

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Introduction to 'The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution'
— PAGES 7-10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Rulers target workers as Greece debt default looms

BY JOHN STUDER

"It's an endless sequence of impositions from bad to worse, to worse, to worse," Yanis Varoufakis, an economics professor at the University of Athens, told the *New York Times* Jan. 16, talking about the crisis of the Greek capitalist economy and its effect on workers there.

Greece is the leading edge in a deepening capitalist crisis across Europe, especially in the eurozone, the 17 countries that form an economically linked free trade, protectionist and currency bloc.

The worldwide slowdown in capitalist production, trade and employment is behind the growing crisis.

In the 10 years since the bloc's creation, Germany's dominant manufacturing and export-based economy has benefited from growing markets in European countries dependent on importing manufactured goods and capital, such as Greece and Italy, among others.

These countries took advantage of
Continued on page 11

US tightens Iran embargo, holds back military threat

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Washington is targeting Iran's oil industry and central bank with international sanctions, a move with ruinous consequences for working people. The tightening economic squeeze is among the chief means by which the U.S. rulers are pressuring Tehran into conceding to imperialist demands to abandon development of nuclear technology.

Washington adopted a new round of stiff measures Dec. 31 aimed at hampering Tehran's sale of oil on international markets. The European Union, which imports 18 percent of Iran's crude oil production, will decide on an oil embargo at the end of January.

The Barack Obama administration is moving to choke off Iran's oil exports, the country's largest source of revenue. The White House sent delegations to Iran's major customers, including China, Japan, India and South Korea, to pressure them to stop buying oil from Iran. All but Beijing have indicated they will comply. Washington

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Back ILWU struggle against union busting!

Port workers prepare visible, disciplined protest



Militant/Mary Martin

Vancouver, Wash., and Portland, Ore., longshore workers join Dec. 5 picket in Longview, Wash. Union is organizing to protest EGT's first scab grain shipment expected in January.

BY MARY MARTIN

LONGVIEW, Wash.—The International Longshore and Warehouse Union is preparing a large, disciplined and peaceful protest against EGT Development's union busting when the company brings in its first scab ship to load grain at their terminal here.

The union is getting the call out as widely as possible to unions and other supporters. Officials of ILWU Local 21 in Longview said they anticipate only days, possibly hours, notice of the ship's arrival, which is expected sometime in late January.

EGT refuses to hire ILWU workers in violation of the union's agreement

with the Port of Longview. Instead, it has hired members of Operating Engineers Union Local 701 through a subcontractor, under inferior working conditions and wages, without a con-

SOLIDARITY WITH LONGSHORE FIGHT!

—See editorial, p. 9

tract. If EGT prevails, it will be the first grain terminal on the West Coast run without ILWU labor in more than eight decades.

Federal and local officials are mo-
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Locked-out Ohio tire workers: 'Community is really behind us'

BY BETSY FARLEY

FINDLAY, Ohio, Jan. 15—Workers fighting against a lockout by Cooper Tire and Rubber Company here stopped in at the union hall this Sunday morning for a hot breakfast prepared by volunteer cooks before starting their picket shifts at the company gates.

Some 1,050 members of United Steelworkers Local 207L are entering

their eighth week on the picket line. Cooper Tire bosses locked them out Nov. 28 for rejecting the company's contract demands to cut wages, speed up work and establish lower pay and benefits for new hires. The workforce is already divided into four different tiers of pay.

"Almost every single member of the local is participating in the 24-hour
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Militant/Dennis Richter

Locked-out Cooper Tire workers picket outside plant Jan. 15. Steelworkers have been out over eight weeks, fighting wage cuts, speed-up and multitier pay grades targeting newer workers.

Chicago: family demands truth about hangings in cop custody

BY JOHN HAWKINS

CHICAGO—The family of Develt Bradford, who ostensibly committed suicide while in police custody, filed suit Dec. 27 against the city of Chicago for wrongful death and negligence, charging that police failed to protect his safety.

On Nov. 17, Bradford, 52, was found hanged while detained at Area 2 of the Chicago Police Department. Three days later, another detainee, Melvin Woods, 62, was found hanged in his cell at the same police station. Both men were Black.

"I'm very sad. I'm very disappointed in the way that my son had to go. I just want to know what really happened," Bradford's mother said at a Dec. 28 press conference. She was flanked by her attorneys, U.S. Rep. Danny Davis and Mark Clements of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty.

"If the Chicago police did no wrong, let's find that out," said Sam Adam Jr., attorney for the Bradford family. "But let's have an independent authority. What we do not need is 15 years from
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China workers push back bosses sack-or-move plan

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Recent protests at Foxconn Technology in Wuhan, China, have drawn worldwide attention to the unsafe conditions, speedup and company treatment of workers in the plant and their determination to do just about anything to confront it.

Around 150 workers gathered on the factory roof threatening to jump to their deaths if their demands were not met. The protest began Jan. 2 after the company said it was closing down one of its production lines and moving some workers to jobs elsewhere in the country.

"Foxconn initially offered severance pay for those that wanted to leave rather than be transferred, but then reneged, angering the workers," reported the *Washington Post*.

Foxconn, the world's largest contract electronics manufacturer, is a unit of Hon Hai Precision Industry Co. in Taiwan. It makes iPads and iPhones for Apple, Xboxes for Microsoft and other electronic gadgets. Its Wuhan factory in central China employs 32,000 workers.

"We were put to work without any training, and paid piecemeal," a protesting worker, who asked that his name not be used, told the *London Telegraph*. "The assembly line ran very fast and after just one morning we all had blisters and the skin on our hand was black. The factory was also really choked with dust and no one could bear it."

Some workers had been forced to move from Foxconn's southern Chi-

nese coastal city of Shenzhen to Wuhan. The company then backtracked on the wages they had promised to pay. Instead of getting \$450 a month, including overtime, they received one-third less, reported the *New York Times*.

In a statement released Jan. 12 Foxconn claimed, "The welfare of our employees is our top priority." Yet their record over the past two years tells a different story. Last May three workers died and 15 were injured from a "combustible dust" blast at Foxconn's iPad factory in Chengdu. Another explosion seven months later at another Chinese iPad facility run by Pegatron Corp. injured dozens of others.

Foxconn has a bleak record of workers committing suicide at its plants. In 2010, 18 workers threw themselves from the factory's top, with 14 deaths, according to the *Telegraph*. That year Foxconn, feeling some heat, more than doubled wages for some workers, reports Bloomberg News.

In a Jan. 12 statement, Foxconn said 45 of the workers in Wuhan resigned and the rest agreed to return to work, though settlement details have not been released to the media.

In another development, city officials in Zhengzhou, capital of the mostly rural Henan province, is offering to assist Foxconn in recruiting more than 100,000 workers at much lower wages for its local factory there.

Labor costs in Zhengzhou are about two-thirds of those in China's coastal

Israeli Ethiopians protest housing discrimination



About 2,000 Israeli citizens of Ethiopian descent marched in the Israeli town of Kiryat Malachi Jan. 9, protesting a television report that tenants associations there had signed a pledge not to rent or sell to Ethiopians.

"Finally the time has come for everyone to speak out against this," Oshrat Masala, a local Ethiopian resident, told the *Jersusalem Post*.

"The authorities are always telling us to be patient, that [immigrant absorption] is a process, but we are seeing that even in the next generation things are the same," Elias Inbram, a protest organizer told the paper. "We have been living in this country for more than 30 years . . . we have served in the army, how much longer do we have to wait?"

Some Arab citizens of Israel joined the protest. "Racism harms us all, and it is impossible to separate the discrimination of Ethiopians in Israel from the discrimination of Arab residents or Russian-speakers," Rabia Elsa-gir, a member of the Coalition Against Racism in Israel, told *Haaretz*.

More than 20 percent of Israeli citizens are Palestinian Arabs; less than 2 percent are from Ethiopia.

—SETH GALINSKY

cities, Deputy Mayor Xue Yunwei told Bloomberg News. "You can't find entry-level workers in Shanghai offering only 1,500 yuan (\$237) of monthly salary. But we can," he said.

Part of the local government's plan is to encourage the 21 million migrant workers who have left the province in search of work in coastal cities to return.



Workers on rooftop of Foxconn Technology factory in Wuhan, China, in early January demanding bosses restore workers' severance pay for jobs lost after closing production line.

THE MILITANT

Solidarity with workers in lockout battles!

Bosses around the U.S., Canada and other parts of the world have been locking out workers as they press for multi-tier wage scales, pay cuts and other concessions. The 'Militant' reports on solidarity with workers fighting these assaults.



Scott Ripplinger

Locked-out sugar workers picket at American Crystal, East Grand Forks, Minn.

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Texas mill workers' strike in 9th month, 'In it to win'

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

SAN ANTONIO—"Being strong when you are on strike is the order of the day," said Jack Bustos while on picket duty here Jan. 13 outside C.H. Guenther & Sons Pioneer Flour Mill.

"We had no choice but to stand up," said Bustos, who was making less than \$15 an hour after 30 years at the mill, when the company reopened Teamster Local 657's contract last April to triple the flour workers' health insurance payments.

"We've been out here for almost nine months and the company hasn't come to us with anything," said Steve Prieto, who has worked at the mill for 33 years. "They have to come up with something good before we can go back. We're sure not going to beg."

The strikers have maintained their pickets since April 25. They are not eligible for any state benefits. Simon Cantu, a miller for 32 years, explained that many of the more than 90 strikers

have had to get jobs to support themselves. "I'm making less than \$10 an hour at a temporary job," he said, "but I come here when I'm not at work."

Talking with picketers on South Alamo Street, this worker correspondent could hear cars, trucks, busses and even tourist trolleys honking in support of the strikers. Workers say that they have gotten support from steel mill, pipeline, and delivery workers, nurses and others and that they welcome all support.

Pioneer is running production with replacement and other nonunion workers. "The company would like to get the union out altogether," said Jerry Hernandez. "In 2005 they got the mechanics to break from the union by promising them a separate, superior benefits package. That hurt. Still does."

