

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Havana: 2 talks on *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*  
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Event in Cuba discusses new book on 'Revolution Within Revolution'

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL AND HARRY D'AGOSTINO

HAVANA—The book *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*, published by Pathfinder Press, was launched at a packed auditorium here February 14.

The meeting, one of the hundreds of book presentations at the 10-day-

long Havana International Book Fair, Cuba's biggest annual cultural event, drew 130 people from multiple generations. Among them were numerous university students, including several American youth studying in Cuba, members and leaders of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), and dozens

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Militant/Maura DeLuca

Participants in Feb. 14 meeting launching newly published book *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* as part of events at Havana International Book Fair.

## NY meeting to discuss need for revolutionary workers' party

BY JOHN STUDER

The working-class battles unfolding in the United States, Canada and elsewhere, and the solidarity they generate, represent an inevitable response to the mounting assaults by the bosses and their government on our wages, working conditions, rights and unions.

To one degree or another many are able to mitigate the assault and

strengthen working-class unity. But these defensive economic battles eventually run into objective limits and come to an end. This poses the question: How do workers increasingly awakened to their worth and capacities for struggle continue to fight?

The national public meeting called by the Socialist Workers Party for March 10 in New York City will ad-

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## Calif. foundry workers fight immigrant firings

Workers' unity steeled in previous strike battle



Militant/Eric Simpson

Foundry workers and supporters march in Berkeley, Calif., Feb. 17 to protest recent firing of 200 workers at Pacific Steel Casting as part of I-9 audit of employees' immigration status. Last year members of Glass, Molders, and Pottery workers organized successful three-day strike.

BY JOEL BRITTON

BERKELEY, Calif.—Former Pacific Steel Casting workers led a March for Dignity here Feb. 17 to protest the firings of some 200 of their coworkers in recent months following a "silent raid" audit by immigration authorities. The foundry was the site of a successful three-day strike last March.

Starting with a City Hall rally, several dozen members of the Pacific Steel Workers Committee led a three-mile march of more than 400 people down city streets to the foundry, where many of the fired workers had worked for years or decades.

The administration of Barack Obama has stepped up use of the I-9 audits. Last year it conducted "silent

raids" at nearly 2,500 companies, five times more than were carried out in 2008 under the George W. Bush administration.

Three seniors from Pinole Valley High School marched behind the banner of their club, Latinos Unidos. "It's not fair that immigrants work for 20 years and ICE comes and takes their jobs away," club President Daniela Cardona told the *Militant*. "We are joining them in their struggle."

The march route took protesters through the Pacific Steel complex on Second Street to a rally site just past the foundry. "We are hard workers, not criminals!" declared Jesus Prado, fired after seven years at Pacific Steel.

"We are marching for dignity," fired

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## Hundreds at wake, funeral demand 'prosecute cops who killed Graham'

BY SARA LOBMAN

BRONX, New York—Hundreds turned out for the wake and funeral of Ramarley Graham, an 18-year-old Black youth shot and killed by an undercover cop inside his own apartment Feb. 2 in Wakefield, a predominantly Black and Caribbean neighborhood here.

The police initially claimed that Graham was running from them and had a gun. But video from surveillance cameras at the home show that Graham walked up the sidewalk and entered his house.

The cops, who had no warrant, then tried to kick the door down. When that failed, they ran around the house to the back door, got in, broke down the door to Graham's second floor apartment, confronted him in the bathroom and shot him in the chest. He had no gun.

After Graham was shot dead in front of his grandmother, cops detained her at the local precinct for seven hours. "They wouldn't let [my mother] out," Contance Malcolm, Graham's mother.

Continued on page 2

New York City Saturday, March 10

**After Labor Resistance and Solidarity:  
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### Also Inside:

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# Ramarley Graham

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er, said in a videotaped interview released by the family's lawyers. "I'm holding onto my mom, and the other officer was pulling her back into the room and locked the door."

"This is routine for the cops. You almost think they're trained to do this," A. Lewis, among the 500 people who turned out for Graham's funeral Feb. 18, told the *Militant*. "We've marched four times already. It's not just here. It's not just New York. It's out of control. People are so angry." Lewis, who is Black and works as a chauffeur, said he has been stopped more than 10 times by the cops.

About 700 attended the wake the previous night, after which hundreds marched from the church to protest outside the police department's 47th Precinct.

"Cops in my school feel like they can slam you up against the wall, just because they're the police," Cheneyra White, a 16-year-old high school stu-

dent, told the *Militant*, describing her own experiences. "Then when they talk to your parents, they lie to make it seem like they had a reason, just like they did to Ramarley."

Many at the events wore T-shirts or buttons with a photo of Graham printed on it.

In addition to family members, a number of political figures spoke at the funeral. "He didn't display a gun. He didn't fire a gun. No gun!" said Imam Abdul Hafeez Muhammad of Muhammad Mosque No. 7 in Harlem.

"This is an unnatural and inexcusable occasion because this young man was killed in an unjust way," Al Sharpton, president of the National Action Network, said in remarks to the funeral. "The reason we are outraged is if he is not safe in his bathroom, none of us are safe."

Sharpton, along with some other speakers, made comments aimed at placating anger at the police establishment as a whole. "It's correct to show outrage when the police are killed," Sharpton argued. "But we have to show the same outrage here. Both are important."

Minister Kirsten John Foy, who officiated the funeral and gave the eulogy, spoke of the long history of police brutality in New York. He noted that Anthony Báez was killed by the cops in 1994 while playing on the street in front



AP Photo/John Minchillo

Some 500 attended Feb. 18 funeral for Ramarley Graham, who was gunned down Feb. 2 by undercover cop. Hundreds more marched after his wake the night before, demanding cops responsible be prosecuted.

of his house. The police fired 41 bullets at Amadou Diallo in 1999, as he stood in the entrance to his apartment building, he said. "Now they kill Ramarley Graham while he's inside his apartment," Foy added. "When they kill one of us, they should answer for murder."

Foy added that as the son of a police officer, he knows "the overwhelming majority of police want good relations with the community. We need to work

with the NYPD."

Graham was the fourth person shot by the cops in New York City this year. According to the *Daily News*, the NYPD has just revised its official policy for using deadly force, adding a clause that gives the police additional leeway and added legal protection.

Deborah Liatos contributed to this article.

## NY police 'stop and frisk' hits record high, targets Black youth

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—Police conducted a record number of "stop and frisk" searches of working people in the city last year, in particular targeting Black and Latino youth.

In 2011 police stopped and questioned 684,330 people, a 14 percent jump from 2010. Blacks and Latinos comprised 87 percent of those targeted; Caucasians, 9 percent.

The official numbers of those stopped has ballooned from 97,296 in 2002 when the New York City Police Department launched the so-called stop-and-frisk program. Six percent of those interrogated by the cops last

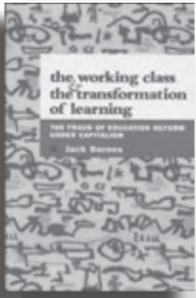
year were arrested and another 6 percent issued summons during the fishing expeditions concentrated in Black and Latino neighborhoods, reported NY1 TV news.

Based on 2010 figures, African-Americans and Latinos between the ages of 14 and 24 are 7.2 percent of the city's population and 41 percent of police stop and frisks, New York Civil Liberties Union Executive Director Donna Lieberman told the media.

Defending the aggressive use of arbitrary police stops, NYPD spokesman Paul Browne claimed the "stops save lives," reported the *Wall Street Journal*.

