibly aimed at closing the gap between what farmers receive for their crop and the amount they borrowed to produce it. He said the absence of caps on the total payments a farmer can receive works to the enrichment of the wealthy farmers and the detriment of small farmers like himself.

“Before 1996 we sometimes had a ‘grain reserve,’” for periods of low prices, Petersen said. “Small farmers with up to 500 acres could put up to 30,000 bushels of corn in storage, and receive 26 cents a bushel” while they waited for better prices. “Now there is no grain reserve,” Petersen said. “Instead we have loan deficiency payments when the price is below \$1.79 a bushel for corn. Our government is in cahoots with agribusiness,” he said, for promoting “a policy that the bigger you are, the more LDPs you get. I call them ‘low damn price’ or ‘limited death payments’ for family farmers.”

Proposals for more protectionist measures and American nationalist themes were a part the keynote speeches by NFU leaders, guest speakers, and many members. NFU president Leland Swenson, participating in a “Farm Leaders Roundtable,” said the NFU’s major priorities are to engage in the debate on the failure of the “Freedom to Farm” bill and to “address the inadequacies of the current trade agreements.”

Swensen and others urged adoption of government measures that would limit food imports to the United States and strengthen the competitive edge of U.S. farm exports, such as a weaker dollar. “If the dollar stays strong,” he said, “we’ll never get more than a dollar for [a bushel of] corn and \$2.00 for soybeans.” A strong currency, Swensen said, makes U.S. agricultural exports too costly for many overseas buyers. Other speakers blamed U.S. farmers’ woes on Brazil and countries in the European Union.

## ‘Industrial concentration’ in agriculture

Another theme was opposition to “industrial concentration” in agriculture, which was the topic of a workshop and the subject of many comments. Giant hog, cattle, dairy, and poultry farms, owned by or operated under direction of industrial giants, are a growing concern as nearby communities face pollution of various forms. A number of farmers are being driven out of business because they can’t compete with these capitalist operations.

Convention participants watched a video that showed large quantities of liquid manure being sprayed onto already saturated land on farms owned by the agribusiness giant Smithfield corporation in North Carolina. The manure is also held in 10- to 20-acre “lagoons,” some of them three stories deep and not watertight. These practices have led to contamination of streams and coastal waters by bacteria resulting in massive fish kills and toxic reactions in human beings.

Keynote speaker Robert Kennedy, Jr., an attorney and president of the clean-water group Water Keeper Alliance, attacked Smithfield for causing pollution. Kennedy, who received several standing ovations, sounded themes touched upon by other liberal Democrats that the problem facing farmers is conglomerates like Smithfield that violate the “free market economy” by monopolizing the entire chain of production.

Kennedy promoted the utopian notion of returning to an earlier stage of capitalism, pointing to Thomas Jefferson’s idea of democracy “based on hundreds of thousands of yeoman farmers.” While opposing some of Smithfield’s practices, Kennedy said, “I love capitalism. But in a free market economy if you want to get rich, you’ve got to make a lot of others rich too.”

*Ted Leonard, a meat packer in Boston, contributed to this article.*



# 'Clean, safe, cheap?' Labor must oppose drive to promote use of nuclear power

BY BILL KALMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The battle to win public opinion to support wider use of nuclear power in the United States is picking up. Pointing to record-high natural gas prices and the ongoing energy crisis here in California, various energy company executives, politicians, and newspaper pundits are campaigning for expanded use of nuclear power, including the building of new plants to produce electricity.

In early February a group of power industry executives met in New Orleans at a meeting on "nuclear asset divestiture" to discuss the booming market for used nuclear power plants. One estimate is that the value of these plants has increased a hundredfold in three years. Since 1998, 13 older reactors have changed ownership. Companies are buying these plants in the hopes that their