"The bosses are always talking against the union, telling people they shouldn't join," Hernandez continued. "Without it we'd just be at their mercy



Militant/David Creed

Jan. 13 picket line by striking flour mill workers in San Antonio, Texas. "We had no choice but to stand up" after company proposed tripling cost of insurance, said striker Jack Bustos.

as individuals. I know. They tried to fire me twice."

Joe Maldonado thought strikers had learned a lot over the past several months. "Guenther talks family this and family that, as if we are all one big family. They are big on what they

call 'Family Values.' But we can all see their real values now?"

As he picked up his sign to join the line Ernest Herrera joined in the discussion, "We're staying here," he declared. "We're in it to win."

The Teamsters have set up a General Assistance Fund to aid the strikers. Checks can be made out and sent to Teamsters Local 657, 8214 Roughrider Dr., San Antonio, TX 78239.

'Community behind us,' tire workers say

Continued from front page

picket shifts at the plant entrances," said Todd Best, a picket organizer and extruder operator at the plant. "On our best week we had 872 members walk the picket line. That's important because it means people who voted in favor of the contract are arm in arm with those who voted no—people understand we really need to stick together."

Union members voted down the company's "last, best" contract offer by 606 to 305.

Jeanna Lopez, who works as a bead former at the plant, spent the day with another coworker delivering coffee, hot chocolate and food to people on picket duty at all seven gates. "In addition to this I also put in two four-hour picket shifts myself," she said.

"We got our unemployment benefits and the union is giving out \$100 gift cards to help with gas and food expenses," Lopez said. Workers who need assistance to pay medical and other bills are getting help from the union strike and defense fund.

The plant here normally produces 20,000 tires daily. Cooper has hired temporary replacement workers, but company officials have declined to say how many or give production figures. Some news sources say the scabs include workers from a plant Cooper closed down in Albany, Ga.

In an email to the *Toledo Blade*,

company spokesperson Michelle Zeisloft said the company did not have any comment on its temporary workers "other than to say that we are extremely pleased with their qualifications, work ethic, and adaptability. We are also fortunate to have the full assistance of our salaried employees, a number of whom have plant experience, and assistance from other Cooper plants as needed."

"They claim they're bringing in experienced tire builders to replace us," said USW member Terri Thompson. "But I'll tell you, it's been eight weeks we've been out of the plant and it's just now starting to sound like any kind of a factory in there."

This afternoon on the picket line it was clear from the honking horns, waves and thumbs up that the locked-out workers have a lot of support in the area.

"We're finding the community is really behind us," said Joseph Schwab, a steel belt cutter in the plant. Yard signs can be seen all over town in support of the USW workers that read, "Cooper Tire's corporate greed FLAT OUT WRONG! Support 207L End the Lockout."

"This is the first time in 16 years in the plant I have seen everybody stand up together like this," Thompson said. "And we're getting support from all over and making connections. We're getting workers locked out by American Crystal Sugar writing in to our union web-

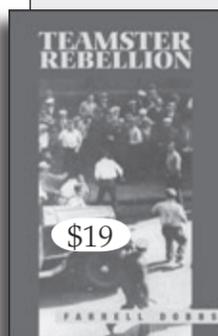
site. We're all fighting against the same thing."

In the past week, a delegation of locked-out workers from United Steelworkers Local 207L in Findlay together with a representative from the USW international traveled to Krusevac, Serbia, to meet with leaders of Nezavisnost, which represents workers at a tire plant there recently bought by Cooper. Nezavisnost President Milorad Panovic has publicly called upon the company to end the lockout in Findlay and pledged support for locked-out union brothers and sisters here.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to USW Local 207L, 1130 Summit St., Findlay, OH 45840. Phone: (419) 422-4224.

Teamster Rebellion

by Farrell Dobbs



The 1934 strikes that built the industrial union movement in Minneapolis, recounted by a central leader of that battle. First of four volumes on the class-struggle leadership that transformed the Teamsters

union and pointed the road toward independent labor political action.

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Honor of picket line strengthened strike against Indiana Limestone

BY CARL WEINBERG

OOLITIC, Ind.—After 56 days on strike, workers at the Indiana Limestone mill and quarry here voted Jan. 9 to approve a new contract and return to work.

Members of Millworkers Local 8093 walked off the job in November when the company's "last, best, and final" offer included a frontal attack on seniority rights. Bosses had proposed that they be able to layoff, recall and assign workers based on their "proficiency," regardless of how long they had worked at the company.

"The company was looking to get rid of the older workers so they could bring in younger guys and pay them less," said Tim Spreen, Local 8093 president. In the new three-year contract that workers approved by a 39-9 margin, seniority rights are restored.

The contract also includes concessions on attendance policy and medical insurance. At the same time, many workers feel they won on the main issue. Seniority is our "way to protect people who've given their blood, sweat, and tears for the company," said Ronnie Watson, a long-time worker at the mill

and member of the union negotiating team.

A key factor in the strike was the solidarity gained from about 20 coworkers in the mill who belong to another union, the Journeymen Stonecutters of Indiana. Their contract with the company allowed them to honor the millworkers' picket line and while they received no strike benefits, they stayed out the entire duration of the strike. The support from the stonecutters "really meant the difference" in being able to push back the company's attacks, said Spreen.

"I would do it again. It might be us the next time," said stonecutter Andy Banks, who has worked in the mill for 15 years.

The millworkers also gained support from the wider community. Activists from Occupy Bloomington regularly visited the picket line and organized a Christmas Toy Benefit in Bloomington that raised \$1,775. A rally of some 140 people in nearby Bedford Dec. 17 boosted the strikers' spirits.

Indiana Limestone "didn't think we would get public support," said Spreen. "But I guess they underestimated us."

USW faces contract expiration at Cooper Tire in Ark.

TEXARKANA, Ark., Jan. 16—Four days ahead of the expiration of their union contract, most workers entering and leaving the Cooper Tire factory here during the 7:00 a.m. shift change were wearing United Steelworkers T-shirts and hats.

The plant, with 1,500 workers, is one of the largest employers in the area.

"We've given up too much already," said electrician Dale Holley. Like many others the *Militant* spoke to, he expects the company to push a concession contract similar to the one bosses are trying to impose on workers at Cooper's plant in Findlay, Ohio.

Shortly after the shift change, a few hundred members of Local 752L packed the union hall to hear a report on the contract negotiations.

"We'll do what it takes to stand up and fight back," said utility worker Mark Alexander as he left the hall after the meeting ended.

— MIKE FITZSIMMONS AND CINDY JAQUITH

New Zealand dock workers prepare for bosses' lockout

BY MIKE TUCKER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Workers at the Port of Auckland are fighting an assault on their union. Ports of Auckland bosses announced Jan. 12 they are preparing to lock-out the 330 members of the Maritime Union of New Zealand Local 13 and hire replacement workers.

This fight is “about busting the union,” Alan Drew told the *Militant* on a picket line Jan. 10. Drew, who drives a straddle carrier moving containers, has worked at the port for nine years. “If we lose, other unions lose and other ports lose too,” he said.

The around-the-clock picket was part of a 48-hour strike, the fifth such action since December, to press for a new contract.

The port company demands flexible work rosters in place of the present eight-hour shifts. “The new hours are non-defined,” said Grant Williams, a union delegate (shop steward) at the picket line. “We would go from little certainty to none.” Williams stressed that “the work is dangerous” and already “we work all hours.” The port operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week, year round.

Shane Muir, who also drives a straddle carrier, said the flexible hours demanded by the company would mean that workers would be on call. “You could be getting ready for dinner and they might phone.”

The port, owned by the Auckland City Council, is New Zealand’s largest container port, handling 37 percent of total container trade. The union contract expired Sept. 30. The company offered a 10 percent wage increase in exchange for flexible work shifts. The union offered an alternative concession: a 2.5 percent wage increase, in exchange for no changes in the shift schedule.

“The union position is clear. It does not want the 10 percent; it wants se-

cure, ordered, and transparent rosters,” explains a Jan. 8 union fact sheet.

“Quite simply, labour supply and the shift system have to flex with the 24/7 shipping schedule, which is highly variable,” Tony Gibson, Ports of Auckland CEO, said in a Jan. 12 press statement.

The company broke off negotiations with the union Jan. 12, declaring it would not budge on the demand for flexible work hours and would hire private firms to replace the workforce.

“The only contract the port will accept is one with no terms or conditions,” explained Local 13 secretary Russell Mayn, speaking at the Militant Labour Forum here on January 13. They want “no union in the port.”

Mayn said the move to get rid of the union had been prepared long before the contract expired, pointing to a port company strategy document obtained by the union and to steps already taken



Militant/Mike Tucker

Picket line at Port of Auckland during 48-hour strike, Jan. 10. Port bosses demand on-call “flexible” hours. Company could phone when “you’re getting ready for dinner,” said Shane Muir.

to contract out some jobs. “We won’t be walking away,” he said, “we are going to dig in and we intend to win.”

The union “is organized internationally,” Mayn added, pointing to support

pledged by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union on the Pacific coast of the United States and Canada, and by the Maritime Union of Australia.

Back ILWU protest against union busting!

Continued from front page

facilitating a substantial force of police, Coast Guard ships and helicopters, and other government agencies to accompany the ship’s arrival.

The Coast Guard has warned ILWU members they face revocation of government-issued work authorization credentials known as TWIC cards if it can inculcate the unionists’ action as interfering “with the free flow of commerce.”

The union has faced concerted harassment from cops and other government officials. In a Jan. 3 letter sent to all ILWU locals, union International President Robert McEllrath noted that “officers, rank and file, and union supporters have been aggressively arrested or summoned to court by the hundreds for demonstrating against EGT.”

Over the last few weeks, nine ILWU members have been cleared of frame-up charges against them.

“Federal labor law . . . criminalizes worker solidarity,” McEllrath wrote, “outlaws labor’s most effective tools, and protects commerce while severely restricting unions.”

In this context, the union also facilitates the challenge that some groups have been planning to protest at the port with their own political motives that run counter to those of the union struggle, including calls for a “community blockade” to shut down the port. “Bring black flags and storm the gates,” an anonymous post to Anarchistnews.org urged.