### The Working Class & the Transformation of Learning The fraud of education reform under capitalism

by Jack Barnes



"The obedience the rulers seek to inculcate in the classroom are backed up on the streets by cops' clubs and automatic weapons. Far more working people are executed by a policeman's bullet ... than by lethal injection or electrocution." \$3

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Editor: Steve Clark

Managing editor: Doug Nelson

Business manager: Lea Sherman

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Naomi Craine, Harry D'Agostino, Maura DeLuca, Betsy Farley, Seth Galinsky, Emma Johnson, Louis Martin, Jacob Perasso, John Studer, Brian Williams, Rebecca Williamson.

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Telephone: (212) 244-4899

Fax: (212) 244-4947

E-mail: [themilitant@mac.com](mailto:themilitant@mac.com)

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

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# Drive expands long-term readership of 'Militant'

Communist workers build March 10 meeting in NY

BY LOUIS MARTIN

At the end of the first week of a five-week campaign to increase the long-term readership of the *Militant*, 251 readers have renewed or signed up for long-term subscriptions, 50 percent of the international goal. The drive runs from Feb. 11 to March 18.

"Members of the Socialist Workers Party returned from Longview, Wash., today with a renewal in hand," Clay Dennison told the *Militant* Feb. 21. Longview was the site of a six-month battle by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union against EGT Development's attempt to shut it out of its grain terminal at the city's port.

"We have been talking with several of the ILWU fighters there about attending the March 10 public meeting in New York." (See article and ad on front page.)

Two other party members went to Olympia, Wash., and sold five subscriptions to port truckers who are part of a fight by 100 truckers for a union. The truckers also bought copies of *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, as well as *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

The first two books are among five on special discount with a subscription (see ad on page 6).

"You guys are the only ones who talk about the fights," said long-time reader Larry Ginter, a retired farmer in central Iowa, referring to the *Militant's* coverage of workers' resistance to the bosses' onslaught.

Ginter renewed his subscription when visited by two socialist workers from Des Moines, Iowa. He also bought a copy of the new book by Pathfinder Press, *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*. (See articles and talks on front page and center spread.)

From Sydney, Australia, Linda Harris writes that members of the Communist League there sold long-term subscriptions last week to a high school teacher and a Cuba solidarity activist. Each bought copies of *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* as well as *The Cuban Five: Who they are, Why they were framed, Why they should be free*, a collection of *Militant* articles on the case of five Cuban revolutionaries arrested in 1998 and imprisoned on frame-up charges by the U.S. government. The five had been gathering information in Florida on the activities of armed counterrevolutionary groups with a long history of violent attacks against the Cuban Revolution and its supporters.

"Both subscribers," adds Harris, "were keen to get involved in an upcoming exhibition at an inner-city gallery of political cartoons of Gerardo Hernández," one of the five Cuban revolutionaries who is serving a sentence of double life plus 15 years on false "conspiracy" charges.

Your reports, quotes and experiences on the subscription renewal drive in your area are essential for this weekly column. Send them by Tuesday, 8 a.m., EST.

## 1,000+ surround Va. Capitol, defend women's rights



More than 1,000 people gathered Feb. 20 on the Virginia State Capitol grounds in Richmond to protest a series of anti-abortion measures before the legislature.

They "formed a human cordon through which legislators walked before yesterday's floor sessions," Associated Press reported the next day.

Among the bills before the legislature is a measure that would force women seeking an abortion to undergo a mandatory invasive ultrasound examination at their own expense.

The action was organized on short notice. "The Capitol ground rules say that we cannot assemble, hold signs, chant, yell or protest," organizers wrote on a Facebook page established to build the protest, so the picket was silent. Many at the picket wore hand-printed shirts protesting the bill.

The legislature postponed voting on the bill the day of and the day after the protest. Gov. Robert McDonnell, who had originally said he would sign the bill if it passed, now says he will "review" it.

—JOHN STUDER



## Foundry workers fight firings

Continued from front page

worker Ana Castaño told the *Militant*. "We have nothing else. The United States is our place, where we have our families. We have to start fighting."

Juan Saragoza spoke at a morning rally outside City Hall about the workers' strike last March. At one point, he explained, they formed a "human wall" to prevent trucks from leaving a company warehouse. "Unfortunately," Saragoza said, "there was an incident of violence" when a female striker was attacked by Pacific Steel security. The striker was pregnant at that time, he said, but "gave birth to a healthy baby and is here with us."

The Department of Homeland Security in February 2011 ordered the audit of Pacific Casting's 600 employees, company spokesperson Elisabeth Jewel told the *Militant*.

The following month, the union workforce of about 470 rejected the company's demands that they make new co-payments for health care, which would have amounted to a 10 percent pay cut. After a three-day strike members of the Glass, Molders, and Pottery workers union won a \$3.78 raise over the course

of a four-year contract and kept the same health care coverage.

As a result of the audits, the company laid off 200 workers in October-December.

"In every cloud there is a silver lining," said Jewel. "We had a large automobile manufacturing plant close down nearby and were able to get some highly skilled workers" to replace those laid off.

Central protest organizer David Herrera, fired after working at Pacific Steel for 12 years, thanked groups and individuals who supported the action. This included Occupy Oakland and Berkeley Councilmember Jesse Arreguin, who called on the Obama administration to stop the audits.

Other speakers included prominent clergy.

"Keep speaking up, raise your voices," José Sandoval of the Voluntarios de la Comunidad in San Jose told the rally.

Gerardo Sanchez of the Socialist Workers Party also spoke, calling for the immediate legalization of all immigrants as part of the fight to unite working people to take on all the attacks by the capitalists and their government.

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

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**Safety Is a Union Question: Why Safety on the Job Is Under Attack.** Sat., March 3. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 4025 S Western Ave. Tel.: (323) 295-2600.

#### San Francisco

**What the Crisis in Greece Means for Working People Around the World.** Speaker: Willie Cotton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**As Thousands of Chinese Workers Strike—Why Washington Turns Its Military Focus Toward China.** Speaker: Tony Lane, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 1311 1/2 E Lake St., 2nd floor. Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Auckland

**What Workers Learned in Union Fight vs. 65-Day Lockout by Meat Company: Hear Participants Tell Their Story.** Sat., March 3, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged, \$2 unwaged. 4/125 Grafton Road. Tel.: (09) 369-1223.

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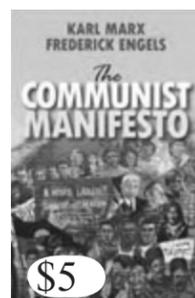
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UNITED KINGDOM			
London	20	9	45%
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<b>UK Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>37%</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND*</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>76%</b>
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"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers."

—Marx and Engels

Written by Marx and Engels in 1848, the Communist Manifesto explains why communism is not a set of preconceived principles but the line of march of the working class toward power, "springing from an existing class struggle, a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

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# Strike reflects changing working class in Israel

BY SETH GALINSKY

The first nationwide strike to hit Israel in five years has drawn attention to the struggles of hundreds of thousands of contract workers, often Ethiopian and Russian immigrants and Arab citizens of Israel, who receive lower pay and fewer benefits than their directly hired coworkers.

The four-day strike by the Histadrut, Israel's largest and until recently its only union federation, was centered in government agencies and state-owned industries and services. While it won higher pay and benefits for the contract workers, it did not end their second-class status.

"The contract employees still need to be organized," Histadrut spokesperson Avital Shapira told the *Militant* in a phone interview from Tel Aviv. "But it will be easier now because they will be receiving higher pay and will be motivated to join our union."