## AS I SEE IT

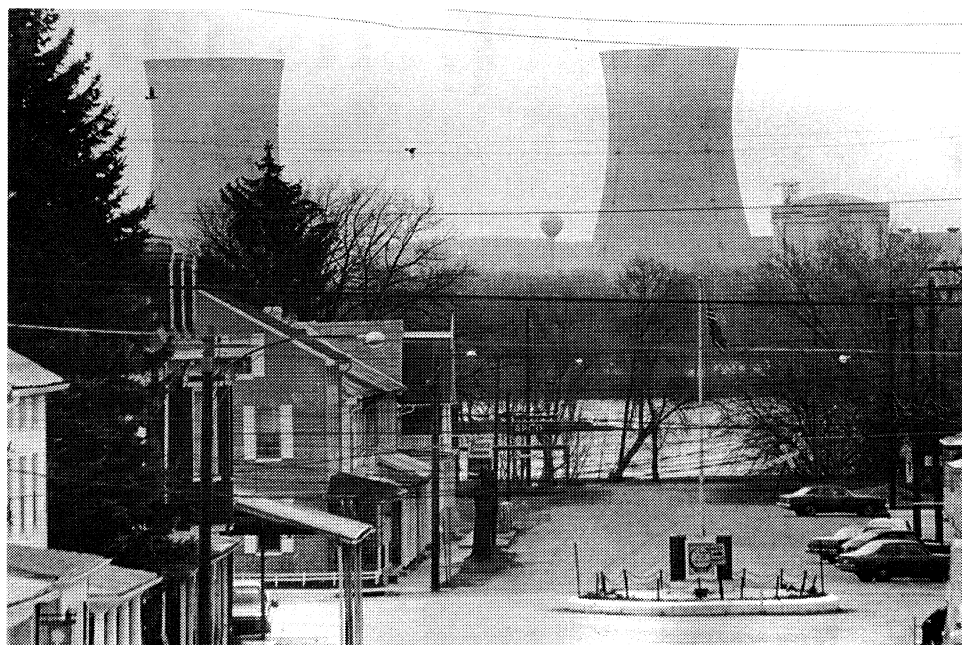
licenses will be extended by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in order to boost the overall supply of electricity. Entergy Corp. spokesman Jay Brister explained, "With these existing plants, you don't have to wait 10 years to build something. They're up and running from day one. The profits go straight to the bottom line." Entergy now owns 14 nuclear plants.

The energy monopolies' main concern is laying the groundwork to enable them to begin construction of new power plants, something blocked since 1978 by public opposition to the inherently dangerous facilities. For example, Charles Pryor, CEO of Westinghouse Electric, told reporters he hopes that the George Bush administration's energy task force will produce good news for the nuclear industry. According to the *Financial Times*, "Mr. Pryor is urging the adoption of a 'balanced energy policy' and argues that costs of nuclear power have fallen below the costs of coal."

Entergy Corp. executive Jerry Yelverton echoed this sentiment in an interview with the *National Journal* last fall. "If the U.S. sees a hot summer next year...and electric prices go real high, nuclear could be a much more acceptable option," he said.

To that end, Alaska senator Frank Murkowski is drafting legislation to provide the nuclear industry with more subsidies and incentives. These include raising the level of federally-provided accident insurance from \$7 billion to \$10 billion per plant, production incentives worth up to \$2 million a year, a yearly \$1 million gift for "efficiency improvements," and at least \$60 million a year in annual spending for research and development.

The Nuclear Energy Institute has begun to lobby government officials to allow them to speed up the development and construc-



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

**Area around Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The worst nuclear accident in U.S. history occurred there in 1979.**

tion of new reactors. As Ron Simard, a senior director at the institute, said, "It's time to make this a little more visible."

John Glennon, editorial writer for the *Richmond Times* and author of an article titled "Current Crisis Illustrates the Potential of Nuclear Energy," stated, "Fortunately, we already have a source of power that is virtually nonpolluting, safe, dependable under all weather conditions, does not suffer from looming shortages, is under domestic control, and, once again, is quite cost effective. It is nuclear power."

### Three Mile Island

Nuclear power plants today produce about 20 percent of electrical power in the United States, while coal-burning plants produce 50 percent and gas-fired plants 17 percent. Most of the new electric generating capacity due to come on line around the country is powered by natural gas. There are more than 100 licensed commercial nuclear reactors in the United States, most built in the 1960s and '70s. No new reactors have been built since 1978.