The national *Investor’s Business Daily* seized on this, equating any disruption to shipping with “piracy” that should be treated as such. The paper said it was time government officials and their cops “got tough” with anyone “interfering with the livelihoods of others without consequences to themselves.”

“Please take extreme caution when dealing with supporters of non-ILWU sanctioned calls to action relative to EGT,” McEllrath wrote ILWU members. “Everything is at stake for the community of Longview and our members.”

ILWU builds protest

“Here in Longview we are seeing government involvement in union busting under the guise of keeping the port safe,” ILWU Local 21 president, Dan Coffman, told the *Militant*. “The ILWU is standing up for every worker in the world. That’s why we keep fighting. We are in this for the long haul.”

“My message to all who want to come stand with the ILWU at our protest is be peaceful like Ghandi, or don’t come,” Coffman added.

Columbia River pilots who guide ocean going vessels upriver to ports including Longview are under government pressure to facilitate the scab ship’s operation.

“I can’t believe they’re making us cross the picket line of the ILWU,” one river pilot told the *Militant*, speaking on condition of anonymity. “They say we are independent contractors, which is true, but we are also members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots Union,” an affiliate of the International Longshoremen Association. Pilots risk losing their licenses if they decline to pilot a vessel.

The rules for pilots are clear, Kim Duncan told the press. She is the chairwoman of the Oregon Board of Maritime Pilots, a regulating agency. “The pilot must board the ship. It’s unequivocal,” she said. Calls to Duncan from the *Militant* were not returned.

Area unions that have pledged their support to Local 21’s fight include the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; International Chemical Workers Union; Plumbers, Fitters and Welders; and locals of the United Food and Commercial Workers and the International Association of Machinists.

In Longview, worker-correspondents for the *Militant* found growing community support for the ILWU’s fight.

“Watching a strong union stand up in a civil way puts a spotlight on what a union is and how the union makes peoples’ lives better,” Norma McKittrick, 33, a credit union worker, said. “When you go from being union to nonunion and you lose the protection you had, you really appreciate having a union.” McKittrick said people should join the union protest when the ship comes.

“This is probably one of the most important union fights in U.S. history,” Lawrence Wagle, a retired school teacher, told the *Militant*. “If they break the Longshore union they can break any union, resulting in lowering the living standards of everyone.”

ILWU Local 21, together with Local 4 in Vancouver, Wash., Local 8 in Portland, Ore., and Local 40, the ILWU clerks’ union for the local region, have maintained picket lines outside EGT’s gates 24 hours a day since June 2011. The union is limited to eight pickets.

As winter weather sets in, Local 21 has further reinforced its picket stations with insulated tents. Funds are needed to maintain these picket lines including expenses for heaters, propane fuel, coffee and portable toilets. Send messages of support and donations to ILWU Local 21, 617 14th Ave. Longview, WA 98632. Make checks out to “EGT Fighting Fund.”

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

by Jack Barnes



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—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

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MINNESOTA

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Oppose U.S.-led Campaign Against Iran. Fri., Jan. 27, 8 p.m. 1311 1/2 E Lake St. Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Back Port Workers Fight Against Union Busting EGT: Join ILWU-led Protest of Scab Ship. Speaker: Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 5418 Rainier Ave. S. Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

Art exhibit in Seattle wins support for Cuban Five

BY CECELIA MORIARITY

SEATTLE, Wash.—A gala reception Jan. 12 opened “From My Altitude,” the traveling art and poetry exhibit of Antonio Guerrero, at the M. Rosetta Hunter Gallery at the Seattle Central Community College.

Guerrero is one of five Cuban revolutionaries arrested in 1998 by the FBI and convicted in 2001 on trumped-up charges, including “conspiracy to commit espionage.” The Cuban Five, as they are known, also include Gerardo Hernández, René González, Ramón Labañino and Fernando González.

They were carrying out assignments from the Cuban government to monitor the activities of Florida-based counter-revolutionary groups with a long history of deadly assaults against Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution. Armed counterrevolutionary Cuban exile groups have been backed, openly or tacitly, by Washington since Cuban toilers wrested power from the U.S.-backed dictatorship five decades ago.

Prison sentences meted out to the revolutionaries ranged from 15 years in jail for René González to double life plus 15 years for Hernández.

Guerrero is serving 21 years and 10 months in prison followed by five years

of supervised release. René González was released from prison Oct. 7, but has been prevented from returning to Cuba while he serves a three-year sentence of supervised release.

Guerrero’s exhibit has helped introduce thousands of people to the case of the Cuban Five and the international campaign for their freedom.

More than 100 visitors were welcomed by John Martinez, chair of the Human and Civil Rights Committee of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1789, which represents the community college faculty in Seattle. Local 1789 co-sponsored the exhibit along with the art gallery and organized the opening reception.

Speakers included Paul Killpatrick, president of the college; Lynne Dodson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Karen Strickland, president of AFT Local 1789; Cindy Domingo, co-director of US Women and Cuba Collaboration; Rodolfo Franco, president of Washington Federation of State Employees, Local 304; Judy Zeh, chairperson of the Seattle-Cuba Friendship Committee; Jane Cutter of the National Committee to Free the Cuban Five; and Betty Luke of the Chinese Expulsion Remembrance



Militant/Scott Breen

Jan. 12 reception for Antonio Guerrero’s art exhibit “From My Altitude” at Seattle, Wash., Central Community College. Exhibit is cosponsored by college’s teachers union.

Project.

They condemned the frame-up and treatment of the five, talked about Guerrero’s art and encouraged attendees to support the campaign. Many signed a petition to President Barack Obama demanding release of the Five.

“This was my first time hearing about the Cuban Five,” production worker Mike Grady told the *Militant*. “I think the exhibit is informative and inspiring. It shows you the injustice that exists and also what can be done about it. I really like his artwork, too.”

Before the program, gallery director Ken Matsudaira, who organized and hung the exhibit, worked with student volunteers to greet visitors and serve refreshments. Most participants slowly moved around the gallery studying Guerrero’s paintings, drawings and poetry and reading biographies of the five.

Los Flacos, Seattle-based musicians who play Latin and Caribbean music, performed.

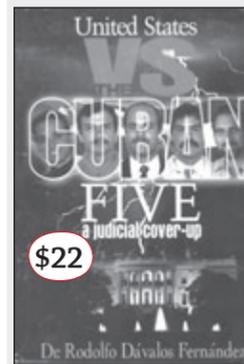
“From My Altitude” will be on exhibit through Feb. 10. Gallery hours are Mon.-Fri., 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., and

Tues.-Wed., 5-7 p.m.. For more information, call (206) 934-4379 or visit seattlcentral.edu/artgallery.

A gallery showing of cartoons by Hernández, who was convicted of “conspiracy to commit murder,” is simultaneously taking place through Feb. 11 in Minneapolis. For more information call (612) 367-6134.

Further reading on the case:

United States vs The Cuban Five: A Judicial Cover-up
by Dr. Rodolfo Dávalos Fernández



From start to finish, the proceedings were tainted, corrupt and vindictive. Every right of the accused to “due process of law” was flouted.

The Cuban Five: Who they are. Why they were framed. Why they should be free. Articles from the Militant newspaper. \$5

See page 6 for distributors or go to pathfinderpress.com

Artwork from the Cuban Five

Antonio Guerrero: From My Altitude
Seattle Central Community College
1701 Broadway, Seattle
Jan. 3 - Feb. 10

Gerardo Hernández: Humor From My Pen
Boneshaker Books
2002 23rd Ave. S
Minneapolis, Minn.
Jan. 16 - Feb. 11



Write to the Cuban 5

Fernando González
Reg. #58733-004, FCI Terre Haute
P.O. Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808
> Address envelope to “Rubén Campa”

Antonio Guerrero
Reg. #58741-004, FCI Marianna P.O.
Box 7007, Marianna, FL 32447-7007

Gerardo Hernández
Reg. #58739-004, U.S.P. Victorville
P.O. Box 5300, Adelanto, CA 92301

Ramón Labañino
Reg. #58734-004, FCI Jesup
2680 301 South, Jesup, GA 31599
> Address envelope to “Luis Medina”

2 years after quake, Haitians demand jobs, housing

BY TOM BAUMANN

MIAMI— On the eve of the second anniversary of the earthquake in Haiti, thousands marched in the capital Port-au-Prince demanding jobs and housing.

Protesters gathered Jan. 11 outside parliament with hand-made signs. “I am 25 and I’ve never held a job,” read one.

Unemployment in Haiti is estimated at 60-70 percent. Most Haitians earn \$2 a day or less. Two years after the earthquake 500,000 are still living in tent cities.

A cholera epidemic swept Haiti during 2010 killing more than 6,000 people. Half the population lacks clean water and 80 percent are without access to sanitation facilities.

The United Nations estimates that \$3.6 billion has been sent to Haiti in relief and recovery aid over the last two years. Despite this “Haiti looks like the earthquake happened two months ago, not two years,” notes a Jan. 3 article in Counterpunch, a news website. It documents that much of this “aid” was used to pay the salaries of so-called non-governmental organizations from outside Haiti and to reimburse imperialist governments, especially Washington.

Less than 2 percent of the international funds have been channeled to Haitian organizations or the Haitian government.

Aid from revolutionary Cuba stands

in stark contrast. Immediately after the earthquake, the Cuban government expanded its medical contingent in Haiti, focusing on the regions hardest to reach. It did the same as the cholera outbreak

spread. By December 2010 Cuba’s contingent in Haiti was more than 1,200 people. Besides treating patients, Cuban personnel trained more than 15,000 Haitians on how to fight the outbreak.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



January 30, 1987

DAKOTA CITY, Neb.—Iowa Beef Processors Co., the nation’s largest beef slaughterhouse and meat-packing company, continues its lockout of 2,500 workers here.

Workers participating in the round-the-clock picket lines are discussing the company’s threats to reopen the plant with scabs if members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 222 don’t go along with its take-back demands.

No contract has been settled here since 1969 without a strike. Of IBP’s 13 packing plants, the Dakota City operation is the only unionized one.