Under the Feb. 12 agreement cleaners and security guards in the public sector will get a 20 percent pay raise starting in January 2013 with future increases tied to union contracts. They will also obtain some benefits, such as subsidized meals and sick pay, currently given only to direct employees.

Under a separate agreement with private businesses, contract workers are supposed to be hired directly after nine months if they are working more than 170 hours a month, and get the same pay and benefits from the start.

The use of workers hired through employment agencies started in the 1970s, but has mushroomed since the 1990s, Amir Paz-Fuchs, a professor at Ono Academic College near Tel Aviv, told the *Militant*. The fight to improve the conditions of contract workers was given a boost by the social protest movement in the middle of last year, he said. Those protests focused on the lack of affordable housing and inflation.

The Israeli government passed a law in 2008, Paz-Fuchs said, that required bosses to hire temporary workers directly after nine months on the job. But to get around the law, bosses often fired workers before the time was up and rehired them later, what Paz-Fuchs calls "the revolving door."

Employment agencies began calling themselves service companies and "contractors" to skirt the law, said Gadeer Nicola from Kav LaOved's (Worker's Hotline) Nazareth office.

"Most of the cleaners I get to meet are new immigrants from Ethiopia,

from the former Soviet Union and of course Israeli Palestinians, and a smaller number of Israeli workers," Shay Cohen, the organizational secretary of Koach La Ovdim (Democratic Workers' Organization), a union federation founded in 2007, said in an interview from Haifa. "It's a good thing that the Histadrut went on strike and decided to fight this issue, it was an expression of solidarity. But the agreement they won is not enough."

## Changes in working-class

The fight over contract workers sheds light on the changing composition of the working class in Israel over the last few decades.

The working class in Israel includes Jewish immigrants who emigrate to Israel—including Ethiopians, Russians and eastern Europeans—and have citizenship rights, as well as Israeli Palestinians who are citizens of Israel and make up about 20 percent of the country's population.

After the second *intifada* in late 2000, when Islamist groups in the occupied territories organized armed actions, the Israeli government cut down the number of Palestinian workers from those territories allowed to work inside Israel. Instead, it sought to fill its need for cheap labor by bringing in non-Jewish immigrants who are given four-year work visas.

"When our center was established in 1991, it was mainly for Palestinians from the occupied territories," Nicola said. Now the group provides services in Chinese, Romanian, Russian, French, and English.

There are more than 116,000 foreign workers with temporary work permits in Israel, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, including about 28,000 from the Philippines who work primarily in home health care, 27,000 Thais who work mostly in agriculture, and 10,000 Chinese employed in construction. The bureau estimates there are more than 70,000 undocumented workers.

"Jewish, Palestinian, and immigrant workers all face exploitation," said Wehbe Badarne, director of the

## Syria rebellion unbowed despite bloody crackdown



AP Photo

Funeral protest in Rastan neighborhood of Homs in central Syria Feb. 7. According to the U.N., the death toll at the hands of the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad has grown to 5,400 since the rebellion began in March last year. Other estimates put the figure at more than 7,300.

As of Feb. 21 the opposition stronghold of Homs, particularly the city's *shabi*, or working-class districts, had been shelled by government tanks and artillery for 18 straight days.

On Feb. 4 the Russian and Chinese governments both vetoed a U.S.-backed U.N. Security Council resolution condemning the government crackdown. When the rebellion began, Washington offered only mild criticisms of Assad. In spite of sharp differences, the Barack Obama administration had been moving toward improving diplomatic relations, seeing the regime as key to regional "stability," including maintaining the status quo along its border with Israel.

Washington now calls for Assad's resignation, seizing on recent events as a way to weaken the growing regional influence of the Iranian government, one of Assad's closest allies, as it pressures Tehran to abandon nuclear technology.

Over the last several months, some soldiers who have defected from the more than 200,000-strong Syrian army have joined armed resistance to the regime, receiving weapons from undisclosed sources smuggled in from neighboring Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Iraq.

Seeking to step up the pressure and further isolate Tehran, Washington is organizing a "Friends of Syria" conference in Tunis, Tunisia, beginning Feb. 24, with close collaboration from the governments of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Turkey.

White House press secretary Jay Carney told reporters that "we don't rule out additional measures" against Syria, widely viewed as an indication Washington is considering openly aiding certain wings of the heterogeneous opposition.

—SETH GALINSKY

Arab Workers Union in Israel. "But for immigrants on work permits it is even worse. There are reports that 70 percent of them never even get paid minimum wage."

According to the Bank of Israel, only 25,000 Palestinians from the West Bank were issued permits allowing them to work in Israel in 2011, down from 115,000 in 1992 and 65,000 in

1994. Thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank who work without permits inside Israel are themselves treated like undocumented workers.

"The immigrants are not to blame for taking jobs from the Palestinians of the occupied territories," Nicola says. "The answer has to be organizing and equalizing the workers' conditions."

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## ON THE PICKET LINE

### S.F.: Cruise ship waiters walk off, win full pay

SAN FRANCISCO—Waiters on the Italian cruise ship *Costa Deliziosa* walked off the job when it docked here in January. They were protesting underpayment. Bosses attempted to pay them the same numerical amount per their agreement—but in dollars instead of euros—in effect about one-third less.

Dozens of waiters gathered on the dock the night of Jan. 27. Other workers were not allowed to leave the ship, strikers told a local radio station.

The waiters are part of a crew of around 1,000 that staffs the seven-story vessel, serving 2,300 passengers, which left Savona, Italy, Dec. 28.

Before long, several worker delegates and two union officials from the San Francisco Labor Council found themselves in the captain's quarters discussing the grievance. Participating by phone were representatives of the Federazione Italiana Trasporti FIT-CISL, which has a collective bargaining agreement with Costa Cruises, and the International Transport Workers' Federation, to which FIT-CISL is affiliated.

The company agreed to pay the waiters their full monthly salary and promised none of the workers involved would be victimized. The ship left San Francisco the next day, bound for Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand and beyond.

—Eric Simpson

### Iowa: Strikers at aluminum plant again reject two-tier wage offer

DAVENPORT, Iowa—Striking members of Teamsters Local 371 continued round-the-clock picketing at the two Nichols Aluminum plants here after soundly rejecting the company's "last, best, and final offer" on Feb. 15. "The vote was overwhelming—202 against and 3 for," the local's president, Howard Spoon, told the *Militant*.

Drivers passing by honked their horns and shouted support for the picketers.

Ken Allsbrow, a striker on the picket line, described the new offer as "the same sandwich flipped over."

The rejected offer included concessions that were part of the contract proposal that workers voted down Jan. 20—big increases in medical insurance co-payments and deductibles and two-tier wages that would pay new hires \$5 less per hour.

"I could go for two-tier pay if it ended after 60 or 90 days," Allsbrow said, "but not if the new hires never get up to the same pay. That's a union-breaker right there."

Nichols President Tom Brackmann told the Quad Cities *Dispatch Argus* the company will continue to run the plant

with supervisors and strikebreakers supplied by temporary agencies.

—Maggie Trowe

### D.C. hospital workers picket in contract fight

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 125 hospital workers and supporters conducted an informational picket line in front of Howard University Hospital here Feb. 15.

It was the second picket called by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2094. The local has 1,000 members, which include all hospital workers except nurses and security personnel. A group of hospital nurses participated during lunch.

The hospital workers' contract expired in October. "They want to take away shift differentials, holiday pay and health benefits," Local 2094 President Laretta Stevenson told the *Militant*.