The nuclear industry has had to live down the legacy of Three Mile Island, the worst commercial nuclear accident in the United States, which helped widen public knowledge of the hazards of nuclear radiation and the dangers of nuclear power. The arguments today that nuclear power is a clean, safe, and a cheap source of power are the same used by government and industry officials for several decades prior to the near meltdown of the reactor in Pennsylvania.

On March 28, 1979, Three Mile Island Plant 2 near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, overheated to disastrous proportions when a

pump failed and coolant was flushed from the reactor. Part of the core was left uncovered, melting some of the fuel rods. More than 32,000 gallons of radioactive water was released, and radioactive water vapor was directly vented into the atmosphere for more than an hour. The plant teetered on the brink of "the China syndrome," in which a molten core burns into the ground until it contacts ground water. The ensuing steam explosion would release tons of highly radioactive material into the air. The public outcry, demonstrations, and teach-ins over this nuclear disaster made it politically impossible for the government and energy industry to move forward to build any new reactors. Of the 131 commercial reactors built and licensed in the United States, 28 have been shut down. Another 65 plants were canceled before construction.

The nuclear industry today is once again presenting itself as the answer to the energy crisis and a clean alternative to coal. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is touting an "environmentally friendly" nuclear power plant called a pebble-bed modular reactor, which uses 400,000 such pebbles and uranium fuel cells to heat helium gas to drive a series of turbines instead of water. Unlike water, helium would not corrode the containment building, cannot become radioactive, and if leaked would be harmless. Even if true, this new reactor still uses uranium, which produces radiation throughout the entire nuclear fuel cycle of mining, processing and enriching, power generation, and disposal.

Glennon of the *Richmond Times* maintains, "Not only are there no greenhouse gas emissions from nuclear power plants, there

are virtually no pollutants at all: no sulfur dioxide, no carbon monoxide, and no particulates. Also, nuclear power greatly reduces mining. The need for coal and petroleum can be significantly reduced and replaced with uranium, which involves far more modest mining." But the mining and burning of coal does not involve catastrophic accidents effecting entire regions nor does it have the problem of radioactive waste.

In fact, industry for decades operated on the basis of power obtained from burning coal without threatening a large percentage of the human race. And there are no coal-based bombs and missiles that can wipe away whole cities. Coal is "dirty" simply because the energy companies have refused to invest in the necessary equipment to scrub out sulfuric emissions produced when it is burned.

Fred Halstead, in his pamphlet, *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*, explains that nuclear power is also used to undercut the power of the coal miners' union. "When miners demand better conditions, the competition from nuclear power is used as a threat against them," Halstead wrote. "When the miners strike for safe conditions, nuclear power is used during the strike. Nuclear power causes unemployment of miners, and weakens their ability to fight back. The elimination of nuclear power would put the miners in a much stronger position to fight for safe conditions."

### Radioactive waste

What nuclear power advocates cannot explain away is the reality of radioactive waste from power plants. The problem of keeping huge amounts of manufactured radioactive isotopes, which remain deadly for thousands of years, has not been solved. In fact, the government's approach towards this pressing social question can be seen in looking at the \$3.1 billion nuclear waste site being built by Private Fuel Storage LLC on the Skull Valley Goshute Indian reservation 45 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, Utah. The consortium wants to store 40,000 tons of spent nuclear fuel at the site. A Cargill plant that produces salt and food additives is only half a mile from the special rail line that is being built to transport radioactive waste to the site. Refined uranium has a half-life of about 162,000 years.

These are some of the reasons why in this battle for public opinion, the labor movement must take the lead and say no to nuclear power. This must be a key plank in labor's energy program.

*Bill Kalman is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120 in San Lorenzo, California.*

## — LETTERS —

### Brooklyn Museum exhibit

The article "Thousands visit controversial exhibit at Brooklyn Museum" in the March 5 issue of the *Militant* was very timely.