In 1983 the meat-packers here were forced to accept a wage cut of \$1.07 an hour. Wages were then frozen for five years. The company now wants to extend the wage freeze for another four.



January 29, 1962

U.S. policy has suffered a setback at the meeting of the Organization of American States. Washington has retreated from its demand for collective diplomatic sanctions against Cuba and is backing a “compromise formula” that would suspend Cuba from the OAS but would not bar individual OAS members from maintaining diplomatic ties with Cuba.

Failure thus far of the U.S. to black-jack key Latin American governments into full support of a gang-up on Cuba dramatically underscores the decisive fact that large masses of the Latin American people want no part of the U.S. plans for imperialist aggression against Cuba.

Rarely has a large and powerful government so crudely and nakedly sought to whip its smaller neighbors into line.



January 30, 1937

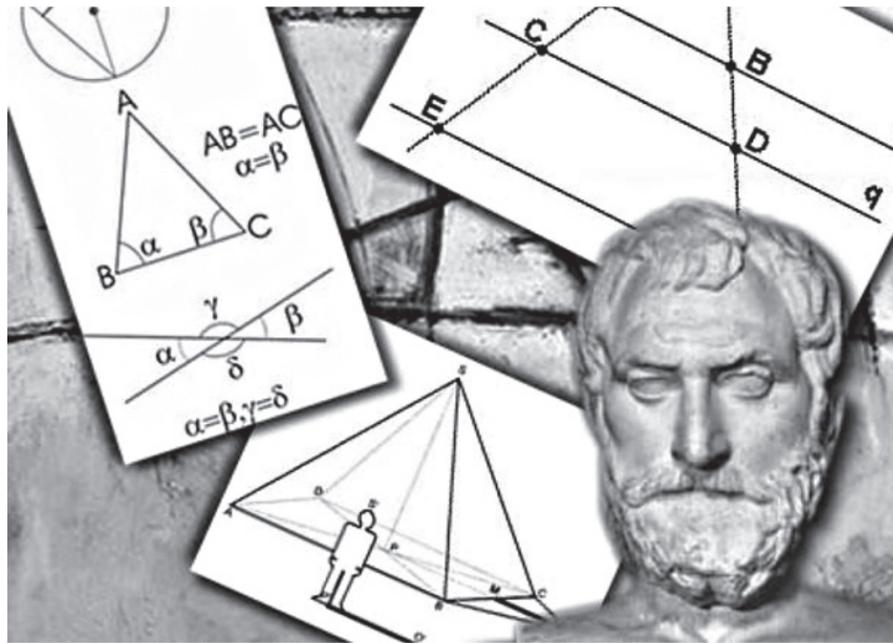
While General Motors plants employing 125,000 men lay idle and the ever-widening circles of the country’s biggest auto strike reached the shores of San Francisco bay, “Labor’s friend” in the White House showed his capitalist colors this week.

John L. Lewis addressed an appeal to the President—and got a quick reply. “This is not time for neutrality,” said Lewis. “Is it time for the President to intervene?” Lewis was asked. “Labor intervened for the President,” he replied. “We expect him to side with the workers when they are right.”

The President’s reply came like a dash of cold water to the labor men who still hope for workers’ aid from capitalist politicians. Roosevelt was plainly irritated at a direct class appeal to him—from the wrong class!

'Something new emerged: philosophy and science'

Below is an excerpt from *Origins of Materialism* by George Novack, one of *Pathfinder's Books of the Month* for January. *Pathfinder* publishes a number of titles on history and philosophy by Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The excerpt describes the rise of philosophy and science, flowing out of revolutionary advances in modes of production and the social relations accompanying them. Tracing the history of materialism to its origin in the bustling maritime cities of ancient Greece, Novack explains how it emerged as the distinctive outlook of historically new and dynamic forces in the Greek city-states. Copyright © 1965 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Thales, credited as father of philosophy as well as first Greek astronomer and mathematician, was born in 624 B.C. in Miletus in Asia Minor. This mercantile trading center emerged with onset of productive and social revolution in the transition from Bronze to Iron age.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY GEORGE NOVACK

The revolution in human knowledge from which philosophy issued is bound up with that period in ancient history when the most advanced sectors of humanity passed from the Bronze Age over to the Iron Age and slavery developed from its patriarchal beginnings to a higher form based upon a more extensive division of social labor and an unprecedented expansion of trade. It was the ultimate product of a series of revolutionary changes in the lives of the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. . . .

Once the processes of smelting the

ore were mastered, iron was far more plentiful, cheap, and easily workable.

This democratic material provided more efficient tools for the craftsman, stronger parts for the shipbuilder, better implements for the farmers and gave a powerful impetus to the productive forces in industry and agriculture.

The immense enlargement in the body of workers accustomed to using metal tools, following the discovery of smelting and forging iron around 1200 B.C., spurred the invention of new types of metal tools. . . .

Manufacturing, trade emerge

Agriculture had been virtually the sole mode of producing subsistence and wealth in the Bronze Age economies. Now manufacturing and trade acquired considerable, and in some key places decisive, importance for the first time. The progress and achievements of the Greek city-states were bound up with the development of their external trade.

Commercial, shipping, manufacturing and colonizing enterprises brought them into connection with the most remote regions as well as with the most highly civilized states.

Their diversified internal life was the offshoot of their participation in a market area which stretched from one end of the Mediterranean to the other and from Egypt to the Black Sea and which included the kingdoms of Mesopotamia.

Three epoch-making inventions, metallic money, alphabetic writing and weights and measures, made their appearance at this point. All were the result of the requirements of mercantile activities. Metallic money was invented at the beginning of the 8th Century on the boundaries of the Greek and Eastern worlds. The earliest coins facilitated the exchange relations of Lydia with the Greek ports.

Alphabetic writing was developed and diffused for the sake of keeping commercial accounts. Stable systems of weights and measures were devised and established to promote the ready exchange of commodities.

Such innovations and economic changes created new social forces which in time effected a thorough reconstruction of social relations. Hereditary land-owning oligarchs living on self-contained estates became transformed into landed proprietors having extensive commercial connections with nearby or foreign markets. . . .

However, the biggest shifts in the social structure took place not in the countryside but in the ports. Cities emerged in which agricultural interests were no longer supreme but became subordinate to commercial and manufacturing interests.

In these places independent merchant aristocracies, whose wealth was derived not from catering to monarchs, nobles

and priests but from far-flung markets rose up alongside increasingly independent craftsmen and seafarers.

These newly enriched merchants, shipowners, financiers and manufacturers challenged the domination of the old landed and military aristocracies and toppled the representatives of the archaic order one by one. . . .

The new conditions of urban life upset deep-rooted moral ideas and values. Hitherto birth and family connections had been the basis of status. Now citizens came to be judged and esteemed not for birth and pedigree alone but for their wealth and income. "Money makes the man."

The upper circles of the Ionian seaports displayed a practical worldly wisdom worthy of Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard. In his only surviving verse the Ionian poet Pythemus asserted: "There's nothing else that matters—only money."

Birth of philosophy

The supreme outcome of all these revolutionary changes was the production of new forms of general consciousness. Magic was the characteristic worldview of tribalism; religion of the earliest kingdoms and city-states. Now something genuinely new emerged in the practice and minds of men: the first shoots of philosophy and science.

These could not have appeared until the historical soil for their growth and cultivation had been prepared and enriched by the elements we have described: the introduction of iron, metallic money, alphabetic writing, weights and measures; a new type of slave production; the shattering of the remaining institutions of tribal society and the breakup of agriculturally based theocratic despotisms; the ascent of trade, manufacturing and colonizing to new levels; the birth of powerful new progressive social forces in the maritime city-states of Greece which carried class antagonisms to a new pitch of intensity and created new types of legal, political and cultural institutions.

Such were the indispensable historical preconditions for the formation of philosophy.

January BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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‘Making a revolution within the revolution’

From Santiago de Cuba and Rebel Army to birth of Federation of Cuban Women

Below is the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters to *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*. The new book, featuring interviews with Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos and Yolanda Ferrer, has just been released by Pathfinder Press. Waters is the editor of the book, president of Pathfinder, and a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, 2012. Reprinted by permission.

The phenomenon of women’s participation in the revolution is a revolution within another revolution. If I were asked what is the most revolutionary thing the revolution is doing, I would answer that it is precisely this—the revolution that is occurring among the women of our country.

FIDEL CASTRO
December 9, 1966

True equality between men and women can become a reality only when the exploitation of both by capital has been abolished, and private work in the home has been transformed into a public industry.

FREDERICK ENGELS
July 5, 1885

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution is not a book about women. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it does not start with women, nor could it. This is a book about the Cuban Revolution. It is about the millions of working people—men and women, of all ages—who have made that socialist revolution, and how their actions transformed them as they fought to transform their world.

INTRODUCTION TO NEW BOOK

We had “no preconceived structure or agenda,” Vilma Espín says here. There was “just a desire by women . . . to participate in a revolutionary process, whose aim was to transform the lives of those who had been exploited and discriminated against and create a better society for all.” And the leadership of the revolution responded.

Espín was a legendary combatant of the July 26 Movement in the Santiago de Cuba underground and the Rebel Army’s Second Front during the revolutionary war and mass popular struggle of the 1950s that brought down the bloody military dictatorship



Cuban Council of State Office of Historical Affairs
The book is “about the millions of working people—men and women—who made Cuba’s socialist revolution and how their actions transformed them as they fought to transform their world.” **Above**, new Rebel Army recruits, mostly peasants, train in last months of revolutionary war. **Inset**, members of Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon, crossing Cuba from Santiago to Havana in Freedom Caravan, after victorious insurrection against U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista, Jan. 1959.



Courtesy: Tere Puebla

of Fulgencio Batista. Following the January 1, 1959, victory, she became the central leader of the ongoing revolutionary activity that gave birth to the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), serving as its president until her death in 2007.

The Cuban Revolution began long before victorious Rebel Army columns entered Santiago de Cuba, Santa Clara, and Havana in the opening days of January 1959, propelled by popular insurrections and a mass general strike that swept the country.