"We haven't had a cost-of-living raise or anything," said hospital worker Pamela Jeffero. "We're understaffed and they won't hire more people. The administration is just trying to bust the union."

—Omari Musa

### Steelworkers rally at Tesoro refinery in Washington

ANACORTES, Wash.—Fifty members of Steelworkers Local 12-591 marched out of work at lunchtime Feb. 14 to join 50 supporters outside the Tesoro refinery here.

Although the union has reached a national agreement with Tesoro for the six refineries organized by the Steelworkers,



Militant/Edwin Fruit

**Fifty Steelworkers rally during lunchtime Feb. 14 at Tesoro refinery in Anacortes, Wash., as part of fight for contract around issues of safety, pensions, health care and vacations.**

some issues related to pensions, health care, safety and vacations are negotiated separately with each local. No local agreements have yet been reached.

Job safety was a central concern at the rally. Seven workers were killed in an explosion at the refinery in April 2010. According to a union statement, the company has failed to address "on-site emergency response needs."

"We treated five of the seven people who died in the 2010 explosion and don't want to see that happen again," said Julia Weinberg, president of the Washington State Nurses Association.

—Edwin Fruit

### Minn.: Hotel workers picket over owners' drive to cut health care

ST. PAUL, Minn.—More than 50 members and supporters of UNITE

HERE Local 17 picketed in front of the Saint Paul Hotel here Feb. 16.

Workers at the hotel have been in contract negotiations since November. The owners' proposal would undercut all other hotel contracts in the Twin Cities area, impose a two-tier wage system reducing wages by as much as \$5 per hour and have workers pay toward their health insurance.

"Some of the lower-paid workers may have to forgo health insurance," Desiree King, chief steward and a server at the hotel restaurant, told the *Militant*. "With contributions ranging from \$800 to \$1,200, this is almost a month's pay."

Saint Paul Hotel workers have had only a 1 percent wage increase since 2007.

—Natalie Morrison

## Locked-out Rio Tinto workers 'fighting for future'

BY KATY LEROUGETEL

ALMA, Quebec—"The day really charged us up," said Serge Harvey, a member of United Steelworkers Local 9490 and one of 750 locked out by Rio Tinto Alcan at its aluminum smelter here since Jan. 1. Harvey was referring to a six-hour trip 220 aluminum workers made Feb. 17 to Montreal where they marched through downtown and rallied outside a conference being addressed by a company spokesperson.

A couple hundred students fighting tuition fee hikes and other steelworkers from nearby towns joined them in solidarity.

Local 9490 voted Dec. 30 by 88 percent to reject the company's contract demands. The central issue, according to the union, is Rio Tinto's plan to increase the work performed by nonunion subcontractors, with lower wages and no benefits or union protection.

"There are certain peripheral positions we would like to be able to contract out such as janitors and security," company spokesperson Bryan Tucker told the *Militant*. "We are not looking to subcontract core operation jobs." Tucker said the company also doesn't agree with the union's demand for a minimum level of union employment because "it doesn't take into account technological advancements" or provide "enough flexibility to adjust the business model."

"They offered us 350 protected jobs out of 800, but we didn't accept that," Alexandre Fréchette, Local 9490 executive board member, told the *Militant*. "They say the core workers are the pot room and some cast house workers. If we accept their offer it would legitimize the other 450 jobs—like shipping the ingots, carbon manufacturing, handling,



Serge Harvey

**Locked-out Steelworkers traveled to Montreal Feb. 17 to protest lockout by Rio Tinto.**

jobs that supply the pot room—as not core jobs.

"What we are doing today, we want to keep doing tomorrow. If a worker retires, we want a unionized worker to replace them," he said.

The foundry has been running at about one-third capacity during the lockout, according to Tucker.

Before heading home from the Feb. 17 rally, the Steelworkers stopped off at Rio Tinto's iron and titanium plant in Sorel, setting up a mobile stage for a brief rally as workers streamed out during shift change.

Locked-out unionists are buoyed by the solidarity flowing in. "This is going to take a long time," Michael Duchesne said on the picket line Feb. 18. "But with support, we can settle it in the end." Picket lines are up around the clock at Rio Tinto's three locations here.

On Feb. 18 six members of Steelworkers Local 1005 who work for U.S. Steel

drove in from Hamilton, Ontario. Local 1005 President Rolf Gerstenberger addressed a rally at the union office where he presented checks and announced a Canada-wide campaign among unions to raise \$100 a month for each locked-out worker.

A few weeks prior, nonunion workers at Rio Tinto's plant in Grande-Baie, Quebec, collected \$2,000 and delivered it to the picket lines.

"If we were just thinking of ourselves, we'd have signed," said locked-out worker Vincent Gaudreault. "We're fighting for the future. My job's safe, it's for the guys who come after me."

Local 9490 members have handed out some 10,000 leaflets on their fight at local shopping centers and other locations, local President Marc Maltais told the *Militant*.

Steelworkers have announced an international rally for the locked-out unionists in Alma on March 31.

### Support solidarity caravan

## From Fargo, N.D., to Findlay, Ohio: A Journey for Justice

Concluding actions in Findlay:

### Feb. 25: National Day of Action

8:45 a.m., meet at USW Local 207L hall  
9-11 a.m., protest Cooper Tire dealers

### Feb. 27: Hands Around the Plant

4:30 p.m., Lima Avenue

For more information: call Tony Montana, USW, (412) 562-2592 or Amy Masciola, (202) 285-6955



# Event in Cuba on ‘Revolution Within Revolution’

Continued from front page

of women and men who fought in the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in 1959 and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. The event was held at the Casa del ALBA cultural center in the heart of Havana.

The book, published in both English and Spanish, includes interviews with Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, and Yolanda Ferrer. Espín was a leader of the Cuban Revolution for more than 50 years, as a combatant of the July 26 Movement in Santiago de Cuba and the Rebel Army’s Second Front in the mountains of eastern Cuba, and later as the central leader of the revolutionary activity that gave birth to the Federation of Cuban Women, of which she was the president until her death in 2007. De los Santos, likewise a revolutionary combatant in the Santiago underground and Rebel Army, was a lifelong comrade in arms of Espín. A founding leader of the FMC, she served as its first general secretary, and is currently a researcher in Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces Office of History. Ferrer, who joined the FMC as a teenager in 1960, is today its general secretary and a member of Cuba’s Council of State.

Arelys Santana, second secretary of the FMC, who chaired the event, introduced the other three speakers on the panel: de los Santos; Leira Sánchez, a member of the National Bureau of Cuba’s Union of Young Communists (UJC); and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder and editor of the new book.

Santana also acknowledged the presence in the audience of several of the historic leaders of the revolution. These included revolutionary combatants such as Div. Gen. José Ramón Fernández, vice president of Cuba’s Council of Ministers; Armando Hart, one of the founding leaders of the July 26 Movement and its national coordinator for a year before being captured by Batista’s police; Brig. Gen. Teté Puebla, who was second in command of the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in the Rebel Army; and Víctor Dreke, commander of the volunteer battalions that defeated the counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains in the early 1960s,

internationalist combatant at the side of Ernesto Che Guevara in the Congo in 1965, and today vice president of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution.

Also participating were many other founders and leaders of the FMC including Carolina Aguilar, Alicia Imperatori, and Isabel Moya, director of the FMC’s publishing house, whose interview with Yolanda Ferrer appears in the book. Ferrer, who had planned to speak at the presentation but was attending a women’s conference in Qatar at the time, conveyed greetings to the gathering.