Janet Post comments on the fact that this is not the first time the Giuliani administration has attacked an exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum and it is not the first time an attempt has been made to eliminate public funding for the arts. Post cites a painting in 1999 that drew similar fire. She then goes on to say "due to backing the museum and the artists received from defenders of democratic rights, the city government was defeated in its campaign against the museum."

This included the large demonstration of 1,000 backers of freedom of expression and against censorship that happened the night before the exhibit opened at the Brooklyn Museum in the fall of 1999. I was living in Brooklyn at the time and was proud to be a part of this demonstration.

*Nancy Rosenstock  
Newark, New Jersey*

**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.**

## Pentagon unveils antipersonnel microwave gun

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Pentagon has unveiled a microwave weapon it hopes troops can use to disperse crowds. This occurs as Washington is moving ahead with a military command for use inside the United States under a retooled U.S. Joint Forces Command.

U.S. Army officials describe the new weapon, which looks like a backyard satellite dish and will be mounted on a Humvee, as an "active denial system." A March 2 *New York Times* article explained, "The weapon would fire bursts of electromagnetic energy capable of causing burning sensations on the skin of people standing as far as 700 yards away."

A person exposed to just one second of this energy ray feels a burning sensation equal to 120 degrees, according to Pentagon officials. The weapon could be adjusted to heat the skin to temperatures of 130 degrees or higher. "The electromagnetic waves cause the water molecules in the top layer of skin to vibrate, creating an intense burning sensation, similar to touching a hot light bulb," the *Times* reported.

This project, which the Pentagon has had under development for 10 years at a cost of \$40 million, was described by William Arkin, the senior military adviser to Human

Rights Watch, as a "high-powered microwave antipersonnel weapon."

"It's safe, absolutely safe," claimed Col. George Fenton of the Marine Corp, who is director of the Department of Defense's Joint Nonlethal Weapons Program in Quantico, Virginia. "It's not designed to burn.... You walk out of the beam and the pain goes away." Fenton said that the weapon probably won't be ready for deployment by troops for at least five years.

Pentagon officials said scientists had been testing the weapon on animals and humans for more than three years. The *Times* reported, "In more than 6,500 tests on 72 people, only one exposure went awry, the Pentagon officials said, when one person received a 'nickel-size' burn on his back after a tester programmed the weapon incorrectly."

Colonel Fenton said that because of the longer range of this electromagnetic weapon it would be more effective than tear gas, rubber bullets, or beanbags currently fired by U.S. military personnel against gatherings they want to disperse.

A central component of the North American command, authorized by former president William Clinton and Congress at the time under the guise of the need to respond

to "terrorist" threats at home, was the incorporation and training of elite National Guard units to join in the military operations. The units are to be based in the largest population centers and can be deployed throughout the country.

The *Washington Post* reported February 26 the Pentagon's inspector general gave poor preparedness marks to these Army National Guard "anti-terrorism" units, some of which have been training for more than three years.

In 1998, the Pentagon authorized 10 units, each composed of 22 full-time members of the National Guard, for this project, at a cost so far of \$143 million. An additional 22 units were authorized by Congress in 1999 and 2000.

The *Post* reported, "Pentagon investigators concluded that defective safety equipment could put team members at risk of succumbing to the very weapons they were meant to identify."

"Investigators found that air filters had been installed backward in the teams' mobile laboratories and team members were given gas masks with parts that were not designed to work together." Pentagon officials said they are "moving as fast as we can" to get training up to speed.

## Livestock virus deepens farmers' crisis

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—Working farmers in the United Kingdom are being dealt another blow by the government's response to an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among farm livestock.

"The compensation being offered to farmers is totally inadequate," said Bob Robertson, a grain farmer active in the farm protest organization Farmers For Action. "Farmers won't be able to replace stock with the money that is offered and the compensation does not take into account the associated expenses of raising cattle."

The disease, thought to have originated at a farm in Northumberland, spread across England, Wales, and Scotland in a matter of days, then to Germany, and is likely to reach other parts of Europe. Livestock on a number of farms have been killed and incinerated. Exclusion zones, areas where traffic is restricted, have been set up around farms where the disease has been reported.