It begins with the vanguard of men and women who came together in the wake of Batista’s March 10, 1952, coup, determined to oppose it at all costs. It begins with their unconditional rejection of a political system marked by decades of rampant corruption and subordination to the dictates of the Yankee imperialist colossus to the north. It begins with a determination to reknit the continuity of Cuba’s long history of struggle for national sovereignty, independence, and deepgoing social reform.

The course of the revolution goes through the July 26, 1953, assaults on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba and the Carlos Manuel de Céspedes barracks in Bayamo, led by Fidel Castro and Abel Santamaría, the actions that marked the opening of the revolutionary struggle. It proceeds through the years of patient work organizing a broad mass campaign for amnesty for the jailed combatants from the assault on Moncada and other political prisoners. It encompasses the nationwide effort to spread the popular revolutionary program presented by Castro in *History Will Absolve Me*, his courtroom defense of the Moncada fighters, which became the foundation of the July 26 Movement.

The channel of the revolution flows through the *Granma* expedition, which launched the revolutionary war at the end of 1956. Through the actions of the fledgling Rebel Army, as it consolidated support among the rural toilers of the Sierra Maestra mountains and other parts of eastern Cuba throughout 1957–58. Through its actions as it began to lead in practice toward the new economic and social relations that working peo-

ple would soon create across the country.

The thread of that history, broadly known inside Cuba and elsewhere, runs through this book. What emerges with new sharpness and clarity in these pages is something that is less well-known. It is a picture of the *social revolution* led by the Rebel Army in the Sierras during the two years of the revolutionary war, and how that revolution prepared and educated those who were touched by it.

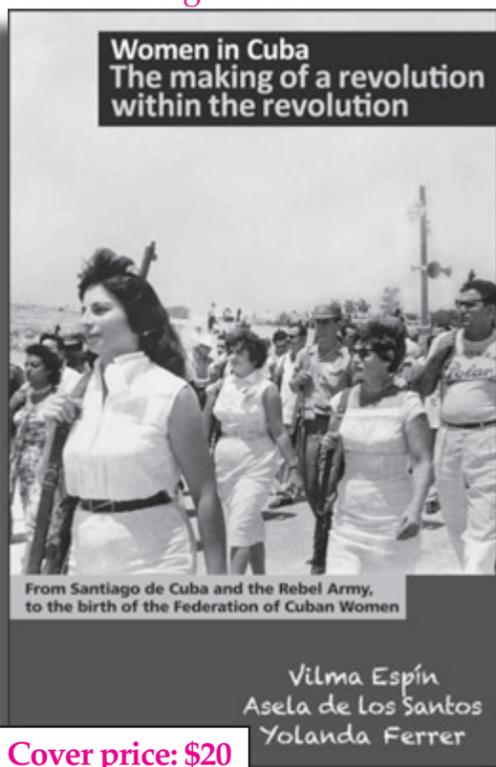
In the firsthand accounts of Asela de los Santos and Vilma Espín, we see the interaction between the Rebel Army combatants and the exploited, landless peasants and agricultural workers of the region. We see the ways in which they transform each other and together become a stronger, more conscious revolutionary force.

Through these accounts, we see the growing trust the Rebel Army wins among the rural poor, who are treated for the first time ever with respect and dignity. We see how the proletarian army-in-becoming responds to that trust, becoming ever more confident, clear-sighted, and class conscious as they fight together to expand education and health care and fulfill other long-cherished dreams of the toilers, even in the midst of a war. And we see the growing involvement of women, in the ranks and in the leadership.

The Rebel Army’s defeat of the Batista regime’s wishfully mislabeled “encircle and annihilate” operations, after three months of battle in mid-1958, opened the way for the rebels’ strategic military counteroffensive, leading to the rout and collapse of the tyranny a few months later. The recent publication of Fidel Castro’s two-volume account of the Rebel Army’s actions from May through December 1958—*La victoria estratégica* and *La contraofensiva estratégica*—makes an understanding of those crucial months of the revolutionary war more accessible than ever before.¹

The withdrawal of Batista’s battered ground troops
Continued on page 8

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1. *The Strategic Victory and The Strategic Counteroffensive*, by Fidel Castro. Publications Office of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba, 2010. In Spanish.

Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution

Continued from page 7

from large swaths of the mountainous regions of Cuba's Oriente province—stretching north and east of Santiago de Cuba toward Guantánamo, Baracoa, and beyond—gave the revolutionary forces the necessary time and space to consolidate what was known as the Frank País Second Eastern Front. Deadly bombing raids and strafing runs by Batista's air force continued throughout the region, which was controlled by the Rebel Army forces commanded by Raúl Castro. But in those closing months of the revolutionary war, the enemy's largely demoralized foot soldiers ventured from their barracks less and less.

With broad popular support, the Rebel Army's incipient government-in-arms increasingly displaced the crumbling structures of the capitalist regime in the region, as they organized working people to take charge of health care and education, justice, agriculture, construction, communications, taxation, and established their own radio station and other means of providing news and orientation. The toilers within the Second Front began to implement the program outlined in *History Will Absolve Me*.

It became a “virtual republic,” as Vilma Espín affirms here. And one with a new class character.

A congress of peasants in arms was organized by the Rebel Army in September 1958, land reform was codified by military decree in the liberated territories, and titles were issued to those who worked the land.

More than four hundred primary schools were opened, organized by the Rebel Army's department of education headed by Asela de los Santos, as peasant families enthusiastically carried out a census of the children, searched for suitable classrooms, found books, and built desks and benches. Night-time classes for combatants often used the same premises.

Clinics and field hospitals were established, treating combatants, including wounded enemy soldiers, and local residents alike. They provided the first medical care most peasants had ever received.

With the participation of all, roads were repaired and new ones opened.

Taxes on output were collected from the owners of sugar mills, mining operations, and coffee plantations. The workers knew exactly how much had been produced and shipped out.

Disputes were settled and marriages celebrated.

A popular revolution, a proletarian revolution-in-becoming, was organized in the mountains of the east, as the workers and peasants mobilized to begin transforming social relations. It spread across Cuba with the victory of January 1, 1959.

* * *

“When a deepgoing revolution takes place women, who have been oppressed for millennia, want to take part,” Asela de los Santos reminds us here.

The growing participation of women was a seamless part of this revolutionary upheaval. Forged in the heat of popular mobilizations in the opening months of 1959, what became the Federation of Cuban Women grew out of women's determination to participate in the revolution—not the other way around. As Vilma Espín describes, women insisted on organizing themselves, and being organized, into the most pressing



Women protesters at Santiago City Hall face cops' water cannon, July 31, 1957, day after murder of July 26 Movement leader Frank País. País's “attitude toward women,” says Espín, made it possible “to work as complete equals with men” in revolutionary movement in Santiago.

tasks of the revolution. In the process they created an organization that would enable them to do just that.

Many years later, a journalist for the Cuban daily *Granma* asked Vilma Espín whether she had anticipated all this when she was fighting in the mountains of eastern Cuba. Had she ever imagined she would be so involved and identified with making—as Fidel Castro called it—a revolution within the revolution? Espín's spontaneous response was:

Never! It hadn't even remotely occurred to me that a women's organization should exist. I had never even thought about it. I joined the struggle as part of a group that included young women and men. It never occurred to me we'd have to carry out special work with women. . . .

When the idea of creating a women's organization was suggested to me, it came as a surprise. . . . But soon after it was created I realized that yes, it was indispensable. . . . It was an enormous revolutionary force.

Part II of *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* takes us through this “Birth of the Federation of Cuban Women” in interviews with Vilma Espín and Yolanda Ferrer.

What strikes the reader more than anything else in Espín's account is the absence of dogma or schemas, the absence of clotted political jargon. There was only one guide: opening the way for the broadest layers of women to become involved—with organization, effectiveness, and discipline—in ongoing struggles and the construction of a new social order.

In the beginning was the deed. Leaders were those who led.

“Learn in the morning and teach in the afternoon” became a popular revolutionary slogan, reflecting a fact of life. Often that meant doing so under fire—literally—as Washington tried unsuccessfully, over and over, to organize and arm a counterrevolutionary cadre. As on every other front of the advancing revolution, form followed content, and organizational structures were codified as the struggle permitted.

Nothing captures this better than the image of the school for young women from the countryside, training to staff child care centers, being strafed and bombed by US-based planes a few days prior to the US-organized invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. “Not a single one asked to go home,” Espín notes. “Everyone stayed.”

“When I talk about how the federation was created,” Espín says here,

I always emphasize that at the time we didn't talk about women's liberation. We didn't talk about women's emancipation, or the struggle for equality. We didn't use those terms then. What we did talk about was participation. Women wanted to participate. . . .

There was real proof, every day, that the revolution wasn't just hot air, it wasn't empty phrases of the kind people were used to hearing from politicians in the past. This was the genuine thing. And women wanted to be part of it, to *do* something. The more the revolutionary laws strengthened this conviction, the more women demanded a chance to contribute—and the more they saw how necessary their contribution was.

Cuba in the 1950s was one of the more economically developed countries of Latin America, not one of the poorest. Yet only 13.5 percent of women worked outside the home in 1953, many of them without pay. By 1981, barely twenty years after the triumph of the revolution, that figure had risen to 44.5 percent, and by 2008 stood at 59 percent.

In 1953, of those women in the workforce “with or without pay,” the largest single category, totaling more than 70,000, were domestic servants, a large proportion of whom were black. That was close to 30 percent of all women who had jobs. Some worked for as little as 20 cents a day or for room and board alone—which could mean a mat to sleep on and



Cuban Council of State Office of Historical Affairs

leftover food from the plates of their employer.

The social dynamic of the early years of the revolution is dramatically represented by the FMC-organized night schools for former domestic workers, women left with no way to make a living as their well-off employers abandoned the country. Retrained for jobs ranging from taxi drivers and auto mechanics to bank clerks, secretaries, child care workers, and poultry farmers, they began new lives—with confidence and pride.