Santana quoted from Waters’s introduction to *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*, noting that “this is not a book about women; rather it is about the millions of Cuban women and men who conceived, made, and continue to make the revolution.”

She described the speakers platform as representing three generations of Cuban revolutionaries. Waters’s participation on the panel, she added, represents “the coming American Revolution, to recall the words of Jack Barnes,” the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and author of the book *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. Waters and the SWP, she told the audience, are “comrades in arms, defenders of the Cuban Revolution who bring the facts about it to all platforms, especially over there in the heart of the empire.”

## ‘Education of new generations’

Leira Sánchez, the UJC’s international relations secretary, said *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* tells a story “that is not often written about in its full scope,” one that “contributes to the education of new generations” in Cuba. It is written “in a clear language that is easy to understand even for young people,” who did not go through those experiences.

Sánchez said she first met de los Santos several years ago when she was a student at the Enrique José Varona Teachers Institute. De los Santos “spoke about everything that had been achieved in the Second Front in bringing to life the guiding program outlined in ‘History Will Absolve Me.’ At that time it was virtually an unknown history for me,” Sánchez recalled.

The UJC leader was referring to the Rebel Army’s Second Front, commanded by Raúl Castro, which covered a vast rural territory in eastern Cuba freed from the control of the Batista regime. In the final months of the revolutionary war in 1958, de los Santos was placed in charge of the Second Front’s Department of Education, which oversaw the opening of more



Militant/Maura DeLuca

Longtime leaders and cadres of Cuban Revolution occupied front rows at presentation of *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* at Havana Book Fair, Feb. 14. Front row, from right, Brig. Gen. Teté Puebla; Div. Gen. José Ramón Fernández; Armando Hart; Alicia Imperatori; second row, from right, Isabel Moya (behind Fernández); Carolina Aguilar (applauding); Iraida Aguirrechu.

than 400 primary schools and the initiation of literacy classes for rebel combatants and others.

“History Will Absolve Me” was Fidel Castro’s courtroom defense speech at his 1953 trial for having led an attack on the dictatorship’s army barracks in the cities of Santiago and Bayamo. It became the political program of the July 26 Movement, outlining basic social, economic, and democratic measures that the revolutionary government would implement.

The new book, Sánchez said, “offers good reasons for why young Cubans should assure the continuity of the revolution.”

## Social revolution led by Rebel Army

De los Santos told the audience that the efforts waged in the Second Front were the forerunner of “the great revolution in education we launched after the victory” of January 1959, beginning with the mobilization of 100,000 young volunteer teachers, most in their teens, who spread out across rural Cuba to teach nearly a million women and men to read and write. They wiped out illiteracy in Cuba within a year.

She quoted a paragraph from Waters’s introduction to the book that she said “gets to the heart” of the social revolution led by the Rebel Army: “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 transformed each other and together became a stronger, more conscious revolutionary force.” (The full text of de los Santos’s remarks appear on page 9.)

De los Santos noted that the involvement of women in the Cuban Revolution began “with the significant numbers of women in the ranks of the Rebel Army” and “Fidel’s leadership in the struggle for equality.”

Following the revolutionary victory, “in the early days we spoke only of women’s participation,” she said. But “through that simple, concrete, yet by no means easy work, the first steps were being taken in the complex and long battle for the full equality for women.”

De los Santos concluded by saying that the book itself underscores “our determination to remain united, working for the revolution—both here in Cuba

and there in the United States.”

Waters thanked the leadership of the Federation of Cuban Women and the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution for their collaboration in making possible *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*, a four-year effort.

## Book needed by workers in struggle

Waters focused her remarks on why the new book “is important in North America and elsewhere outside Cuba to the increasing numbers of workers who are searching for ways to effectively resist, and end, intensifying assaults by the capitalist owners of the means of production and their government on the wages, job conditions, and rights of working people.”

“The living example of the men and women who made the Cuban Revolution, and are still making it, is needed,” Waters said, “because working people everywhere, sooner or later, will be pushed toward revolutionary action.” (The full text of Waters’s remarks is printed on page 8.)

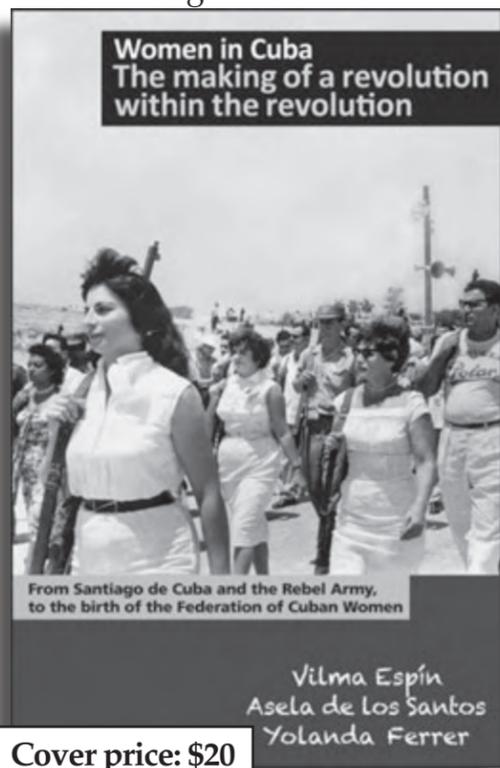
The event concluded with a surprise musical performance by a young all-woman cappella ensemble that captured the enthusiastic mood of those present.

More than 100 copies in both Spanish and English of *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* were sold at the presentation, and 43 more during the course of the book fair. Presentations of the book after the fair are being organized by the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution, by the Union of Young Communists and Federation of University Students, and by the FMC. The February 14 event was covered by *Granma* and *Juventud Rebelde*, Cuba’s two daily newspapers, as well as other news services.

That same afternoon, another new book by Vilma Espín and Asela de los Santos was presented at the Havana book fair. Titled *Contra todo obstáculo* (Against All Obstacles), it is an account of how the July 26 Movement, led by Espín and others, organized the urban supply network for the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra mountains. The book, begun by Espín before her death and finished by de los Santos and others last year, was released by Editorial Verde Olivo, the publishing house of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces.

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# ‘Example of men and women who made Cuban Revolution’

Book’s editor and historic combatant in Cuba’s revolutionary struggles present ‘Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution’

The following remarks by Mary-Alice Waters were given at the presentation of *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* at the Havana Book Fair, Feb. 14, 2012. Copyright © 2012 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission. The footnotes are by the Militant.

## BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Thank you Arellys [Santana] for that warm introduction. Before anything else, I want to extend a very special welcome to Vice President [José Ramón] Fernández, compañero [Armando] Hart, compañera Teté [Puebla], and compañero [Víctor] Dreke. We’re honored by their presence, and by the participation of so many other revolutionary combatants, too numerous to mention.

## PRESENTATION BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

For us, it is a real pleasure to be here with so many compañeros and compañeras with whom we have had the privilege of working in recent years, and many others we are only now coming to know.

On behalf of all of us at Pathfinder, I want to express our appreciation to the national leaderships of the Federation of Cuban Women and of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution, and above all to compañeras Asela [de los Santos] and Yolanda [Ferrer]. Without their hard work, and unstinting support, this book—an accurate expression of an historical truth, of an unwavering political trajectory—would never have become a reality.

From the beginning, the labor and collaboration of three other compañeras who are here today has also been indispensable: Carolina Aguilar, Isabel Moya, and Iraida Aguirrechu.<sup>1</sup> All I can say to each of them is a heartfelt “thank you.”