Governments across Europe have begun to slaughter livestock that was recently imported from Britain, and the European Union (EU) has banned exports of livestock from the United Kingdom. Reflecting the panic among capitalists across the continent, an article in the French big-business daily *Le Monde* described the outbreak as the "gravest sanitary alert in Europe in 30 years."

Under pressure, the government has said it will offer payments to farmers whose livestock is killed, but it has so far refused to offer compensation to farmers for losses incurred as a result of its decision to close all farmers' markets for three weeks and to ban exports of livestock indefinitely.



Cow carcasses in Britain await incineration to prevent spread of foot-and-mouth disease. While the British media is creating a big scare over this ailment, most animals that contract the disease do not die. They simply do not put on weight during the several weeks they are ill, and farmers are less able to market them later.

Foot-and-mouth disease, eliminated in Europe for decades under a mandatory vaccination program, is a virus that affects hoofed animals. It can spread rapidly and be carried for miles by the wind, leaving animals with blistered feet and mouths. Most animals that contract the disease do not die, but they do not put on weight during the several weeks they have the disease and

farmers are less able to market it later. Foot-and-mouth rarely passes to humans and is not fatal when it does. In a recent article in the *London Times*, scientist Abigail Wood wrote, "Foot-and-mouth is as serious to animals as a bad cold is to human beings." Britain was the first country in the EU to stop compulsory vaccination, a move that was followed by other EU countries in 1990.

Farm income as a whole in the United Kingdom slumped by 27 percent during the last year alone, reaching its lowest level in 60 years, according to government statistics. In particular, farmers have been hit by a decline in prices they receive from food processing and distributing companies for milk and cereals, and by increasing costs of fuel and fertilizer. These high prices and taxes on fuel were the focus of a wave of protest by farmers here at the end of last year.

"We have lost a third of all family farms in the past decade," said Michael Hart, a Cornish beef and sheep farmer who also works for £4.50 an hour as a truck driver (1£=US\$1.47). "There are still 100,000 [farms] under 120 acres, but more and more farmers are going part-time just to survive." Hart is a leader of the Small and Family Farm Alliance. An estimated 42,000 farmers and farm workers in the United Kingdom have left farming over the last two years.

The National Farmers Union estimates that £50 million will be lost every week by farmers as a result of steps taken to wipe out the disease. Some £30 million a month in income will be lost by farmers who use their farms as bed-and-breakfasts in order to make ends meet. "The real impact of the crisis is being underestimated," said Robertson, who was forced to sell off his dairy operation last year. "The actual effect on the rural economy is devastating. All sorts of dependent businesses are being threatened, like a local equestrian supplies business that will lay off all its workers next week."

More than 500 workers at two meatpacking plants in northeast England have been laid off as a result of the restrictions on the sale of livestock. Working people will also be affected by meat shortages and higher prices at supermarkets.

The government in London has utilized the crisis to severely restricted the right of movement of working people in rural areas, including granting emergency powers to local authorities to suspend access to footpaths. At Highampton in Devon, cops were deployed to prevent access to a farm where incidence of the disease had been reported.

A local farmer told the *Guardian* newspaper he worried about a "fortress mentality" developing. In British-occupied Northern Ireland, the government deployed troops at the Irish border and the Royal Ulster Constabulary arrested a local sheep dealer for allegedly smuggling sheep bought in England.

### Blaming the farmers

Some articles in the big-business press have tried to smear individual working farmers for the crisis. The outbreak is alleged to have started at Burnside Farm in Northumberland that is run by Ronnie and Bobby Waugh.

The *Daily Mail* printed anonymous, unsubstantiated, and unscientific claims that the farm had been "the subject of numerous complaints about the standards of [animal] husbandry, the ramshackle state of the farm, and the foul smell that hangs over the [nearby village of] Heddon-on-the-wall."

"You cannot blame farmers for this," Robertson explained in an interview. "Foot-and-mouth disease is a bug. The truth is we do not know where it came from and it has just as likely come from the abattoirs [slaughterhouse]," he said.