The same dynamic was central to one of the most extensive FMC campaigns in the first years of the revolution, the establishment of the Ana Betancourt School for young peasant women. Between 1961 and 1963, twenty-one thousand, with their parents' consent, came to Havana for an intensive six-month course during which they learned to read and write, cut and sew, and acquired the foundations of scientific nutrition and hygiene. Some learned basic office-work skills as well.

One of the charges leveled against the Cuban Revolution by its opponents in other countries, often by women who came out of some of the feminist organizations of the 1960s and 70s, is that the FMC, by teaching women how to make clothes for themselves and their families, reinforced traditional female stereotypes. It bolstered women's oppression rather than advancing women's liberation, they claimed. In the *Granma* interview quoted earlier, Espín was asked if she still thought they had done the right thing.

“Yes, I do,” was her immediate answer, “because at that time it was what allowed us to draw women out of their homes. It's what made it possible for young women from the Escambray mountains and the Baracoa region, where the counterrevolution was working intensively on peasant families, to come to the capital, learn what the revolution was really about, and become the first cadres of the revolution in those areas.

“This was important, not only in combating the counterrevolution,” Espín said, “but in terms of the development of women as cadres. . . . We started from where women were at to raise them to a new level.”

The revolution in women's social, economic, and political status was not a phenomenon *parallel* to the revolutionary advance of Cuba's toilers. It took place *within* that advance.

* * *

Addressing a leadership meeting of the Federation of Cuban Women in December 1966, Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro called attention to the antiwoman prejudices that prevailed in prerevolutionary Cuba, as throughout class societies the world over. “Prejudices

Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution



Editorial Verde Olivo



Courtesy Asela de los Santos

Rebel Army's Second Front became a "veritable republic," says Espín, with toilers beginning to reorganize social relations to meet most pressing needs. **Far left**, waiting to see doctor at field clinic, late 1958. "Rebel hospitals provided health care to peasants and combatants, without distinction, including enemy soldiers," says Asela de los Santos. **Above**, delegates from 84 local peasant committees meet in Second Front liberated zone to organize support for Rebel Army and prepare land redistribution, Sept. 1958. **Left**, de los Santos (left), in charge of Second Front education department, with Zoila Ibarra, deputy head. Rebel Army leaders worked with peasants to set up or reopen more than 400 schools in less than six months.

that have existed, not just for decades or centuries," Castro said, "but for millennia." He pointed

to the belief that all a woman was good for was to scrub dishes, wash, iron, cook, keep house, and bear children—age-old prejudices that placed women in an inferior position in society. In effect women did not have a productive place in society.

Under capitalism, he went on, the big majority of women are "doubly exploited or doubly humiliated."

A poor woman, whether a worker or belonging to a working-class family, was exploited simply because of her humbler status, because she was a worker. Moreover, within her own class, as a working woman, she was looked down on and underrated. Not only was she underestimated, exploited, and looked down on by the exploiting classes, but even within her own class she was the object of countless prejudices. . . .

There are two sectors in this country, two components of society that, aside from economic reasons, have had other motives for sympathizing with and

feeling enthusiasm for the revolution: the black population of Cuba and the country's women.

The political clarity and decisive leadership given the fight for women's equality by Fidel Castro, the central leader of the Cuban Revolution for more than half a century, is one of the truest measures of the working-class character of that revolution and the caliber of its leadership. It has been so from the earliest days of the fight against the Batista dictatorship. That same clarity and decisiveness has been a guarantee of the revolutionary alliance of workers and farmers in Cuba over those decades.

At every point in the struggle, women were part of the vanguard and its leadership. Women such as Haydée Santamaría and Melba Hernández, who joined the assault on the Moncada military garrison in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, 1953. Women like Celia Sánchez, the principal organizer of the July 26 Movement in Manzanillo, the first woman to join the Rebel Army as a combatant, and a member of its general staff. Women like Vilma Espín, whose story you will read in the pages to follow.

The Cuban Revolution is distinguished from all previous revolutions in the history of the modern working-class movement, among other things, by the number of women who were central to its day-to-day leadership.

Moreover, the speed of women's economic and social advances in the thirty years between 1960 and 1990—advances measured by education, employment, infant and maternal mortality rates, and other gauges—allowed Cuban women to conquer a degree of equality that it took women in the United States and other industrialized capitalist countries more than a century and a half to achieve.

But none of this was inevitable.

"One of the ways our revolution will be judged in coming years," Fidel Castro told the Second Congress of the FMC in 1974, "is how we have resolved the problems facing women in our society and our country."

Without the clear course charted by Fidel as well

as other central leaders—including Abel Santamaría, Frank País, and Raúl Castro, all of whom readers come to know better in the pages of this book—the record of Cuba's revolutionary struggle would have been far less exemplary. Espín notes, for example, that Frank País's leadership and "attitude toward women" is what made it possible for women in the July 26 Movement in Santiago de Cuba "to work as complete equals with men."

The political determination of Fidel Castro to challenge the antiwoman prejudices held by some who were among the best cadres of the movement was demonstrated by the fight he waged in 1958 to organize the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon of the Rebel Army—something Espín points to as "an extraordinary moment in the history of women's participation in the revolution."

"Some of our comrades were still very machista," Fidel told a June 1988 send-off for a battery of the First Women's Antiaircraft Artillery Regiment of Guantánamo leaving for Angola the next day. The women had volunteered for an internationalist mission, defending newly built airstrips in southern Angola from attack by the air force of the South African apartheid regime. Also invited to that gathering were ambassadors of African countries accredited in Cuba. Fidel continued:

Some of the men asked "How can you give those rifles to those women when we are unarmed?"

That reaction really made me mad. So I told one of them: "I'll tell you why we're going to give those rifles to those women: because they're better soldiers than you." I didn't say another word.

We were living in a class society, a society where women were discriminated against, a society where a revolution had to come about, a revolution in which women would have to demonstrate their capacity and their merits.

"What was our objective?" Fidel asked.

First, we believed in women's capacity, women's courage, their capacity to fight; and second, we knew that such a precedent would have enormous importance in the future, when the moment came to raise the question of equality in our society.

The combat record of the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon proved to be one of the most outstanding in the revolutionary war. And the precedent set was never lost.

Addressing the guests from the diplomatic corps attending the send-off for the women's antiaircraft regiment, Castro joked, "Perhaps our guests could be asking themselves this evening if it's necessary for a battery of women to go to southern Angola . . . wheth-

Continued on page 10



Above, Granma. Top right, Bohemia. Bottom right, Cuban Council of State Office of Historical Affairs

A popular revolution, a "proletarian revolution-in-becoming" had already begun in Rebel Army-held areas of eastern Cuba, says Waters. "It spread across Cuba with the January 1959 victory." **Above**, learning to measure and cut fabric at Ana Betancourt School in Havana. In early 1960s some 21,000 young women from rural Cuba attended school. Many "Anitas," as graduates were called, were among revolution's "first political cadres in mountain areas," says Espín. **Top right**, members of peasant family learn to read and write during 1961 campaign by some 100,000 young volunteers, the majority women, that ended illiteracy in Cuba in one year. **Bottom right**, Fidel Castro, revolutionary leader Celia Sánchez (center), and Espín at founding of Federation of Cuban Women, Aug. 1960. At time, says Espín, "Fidel had a much clearer idea than we did of the degree of inequality in society and what we needed to do."



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er there are no more Cuban men to send over there and we have to resort to sending Cuban women. In truth, that's not the way it is."

The deployment of the women's antiaircraft artillery battery to Angola "is not a military necessity," Fidel told them. "It is a moral necessity, a revolutionary necessity."

What the reader will find in these pages is the consistency of the revolutionary leadership of Cuba on the fight for women's equality over more than half a century. And its continuity reaching all the way back to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the modern working-class movement.

* * *

The three authors of this book, who knew each other and worked together over some five decades, reflect two different generations in the leadership of "a revolution within the revolution."

Espín and de los Santos were lifelong friends and co-combatants from their earliest days as students at the University of Oriente in Santiago de Cuba. Following the March 10, 1952, military coup that brought Batista to power, they were among the first to become involved in the struggle against the increasingly brutal US-backed dictatorship. They worked side by side in Santiago's underground and in the Rebel Army's Second Eastern Front. After the 1959 victory, de los Santos joined Espín from 1960 to 1966 in the leadership of the newly formed Federation of Cuban Women, serving as the organization's first general secretary.

Yolanda Ferrer, general secretary of the Federation of Cuban Women today, tells the story of the tremendous leaps made by women in the first years of the revolution from a different perspective. She was part of a new generation, too young to have been involved in the struggle against the dictatorship, that threw itself into the great social battles that pushed forward the revolution. Barely in their teens, these young women joined the first militia units and helped build the communist youth organization. They formed the core of the historic countrywide campaign that in 1961, in a single year-long mobilization, wiped out illiteracy among the adult population of Cuba—23 percent of whom, the majority women, had never had the opportunity to learn to read or write.

It was the intertwining of these two generations in the tasks of the revolution that assured the energy and discipline of the campaigns that marked the character of the FMC at its birth. In the accounts of the three authors we see—firsthand—the impact of the revolutionary struggles that transformed them along with millions of other Cuban women, as they fought to build a society in which, as Frederick Engels expressed it more than a hundred and twenty-five years ago, exploitation by capital has been abolished and "true equality between men and women can become a reality"—if the struggle continues.

* * *

The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution would not have been possible without the extensive collaboration provided by the leadership of the Federation of Cuban Women over a number of years, including the help of its cadres in cities from Havana to Santiago de Cuba and Holguín.

Special thanks is due above all to FMC general secretary Yolanda Ferrer and to Asela de los Santos for



Above, Juventud Rebelde. Inset, Granma

"Women's economic and social advances from 1960 to 1990," says Waters, "allowed Cuban women to conquer a degree of equality it took women in U.S. more than 150 years to achieve." **Above**, Lt. Milagros Katrina Soto (center) and others in Women's Antiaircraft Artillery Regiment, Angola, 1988. Organizing women as part of Cuban internationalist volunteers fighting invasions of Angola by South Africa's U.S.-backed racist regime was not "a military necessity," says Fidel Castro. It was "a moral necessity, a revolutionary necessity." **Inset**, volunteers in construction brigade in late 1980s build child care center, enabling more women to join labor force.

the many hours they devoted to reading drafts, correcting errors, and explaining aspects of the history of the Cuban Revolution that would have otherwise remained obscure.