Others on the panel this morning will speak about what this book represents to so many here in Cuba. I want to say a few words about why Pathfinder

Press has published it. About why it is important in North America and elsewhere outside Cuba to the increasing numbers of workers who are searching for ways to effectively resist, and end, intensifying assaults by the capitalist owners of the means of production and their government on the dignity, wages, job conditions, and rights of working people.

The most succinct answer to why we publish books like the one we are presenting today is that the example of the men and women who made the Cuban Revolution, and are still making it, needs to be known—because working people everywhere, sooner or later, are being pushed toward revolutionary action.

The accurate record of the Cuban Revolution, told by those who lived it, explaining in their own words why they acted as they did, is indispensable to the revolutionary continuity of the working class. It is part of that continuity, stretching back through the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, to the Paris Commune of 1871, and the Communist Manifesto, which spoke on behalf of the proletariat and its allies in the massive revolutionary upheavals that swept Europe in 1848-49.

Without the real record of the Cuban Revolution being available, in writing, so others can study and know it, future generations will pay a much greater price than necessary in the coming

1. Most individuals mentioned in these opening paragraphs are identified in the accompanying news article, which begins on the front page. Iraida Aguirrechu is senior editor at Editora Política, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.



Militant/Maura DeLuca

Speakers at presentation of *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*, Havana, Feb. 14. From left, Leira Sánchez, international relations director, Union of Young Communists; Asela de los Santos, one of book’s authors; Arellys Santana, second secretary, Federation of Cuban Women; Mary-Alice Waters, book’s editor, president of Pathfinder Press.

battles whose initial skirmishes are already being fought. That is what is happening today as the opening stages of capitalism’s deepening crisis continue to slowly but surely unfold.



The introduction to *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* opens with the statement that this “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 . . . 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.”

One of the most revolutionary lessons recounted in the pages of this new book is Vilma[Espín]’s explanation that as the FMC was being born, those who helped lead it and the women involved in it had “no preconceived structure or agenda.”

The organizational structures grew out of the goals—and above all were the product of *deeds* leading to the accomplishment of those goals. The forms grew out of the participation of more and more women and men in the deepening struggle. First and foremost, women wanted to be involved in a genuine revolution. In the very midst of their efforts, they created a means to that end.

That explanation by Vilma became more and more concrete as work on this book advanced, and I could not help but be reminded of the words of the Communist Manifesto. That the positions of communists “are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes.”<sup>2</sup>

The FMC was the product of a very

real “existing class struggle,” as well as a measure of the proletarian course of the leadership of that struggle—of Fidel above all, but not only Fidel.



“When a deepgoing revolution takes place, women, who have been oppressed for centuries, for millennia, want to take part,” says Asela in the interview. *Yes!* For sure. But she adds another comment a little later that made me stop and think.

In those days, she said, “Change was in the air.”

The Cuban Revolution is distinguished from all previous revolutions since the beginning of the modern working-class movement—among other things—by the number of women who became central to its day-to-day leadership. That fact is a registration of the social and economic changes—historic changes—that were gestating in Cuba and elsewhere.

It is not the caliber of the leadership alone that accounts for the place of women in the revolutionary struggle here in Cuba. Lenin—not to mention Marx and Engels—was no less a champion of women’s participation and women’s emancipation than Fidel. But objective conditions gave the October Revolution a different set of challenges. It was led to victory by the Bolsheviks at a different moment in history. To return to Asela’s phrase, the changes that were in the air in Cuba in the early 1950s had roots in the economic and social convulsions of the second interimperialist slaughter and the other wars that were part of what we know as World War II.

This was brought home to me more than a decade ago in an interview with General Enrique Carreras that is published by Pathfinder in *Making History*, a jewel of a book that also includes very valuable interviews with Generals Néstor López Cuba, Harry Villegas, and José Ramón Fernández.

Carreras talks about some of the things that had an impact on him when he was sent to a US Army Air Corps base in

Continued on page 10



Militant/Rebecca Williamson

“*The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*,” said Waters, “is important outside Cuba to workers searching for ways to end assaults by capitalist owners and their government on wages, job conditions and rights of working people.” Communist workers in U.S. sell books on revolutionary working-class politics on streets and door to door in working-class neighborhoods, at factory plant gates, political demonstrations, picket lines, and labor actions. **Above**, introducing *Malcolm X*, *Black Liberation*, and *the Road to Workers Power and Militant* at rally for workers locked out by grain processor Roquette America in Keokuk, Iowa, March 2011.

# Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution' at Havana Book Fair

The following remarks by Asela de los Santos were given at the presentation of *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* at the Havana Book Fair, Feb. 14, 2012. Copyright © 2012 by Pathfinder Press for the translation from Spanish. Reprinted by permission. The footnotes are by the Militant.

## BY ASELA DE LOS SANTOS

Participants in this presentation, especially members of the Federation [of Cuban Women]—including you, Mary-Alice:

Arellys [Santana] announced that I would speak about the merits of this book. And so I will, but not only because I was invited to do so as a person interviewed in it. I also address you as a reader, a reader who very much wishes to express her opinions about the results of a publishing effort on a topic that was chosen by the author and her publishing house. That project—the Cuban Revolution and the role played in it by wom-

## PRESENTATION BY ASELA DE LOS SANTOS

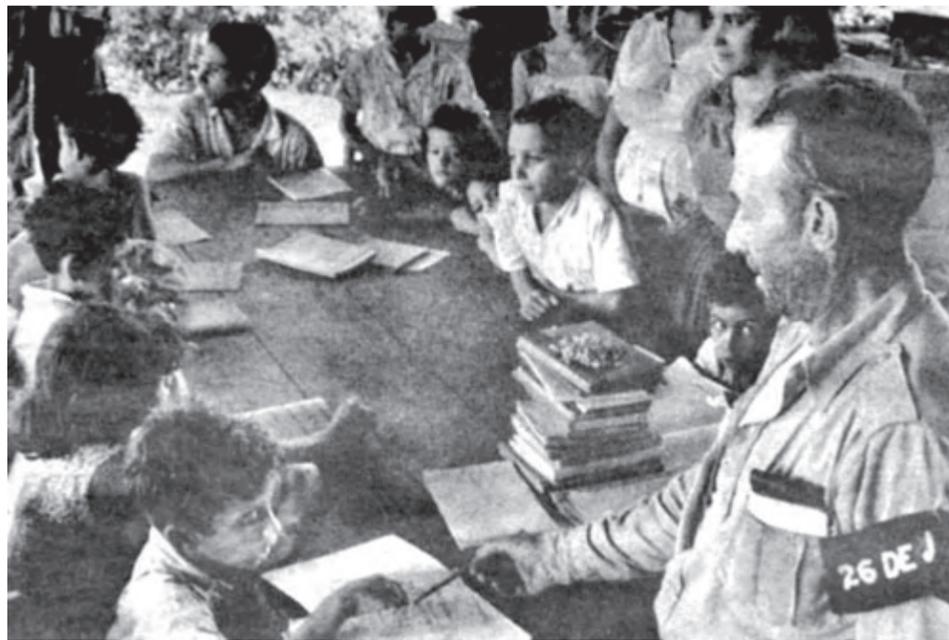
en—is the book we present today.

I believe the first indisputable merit of this book lies in its overall conception, its form and content. It contains four carefully selected interviews that focus on the central theme. Each interview is accompanied by information essential to understanding its time and context.

The result is a work that presents the political ideas of the Cuban Revolution and the unique way it put them into practice in society, bringing to reality the aspirations and dreams of so many generations of Cuban women and men.