Farmer John Lawrence, also from Kent, explained, "The press treatment of the Waugh brothers is bias; they don't give the full picture. Even if the farm in Northumberland is farmed badly, it is government policies that have forced farmers to farm in bad conditions. The profits that agribusiness make are obscene. The price of fertilizer has doubled recently, but farmers cannot expect to get more for their produce when they sell it."

Paul Davies is a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union in London.

## Strikes in Dominican Republic protest government austerity program, repression

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK—Dozens of demonstrators and participants in a 48-hour strike were arrested in the northern towns of Licey al Medio and Tenares in the Dominican Republic February 19 after taking to the streets to oppose the policies of the government of President Hipólito Mejía.

Those arrested were demanding improvements to the electric system, public works programs, and highway repairs. They were supported by teachers at area schools, who sent students home. As many as 90 percent of businesses closed their doors for the stoppage.

Fernando Peña, national coordinator of the Collective of People's Organizations, said that the protests are the "beginning of a plan of increasing struggles" which may culminate in a national strike later in March.

The actions in the north of the country follow ongoing protests and strikes by doc-

tors and health workers, who charge that the government is seeking to privatize health care. A February 13 march by the Dominican Medical Association was violently attacked by the police when protesters began to march on the National Palace. The campus at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo was shut down when students protested the police attack. Teachers at the University also went on strike February 20 demanding a 60 percent wage increase.

After his election in May last year, Dominican president Mejía announced austerity measures, including a 25 percent increase in the price of gasoline and a hike in taxes of up to 12 percent. Critics of the government's measures charge that prices of some basic necessities have risen 20 to 25 percent since they were implemented.

In response to the strikes in the north, Mejía declared that "there won't be wage increases for anybody." He complained that some sections of the population are inclined "to protest for any old reason." While increasing taxes, attempting to remove subsidies for cooking gas and fuel, and sending the police to attack peaceful, legal demonstrations, the Dominican president officially designated 2001 as the "Year of Struggle Against Poverty."

Faced with widespread opposition to the austerity measures, Mejía cut the price of cooking gas in half in early February. It remains two pesos higher than when he took office, however.

Mejía, who was elected as the candidate of the social democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), has sought to deflect criticism by demagogically accusing the government of his predecessor, Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), of corruption. PLD officials are accused by Mejía of using their positions to enrich themselves. Prosecutors have charged 17 former officials of the PLD with diversion of funds. Former president Fernández, leading a march to the National Palace to clear his name after Mejías's ac-

cusations, was teargassed by the cops.

The PRD leader has also faced irritation from members of his own party, who complain that he hasn't moved fast enough to dislodge PLD supporters from government positions and replace them with PRD backers. "There can't be jobs for everybody," Mejía stated. "There is no work for 1,400,000 people."

One indication of the depth of the crisis, the brutality of the regime, and the resistance to the austerity measures is the fact that close to 400 people died at the hands of the security apparatus in the year 2000. In the last two months of that year, 45 were killed. Mercedes Media, giving the main talk at the Fourth International Conference for Human Rights in the Caribbean in December, charged that 1,000 people had their rights violated by being held for 48 hours without charges.

The PRD government has also stepped up repressive measures against Haitian immigrants. The Dominican Republic and Haiti share the same island and a several-hundred-mile-long border. According to *Noticias del Mundo*, published in New York, 11,000 Haitians were detained and deported in February alone. The National Army of the Dominican Republic stated in a press release that in the last 6 months 45,000 undocumented Haitian workers were sent back.

While the Dominican government harasses Haitian immigrants, more than 1 million Dominicans have emigrated to the United States. Most live in the New York metropolitan area. Referring to the large number of Dominicans who flee the island every month hoping to make it to the United States, often via Puerto Rico, Mejía claimed that the real reason they were going to Puerto Rico is that Dominicans "like to travel."

Arrogant comments like these are not likely to smooth the road ahead for Mejía and the government he heads. The year 2001 could indeed become a year of struggle against poverty, but in ways that Mejía never intended.

in New International no. 4

### •The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States

by Jack Barnes

### •The Crisis Facing Working Farmers

by Doug Jenness

### •Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba, two speeches by Fidel Castro \$9.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 13, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150.