Carolina Aguilar, one of the founding cadres and longtime leaders of the FMC, and Isabel Moya, director of Editorial de la Mujer, the FMC's publishing house, offered their time, suggestions, collaboration, and encouragement at every turn, including the scouring of archives for photos, documents, and long out-of-print sources.

Iraida Aguirrechu, senior editor at Editora Política, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, provided unstinting support, help, and editorial expertise, as always.

The Office of Historical Affairs of the Council of State, through its director, Eugenio Suárez, and Elsa Montero, organizer of the photographic archive (and herself a Rebel Army messenger at fourteen and combatant in the Third Front under the command of Juan Almeida), provided invaluable assistance, making available numerous historic photos reproduced in this book and identifying individuals, locations, dates, and circumstances of many others.

Directors of the archives at *Bohemia* and *Granma*, Magaly Miranda Martínez and Alejandro Debén, were generous in the time they made available to aid in the search for many other photos capturing specific moments and events in the history of the revolution.

Last but far from least, we express appreciation to the family of photographer Raúl Corrales for allowing reproduction, free of cost in this edition, not only of three

photographs that are reproduced inside the book, but the evocative photo of a workers' militia unit that appears on the cover.

The armed women department store employees in their white-dress workclothes—marching side by side on May 1, 1959, with their compañero brewery workers, each ready to give her or his life to defend their revolution—captures an indelible image of the vanguard of the Cuban working class at that decisive moment in the class struggle. It does so with an insight that few photographers other than Raúl Corrales ever achieved.

Department store salesperson was one of the few jobs deemed appropriate for a woman in Cuba

in the 1950s. And there was good reason for them to be armed. Two of the most destructive actions of the counterrevolution were the fire-bombings of two famous department stores in central Havana, El Encanto and La Epoca. A militia member on guard duty that night, a woman like those on the cover of this book, died as she rushed back into the inferno of El Encanto to try to retrieve funds the workers had collected to build a child care center there. In 1960–61 alone, nine Havana department stores were the targets of such attacks.

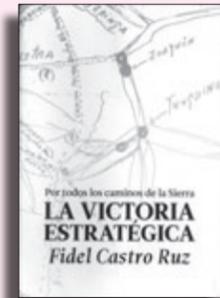
The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution is dedicated to the new generations of women and men, in Cuba and worldwide, for whom the accurate history of the Cuban Revolution and how it was made is, and will be, an indispensable armament in the tumultuous class battles whose initial skirmishes are already upon us.

January 2012

For further reading

Strategic Victory and Strategic Counteroffensive

by Fidel Castro, two-volume set



The central leader of the Cuban Revolution describes how 300 revolutionary combatants defeated an offensive of 10,000 troops in the summer of 1958 and launched a counteroffensive that extended the revolutionary struggle across the whole country. In Spanish.

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Marianas in Combat

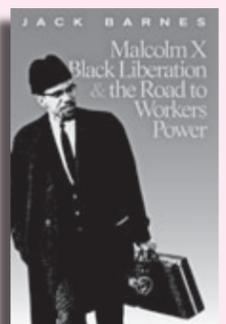
by Teté Puebla

The highest-ranking woman in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces tells her story, from urban clandestine action as a teenager to serving as officer in the victorious Rebel Army's first all-women's unit. \$14

Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

by Jack Barnes

The revolutionary conquest of power by the working class will make possible the final battle for Black freedom and open the way to a world based on human solidarity. A socialist world. \$20



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Federation of Cuban Women

Readers of new book "will find consistency of Cuba's revolutionary leadership in the fight for women's equality," says Waters. Above, International Women's Day, Havana, 2004. From left to right: Ricardo Alarcón, president, Cuba's National Assembly; Espín, FMC president; Raúl Castro, then minister of Revolutionary Armed Forces; Yolanda Ferrer, FMC general secretary.

Solidarity with longshore workers!

The *Militant* encourages working people and youth to actively solidarize with the fight of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union against union busting by EGT Development in Longview, Wash., one of the central battlefields in the U.S. class struggle today.

EGT is acting as the vanguard of the capitalist assault on longshore workers in the U.S., seeking to set a precedent for marginalizing and weakening the ILWU. The U.S. ruling class—employing its cops, courts, news media and government from the local to the federal level—is united in backing the EGT bosses, who have imposed a virtual lock-out by disregarding the union's agreement with the Port of Longview.

The ILWU—a union of nearly 60,000 workers—is being smeared as thugs and criminals, slapped with massive fines, and threatened by the Coast Guard and other agents of the capitalist government. More than 200 union members and supporters have been framed up on various charges for standing up to the bosses' union-busting campaign.

EGT is preparing to load the first West Coast ship without ILWU labor in eight decades. The union will have between a few days to a few hours notice. The ILWU is organizing a protest to coincide with the event, with time and place to be announced. All those who back this fight are encouraged to join in the action under union discipline, to help broaden out support for the fight and make it harder for the bosses and government to victimize the longshore workers.

The protest is being organized to advance the fight

under the current relationship of class forces. It will be among many important solidarity actions, past and future, in an ongoing battle that will continue for some time.

Anarchists and ultraleft sectarian forces associated with some "occupy" groups on the West Coast have been planning a provocative action when the scab ship arrives that, if carried out, would give the bosses' government a handle to deepen its assault on the ILWU. Couched in solidarity with the union's fight, these forces seek to further their own political agendas, without regard for the consequences for the longshore workers and the ILWU. If you support this labor struggle, then follow the lead of the workers' union leadership and do no harm.

"Please take extreme caution when dealing with supporters of non-ILWU sanctioned calls to action relative to EGT," Robert McEllrath, ILWU international president wrote Jan. 3. "Everything is at stake for the community of Longview and our members."

Indeed, a lot is at stake, not just for tens of thousands of longshore workers, but for the broader working class.

Spread the word widely about the longshore workers' battle. Discuss it with your coworkers and all who are repelled by the assaults of capital today. Organize solidarity, build the coming protest, raise financial contributions, gather messages of solidarity.

Prepare now, on what is likely to be short notice, to join the ILWU in Longview, to march alongside them and to help make the coming protest as disciplined—and effective—as possible.

Europe rulers target workers in Greece

Continued from front page

cheap credit available from their adherence to the euro bloc to fund these imports. Over years, this has led to ever-growing trade imbalances and indebtedness, which has come to a head with the deepening crisis of capitalism worldwide.

Greece is no longer able to pay its bills or finance its government. Ten-year Greek bonds sell at an astronomical 35 percent interest rate. The Greek government faces \$18.4 billion in bonds due March 20, without funds to pay or refinance them.

Leaders of the European Central Bank, European Union and International Monetary Fund, fearing uncontrolled bankruptcy in Greece, with devastating consequences for capitalism reverberating across Europe, organized to supply ever more loans while pressing Greek capitalist rulers to impose ever deeper austerity on the working class.

Last October, as part of these moves, the "Troika" won promises from both Athens and private banks, hedge funds and other investors to agree to a 50 percent "haircut" on \$130 billion in holdings of the country's bonds. Government central banks are exempt from the loss.

They made a negotiated pact a precondition for releasing any funds to Greece.

Since then, the Greek government has been pressing for an agreement with the Institute of International Finance, a Washington-based group representing the banks that hold the bulk of the Greek bonds. Banks involved include the National Bank of Greece, BNP Paribas in France and Germany's Deutsche Bank.

At the heart of the negotiations was reaching agreement on the terms of new bonds embodying the cut in value by half, or more.

The IMF, noting that Greece's economic crisis has gotten worse since October, pressed for a higher "haircut," to 60 or even 75 percent, and for lower interest payments on the replacement bonds.

The banks balked at the suggestion, demanding no further losses, guarantees that the new bonds would be redeemable, and higher interest.

On Jan. 13, the banks broke off the talks, saying that they "paused for reflection."

An additional wrinkle in the mix is a group of hedge funds and other speculators that have bought some of the Greek bonds being renegotiated, along with credit default swaps to insure full payment if Greece defaults.

Betting on either bankruptcy, or Athens being forced to pay in full on their bonds, they have no interest in agreeing to a 50 percent drop in their investment, and are refusing to come to the table.

These developments precipitated divergent views across the continent on what should come next. Some urge throwing more money into keeping it limping along, urging deeper and deeper austerity. Others say the time has come to cut losses and let Greece go out of the eurozone.

German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle, in Athens Jan. 15 to press for a deal, pushed more attacks on the working class, saying "we want to embolden the Greek government to implement the reform steps it has announced." While the Greek government has promised to slash 30,000 state jobs, shifting workers into a labor reserve at much lower pay, only 1,000 workers have been hit so far.

Unemployment is over 18 percent. State workers' wages have been cut by 40 percent. Some 68,000 businesses closed in 2010, and 53,000 more are reported on the verge of shuttering, throwing workers on the street. Greeks seeking jobs are leaving the country in unprecedented numbers. Arrivals of Greeks are up 21 percent in Australia.

Crisis hits French bond ratings

Rumors circulate of plans for Germany and other stronger northern European countries to bolt and launch a more restricted euro, a 'nordeuro,' dropping Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and France.

The stakes are high. Germany's state bank, the Bundesbank, is currently owed \$709 billion by other eurozone central banks, including those of Ireland, Spain, Italy and Greece.

The crisis is continent wide, also afflicting the "core" imperialist powers. Standard and Poor's rating agency announced Jan. 13 that it was cutting the ratings of the majority of eurozone countries, including France, Austria and Italy, making it more costly for them to issue bonds. They were met with howls of nationalist protest.

All across Europe, manufacturing and trade is declining, as a double-dip recession deepens, causing layoffs and worsening conditions for working people.

One thing is sure. The centrifugal forces tearing away at the eurozone will grow. And workers will be targeted to bear the cost of capitalism's crisis.