For me personally it was a welcome exercise to retrace, in reading this book, the thorny path of the political and educational work that was part of instilling the ideas of equality and justice, of liberation and freedom, consistent with the revolutionary concepts we had drawn from [José] Martí,<sup>1</sup> Marx, and Fidel [Castro]. To retrace the great and multiple efforts we undertook to make the

1. José Martí (1853-1895), Cuba's national hero. He led the fight against Spanish colonial domination and U.S. designs on the island. He organized the 1895 independence war and was killed in combat.



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs/Courtesy Asela de los Santos

Steps taken in Second Front by Rebel Army together with peasants “were the basis for the great revolution in education we began after victory,” said Asela de los Santos. **Left**, “rebel teacher” with armband of Cuba’s July 26th Movement at school reopened in Second Front. **Right**, de los Santos (left) with Zoila Ibarra, head and assistant head of Rebel Army’s education department, Second Eastern Front, late 1958. Some 400 schools were opened or reopened in a less than six-month period leading up to overthrow of U.S.-backed tyranny.

essence of these ideals part of the blood and bone of every individual among our people.

I also consider as a fundamental merit—alongside the wealth of information it offers—the book’s inviting appearance, the quality of its graphic design, one more aspect that makes it so attractive. It’s a book of unquestionable professional rigor: diligent, thorough, and carefully thought out to the smallest detail. The interviews are well chosen, the product of an arduous review of a vast amount of published material. The “Débora” interview with Vilma [Espín],<sup>2</sup> conducted by the editors of *Santiago*, the magazine of the University of Oriente, in 1975 to mark International Women’s Year, has become a central document in the history of the Cuban revolutionary movement in the second half of the twentieth century.

In this first part of the book, the editors emphasize the stage of the insurrectional struggle, focusing on actions carried out by underground combatants in the former Oriente province and its capital, Santiago. Their effort to clarify events, participation, background, tasks, results, assessments, and personal responsibilities, right to the end of the revolutionary war, more than succeeded.

2. “Débora” was the nom de guerre used by Vilma Espín during much of the revolutionary war.

I also appreciate the careful preparation that was done for the interview that Mary-Alice Waters and Martín Koppel conducted with me in 2008 and completed in 2009 and 2010. It had to be done with great care because the two interviews, the one with Vilma and the one with me, address the same issues yet still complement each other. In my case, they offered me the opportunity to take up details on which little has been published. That included the organization of actions taken in the liberated territory of the Frank País Second Eastern Front, under the command of Raúl [Castro], and in which Vilma shouldered important responsibilities.

Commander Raúl Castro assigned me responsibility for education. I explain this in detail in the book, which I hope

you have a chance to read, because the steps we took were not only interesting and necessary. They were also the basis for the great revolution in education we began after the victory.

To sum up, the first part of the book takes up the experiences of women and men engaged in revolutionary activity, particularly in Santiago de Cuba and throughout Oriente province. I can assure you that it provides a direct, first-hand account of those years of intense life, of accelerated learning from all the battles of the revolutionary war, of acquiring political consciousness, of gaining firsthand knowledge of the harsh realities of the country, of our personal development, of the deepening among us of the most universal values of hu-

Continued on page 11

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Militant/Maura DeLuca

Asela de los Santos signing copies of book after presentation at Havana Book Fair, Feb. 14.

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San Antonio, Texas, for flight training in 1944. “At Kelly Field,” he says, “I saw women training as pilots and gunners for ferrying B-25 bombers from bases in the United States to Canada, and sometimes even to Britain.” And Carreras goes on, “I had never before seen women occupying posts previously held only by men, or training alongside men.” Here in Cuba at the time, he noted, there was still a very lot of machismo. “We did not want to see women in the streets alone going to the store, much less working outside the home, even in the fields.”<sup>3</sup>

But with the revolution, Carreras concludes, that all began to be uprooted.

Yolanda sums it up well in these pages. “From the first day of the revolution,” she says, “what it meant to be female began to change.” Prejudice “began to lose ground.” It didn’t end all of a sudden, but it palpably lost more and more space. Women learned, and proved, that they—together with men who were revolutionary—were capable of doing whatever was necessary.



The birth of the FMC and its character can only be understood as a front *within* the revolution. Not as something *outside* it. Not as a phenomenon *parallel* to it.

The fight for women’s participation in the Cuban Revolution did not open on January 1, 1959, however. It began with political preparations for the assault on Moncada itself and the insistence by Fidel and Abel, as well as Haydée and Melba, that women would be among the combatants.<sup>4</sup> The advances for women continued in the clandestine struggle, not only in Santiago but across the country, and in the Rebel Army. And that is what this book brings to life.

I think it was Carolina [Aguilar] who once commented in a discussion that the FMC was born with the formation

3. *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces* (Pathfinder, 1999), p. 67 [2010 printing].

4. On July 26, 1953, 160 revolutionaries under the command of Fidel Castro launched simultaneous insurrectionary attacks on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba and on the garrison in Bayamo. After the attacks’ failure, Batista’s forces massacred 56 captured revolutionaries, including Abel Santamaría, one of the leaders of the combatants. Haydée Santamaría (sister of Abel) and Melba Hernández were the two combatants who were women. After the July 26 assault, Haydée and Melba were captured and imprisoned for seven months. A broad national amnesty campaign won release of the others in May 1955.



Courtesy Yolanda Ferrer

Two authors of book, then-Federation of Cuban Women President Vilma Espín, left, and FMC General Secretary Yolanda Ferrer, at international gathering, late 1970s.

of the Mariana Grajales Platoon.<sup>5</sup> It’s a striking image, one also captured in Fidel’s statement some thirty years later that the decision to send Women’s Antiaircraft Artillery Regiments to Angola in 1988 was not a *military* necessity. It was—and I’m quoting Fidel—“a moral necessity, a revolutionary necessity.”<sup>6</sup>

The revolutionary course that led from Moncada, to the Mariana Grajales Platoon and the Women’s Antiaircraft Artillery Regiments has never faltered, not from July 26, 1953, to today.

General Teté Puebla—in her book *Marianas in Combat*—relates the facts about Fidel naming her director of the Guacanamar Cattle Plan in Jaruco in 1969, in order to show that women as well as men could lead. That a woman was a candidate to head up any front, carry out any task of the revolution. One of her jobs, she said, was to get women from peasant families involved in agricultural work.

When Fidel took her to Jaruco, the men there said they wouldn’t work with her, Teté explains. “She might be a captain, they said, but she’s not working with me. I won’t work with women.” But that began to change in barely a month, as she showed she could work as hard as any man—and harder than many.

In the United States with the rise of the women’s movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s—part of the broad radicalization that was a response, above all, to the mass struggle for Black rights and opposition to the US rulers’ war against the people of Vietnam—there was a popular tee shirt (I know because I had one that I enjoyed wearing) with the slogan, “A woman must do any job twice as well as a man in order to be considered half as good.” That was Teté’s mission. And she fulfilled it.

For those of us outside Cuba, and those of younger generations who did not live the Cuban Revolution from the inside, these accounts by Carreras and Teté are not “stories.” They give us the concrete richness and detail of the experiences that allow us to understand what *the revolution within the revolution* meant. To understand the political battles that determined the life or death of the revolution.

It is the only way those who seek to emulate the example of Cuba, now and in the future, can learn from the record of your setbacks as well as from your victories.



I want to end by emphasizing

5. Teté Puebla, *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in Cuba’s Revolutionary War, 1956–58* (Pathfinder, 2003), p. 75 [2010 printing]. The platoon, organized in September 1958, was the first combat unit in the Rebel Army composed of women.