US sanctions on Iran

Continued from front page

is simultaneously pressing Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates to provide oil to take the place of that supplied by Iran.

The U.S. State Department has imposed sanctions on China's state-run Zhuhai Zhenrong, said to be Iran's largest supplier of refined petroleum products. Sanctions have also hit a Singapore-based energy trader.

The Iranian government is moving ahead with development of its nuclear program, which Tehran says is for energy production and medical research.

Fereydoon Abbasi, director of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization, announced Jan. 7 that the country's second major uranium enrichment site "will soon be opened and become operational" at the Fordo nuclear plant near the city of Qum. The plant is buried deep underground on a well-defended military site and is considered far more resistant to potential air strikes than the existing one.

An unnamed Iranian official told Reuters Jan. 9 that the enrichment has in fact started. The U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed that Tehran has begun enriching uranium up to 20 percent for medical isotopes, which scientists consider a step toward being able to produce weapons-grade uranium.

France's foreign ministry stated that the news "leaves us with no other choice but to reinforce international sanctions and to adopt, with our European partners and all willing countries, measures of an intensity and severity without precedent."

Assassinations of Iranian scientist

Iran's nuclear program has also been hit by bombings, computer worms and assassinations of scientists. On Jan. 11 the deputy director of Natanz uranium enrichment plant, Mostafa Ahmadi Roshan, was killed by a bomb slapped to his car while driving. The modus operandi bore the signature of Israel's Mossad spy agency. Since 2007 at least five nuclear scientists have been assassinated in similar actions.

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said Washington wasn't involved in the killing of Roshan. Speaking the day after the murder to troops in Texas, he said, "We have some ideas who might be involved, but we don't know exactly." The Israeli government hasn't commented.

Ali Larjani, Iranian speaker of parliament, said Tehran was open to "serious" talks regarding its nuclear program during a Jan. 12 visit to Turkey, one day after the assassination, reported the *Christian Science Monitor*. "Regarding the 5+1 talks, we have previously expressed Iran's readiness to hold talks in order to resolve the issue." This refers to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia and China—plus Germany.

In other developments, Iranian semi-official news agency *Fars* reported Jan. 9 that Amir Mirzaei Hekmati, a former U.S. Marine of Iranian descent and veteran of the Iraq war, has been sentenced to death for spying for the CIA. Hekmati, 28, is both a citizen of Iran and the U.S. He has 20 days to appeal his sentence.

While tensions are ratcheted up, both sides are acting to avoid any direct military confrontation.

According to the Jan. 14 *Wall Street Journal*, U.S. defense leaders are concerned that the Israeli military may be considering a strike on Iranian nuclear facilities. President Obama, Panetta and other top officials "have delivered a string of private messages to Israeli leaders warning about the dire consequences of a strike."

Washington and Tel Aviv have postponed major military maneuvers and anti-missile exercises, the *New York Times* reported Jan. 16, "to avoid further escalating tensions with Iran."

U.S. Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will meet with Israeli military officials in Tel Aviv this week.

European Union officials are discussing postponing any oil embargo for six months, according to Bloomberg News, "to give some members time to find alternative supplies."

U.S. officials have also sent "direct messages to Iranian leaders against provocative actions," according to the *Journal*.

Calif. candy workers 'lost a battle, but not the war'

BY ERIC SIMPSON

UNION CITY, Calif.—After 36 days of around-the-clock picketing, workers here voted to return to work Jan. 10 under the original terms of American Licorice's proposal.

The 178 members of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers Union Local 125 went on strike Dec. 5, because the candy company wanted to withdraw from the union-organized health-care plan and replace it with an inferior and more expensive insurance.

The union plan provides insurance for Local 125 members, who work at several companies in the Bay Area. With the company plan, workers will pay an annual deductible for the first time. The company's contribution, offsetting the deductible, will be cut in half after the first year.

"Most of us had never been on strike before," Carmen Albor told the *Militant*.

The company played hardball from day one. They threatened to fire the strikers and collaborated with the Union City Police Department to harass pickets. Drivers on busy Whipple Road in front of the plant were issued citations for sounding their horns in solidarity. A canopy erected on public property to house a well-organized strike kitchen was dismantled at the request of the police. Propane heaters and stoves were banned.

But a fellow unionist from another candy factory lent a mobile home to serve as a strike office instead.

American Licorice hired the scabherding outfit Huffmaster Crisis Response to intimidate strikers and bring in replacement workers. The company issued an ultimatum Jan. 3, threatening to permanently replace the strikers.

Custody deaths

Continued from front page
now to be readdressing this like we had to do with Jon Burge."

Burge was a police commander in Area 2 in the 1980s. Detectives under his command tortured false confessions from dozens of men, mostly African-American. The confessions were used in frame-up trials, including some that ended in death sentences. A federal jury convicted the former police chief in 2010 for lying about the torture. He is serving a four-and-a-half year prison term.

Adam questioned whether the video cameras covering the cells in which Bradford and Wood died were functioning at the time of their deaths.

"If I'm wrong and there is a video, let them show it to the family's lawyers, or better yet to federal investigators," Adam said, calling on U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald to open a case.

Attorney Victor Henderson said an internal police investigation was not acceptable, given the Burge history at Area 2. "Why were the cameras off? How long were they in custody? Let's see the clothes that they allegedly hung themselves [with]. Let's have some forensic tests, have some blood tests," he demanded.

Davis also called for an investigation by the U.S. Attorney's Office.

Workers from other unions stopped by to reinforce the picket lines. A shop floor collection by members of Unite Here Local 2 brought in \$100. Fired workers from Pacific Steel Casting, run off the job by an I-9 immigration audit, took a collection and visited the picket line.

During the last week of the strike, dozens organized by the Alameda Labor Council and by "occupy" activists joined the pickets. In response to dozens of supporters blocking plant entrances, cops and guards mobilized to escort trucks and vans with scabs in and out of the plant.

Some 15 union members crossed the line during the strike; four of them on the morning of the Jan. 10 vote, including two experienced machine operators.

Under the settlement the strikers will return to their jobs and the replacement workers will leave. Union members who crossed the picket line will keep



Militant/Eric Simpson

Dec. 8 picket by candy workers. "Most of us had never been on strike before," said Carmen Albor, left. "We're going back to work with heads held high," said Evangelina Reynoso, right.

their jobs as well. The contract includes a dollar an hour pay increase over its three-year term. Albor voted against going back to work, she told the *Militant*, because she thought if they had stayed out longer they could have won.

"We have lost a battle, but not the war," said union member Enrique

Dominguez. "Now that I know what it is to be on strike, I'll be the first to bring food and help if others go out."

"We're going in with our heads held high," Evangelina Reynoso told the *Militant*. "We'll get more respect."

Betsy Stone contributed to this article.

Mumia Abu-Jamal off death row, stuck in solitary

BY OSBORNE HART

PHILADELPHIA—Political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal remains in isolation and solitary confinement more than a month after his death sentence was definitively dropped.

In April 2011, the U.S. Court of Appeals, Third Circuit, ruled unanimously that his death sentence was unconstitutional.

District Attorney Seth Williams announced Dec. 7 that his office would no longer pursue the death penalty for Abu-Jamal.

Abu-Jamal, a journalist, political activist and former Black Panther, spent 29 years on death row for the 1982 frame-up conviction of killing a city cop.

On Dec. 8, the Department of Corrections moved Abu-Jamal from the solitary death-row cellblock at the Greene "supermax" state prison. Six

days later, he was transferred to the Mahanoy medium security facility.

Contrary to his new legal status of life in prison, he remains in isolation under "administrative custody." This is permanently imposed on death row inmates or on other prisoners, supposedly on a temporary basis and for defined reasons. It includes shackles and handcuffs whenever he is outside the isolated cell; cell lights on 24 hours; no access to personal possessions including legal materials, books or typewriter; no regular phone access; and other onerous restrictions.

"There is no legal basis for Mumia to be confined in AC," said Rachel Wolkenstein, Abu-Jamal's attorney, in a Jan. 7 legal update.

According to Wolkenstein, Department of Corrections Chief Counsel Suzanne Hueston told her that Abu-Jamal was under administrative cus-

tody for resentencing and further evaluation.

But, Wolkenstein pointed out, there is no basis for further evaluation as "there is nothing in Mumia's [nearly 30-year] personal record to justify holding him in Administrative Custody."

Quebec paper mill closed after workers reject wage, pension cut

BY JOE YOUNG

MONTREAL—On Jan. 12, the day after workers at White Birch's Stadacona Mill in Quebec City voted 90.4 percent to refuse sweeping concession demands, the bosses announced the permanent closure of the mill.

The newsprint company had demanded pension reductions of 45 percent for workers over 55 and 65 percent for those under 55 and a wage cut of up to 21 percent.

There were 858 retired workers and 600 working when the company originally shut down Dec. 9. The workers are members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada.

White Birch has been under bankruptcy protection for two years, claiming debts of \$900 million. The company has two other operating mills at Gatineau and Rivière-du-Loup in Quebec. Workers there voted down similar concession demands by 100 and 99 percent respectively in December.

"We couldn't accept the offer," said Jacques Renaud, a member of the union executive at the Stadacona mill. He told the *Militant* that workers will continue picketing at the plant.

Union officials demand that the Quebec government intervene and are preparing a counter offer to the company, covering the three White Birch plants in Quebec. The company said Jan. 18 it was willing to resume negotiations with the workers on reopening the Stadacona plant.

NY Cablevision workers fight for union recognition



Militant/Ruth Robinett

NEW YORK—Members and supporters of Cablevision workers in Brooklyn, who will vote for the Communication Workers of America in a Jan. 26 union recognition election, rallied Jan. 16 in front of Madison Square Garden. James Dolan, CEO of Cablevision, is chairman of the Madison Square Garden Company. The 280 Cablevision workers need a union "to get equal rights, better wages and so we pay less for health care," said Guy St. Jean. "Our co-pay just went up 25 percent." Rey Meyers said the company is "very militant against the union because we do the same work as Verizon, but are paid 35 to 40 percent less. Plus we get no pension."

—RUTH ROBINETT