6. Quoted in *The Making of a Revolution*, p. 35.



Courtesy of Teté Puebla

Fidel Castro (center) and revolutionary leader Celia Sánchez (third from right) with fighters of Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon, September 1958, as they left on first combat mission. Platoon was first Rebel Army unit composed of women. Federation of Cuban Women was born with formation of Marianas, once commented FMC leader Carolina Aguilar.

ing what—for us, for revolutionists from New York and Montreal, to Sydney, Auckland, Stockholm, and Manchester—is probably Asela’s most important contribution in the pages of *Haciendo una revolución dentro de la revolución*. That is the clarity and sharpness with which she has sketched the accelerating social revolution led by the Rebel Army in the area of the Second Front in the last months of the war.

This aspect of the revolution was not previously unknown. Nor was the deepening social revolution in enormous areas of Cuba’s eastern-most province limited to the Second Front of course. In *La victoria estratégica* Fidel has a few words—far too few—about the emerging governmental body established at the La Plata Headquarters in September 1958. The Civil Administration of the Free Territory “took responsibility,” he says, “for necessary aspects of economic and social life in the rebel mountains, a vast territory that had been definitively liberated, whose population lacked almost everything.”

Fidel calls it “the embryo of the new state that would emerge after the revolutionary triumph, a state faithful to the democratic and popular spirit of the revolution.”<sup>7</sup>

But Asela’s sketch of the veritable “republic in arms” that the Rebel Army led peasants and workers in the terri-

tory of the Second Front to establish is drawn in richer detail than in any other book I know of available outside Cuba. In Asela’s brief account of the policies implemented by that revolutionary power, under the command of Raúl, we see the whole future course of the revolution. In a few short months, they drew layer upon layer of the toilers into initiating land reform, opening more than 400 schools, organizing the first literacy campaign, establishing clinics and field hospitals, building roads, printing educational materials, collecting taxes from the big producers, establishing universal protection of the

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7. Fidel Castro, *La victoria estratégica: Por todos los caminos de la Sierra* [Strategic victory: Along every road in the Sierra], (Havana: Publications Office of the Council of State, 2010), pp. 363–64. *La victoria estratégica* is the first of two volumes by Fidel Castro, both published since 2010, recounting the Rebel Army’s summer 1958 defeat of the Batista dictatorship’s “final offensive” and then the revolutionaries’ counteroffensive to extend the struggle to the rest of Cuba, culminating in the victorious general strike and popular insurrection of January 1, 1959. The concluding volume is entitled *La contraofensiva estratégica: De la Sierra Maestra a Santiago de Cuba* [Strategic counteroffensive: From the Sierra Maestra to Santiago de Cuba].

### ‘Embryo of new state power’

In his book *The Strategic Victory: Along Every Road in the Sierra* (see ad on page 9), Fidel Castro describes how the “embryo” of a new state was established in the Sierra Maestra mountains during the final months of the revolutionary war that culminated in the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship on Jan. 1, 1959.

In September 1958, writes Castro, the Civil Administration of Free Territory was established under the leadership of Faustino Pérez.

The revolutionary administration, Castro adds, “eventually grew to eight departments responsible for agrarian and peasant questions, education, health care and social welfare, justice, propaganda, industries, public works, and supplies and finances. Their work included medical care, schooling, literacy, and developing infrastructures for the production of food. They also created no fewer than 35 peasant cooperatives.”

This revolutionary power, concludes Castro, “was similar to the institutions established by Raúl [Castro] in the Second Front. It raised to a higher level relations between the Rebel Army and the peasants that had existed from the beginning of the struggle in the mountains. It was the embryo of the new state that would emerge after the revolutionary triumph, a state faithful to the democratic and popular spirit of the revolution.”

—LOUIS MARTIN

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man beings. There, in the mountains and in the underground groups, equality and fraternity, solidarity and friendship, truth and justice, work, generosity, and respect for human dignity prevailed over the mediocrity, pettiness, selfishness, and prejudices of all types that were imposed by the times of slavery, rooted in mind and behavior by centuries of colonial rule.

In the second part of the book, the interviews with Yolanda Ferrer and Vilma Espín explain in detail every action, every task, every mission of the Federation of Cuban Women since its conception and entry into activity. They make clear that the basis for this was the experience we had been part of in Cuba—the numbers of women in the ranks of the Rebel Army, the mass movement that was built everywhere in support of the revolution.

Here, in this part of the book, you can appreciate a quality that Mary-Alice stresses: social practice that matches political theory—that is, our revolution's consistent course of fighting for equality. It's true that in the early days we spoke only of participation of women as the strategic objective. But the breakdown of barriers between the private and the public that came with women stepping out from their traditional areas and duties—homemaker, the one responsible for all family matters, the mother and wife—that simple, concrete, but in no way easy step laid the initial groundwork for the big, complex battle for the full exercise of women's equality.

In her introduction—which I consider an excellent, rigorously Marxist work, one that could well be included among the basic documents to be developed further—Mary-Alice points to all these challenges as essential parts of the social revolution.

I would like to quote a paragraph that reflects her keen eye, that gets to the heart of things: “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 transformed each other and together became a stronger, more conscious revolutionary force.”

Fidel pointed out that once they had eight men and seven rifles in the mountains, the victory could be seen. Unity is the source of our strength. Interaction opens the way for the formation



Juventud Rebelde

**Members of Women's Antiaircraft Artillery Regiment of Guantánamo in Havana, prior to deployment to Angola in 1988, as part of Cuba's internationalist combat mission to help newly independent country repel U.S.-backed invasion by South African white supremacist regime. Vilma Espín is in white blouse. Addressing guests from diplomatic corps attending send-off for regiment, Fidel Castro joked, “Perhaps our guests could be asking themselves if it's necessary for a battery of women to go to southern Angola ... whether 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 artillery battery to Angola “is not a military necessity,” Fidel told them. “It is a moral necessity, a revolutionary necessity.”**

of new human beings, one of the main guidelines of revolutionary work. For women this process meant, in practice, a personal revolution: revolutionizing their thinking and actions, leading them to fight the customs of the past, to fight what had seemed time-honored and accepted knowledge.

Mary-Alice correctly highlights Fidel's leadership in the struggle for equality. He called it a revolution because of its scale and scope, the fact that it affects all spheres of social life: production and reproduction.

Finally, I would not want to overlook other elements that add to the book's value, details whose qualities cannot go without mention. First, I found magnificent the quotes from Fidel that appear in boxes, quotes taken from his speeches and other documents on central issues that underlie points touched on in the texts. Another aspect that shows the depth of research that went into the book is the selection that was made of the most appropriate supplementary information. This was done by citing the classics—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—as well as Ana Betancourt, José Antonio Echeverría, Ernesto Che Guevara, Raúl Castro Ruz, José Ramón Machado Ventura, and others.<sup>3</sup>

This aspect of the book, read by itself, forms an integral whole that clearly explains Fidel's thesis of the revolution of

women within the socialist revolution. A similar exercise can be done with the display quotes taken from the interviews, as well as the photo inserts. These attractive and eloquent elements are deliberately intended to highlight the fundamental concepts expressed in the book. Another detail is the footnotes and glossary, which provide a level of information that must be called attention to.

I left for last the cover, which has an evocative photo by [Raúl] Corrales along with other elements that accurately declare the content of the book. The ordinary women and men we see in the photo, department store workers, as made clear by their dresses, and factory workers, rifle to shoulder, marching resolutely, reflect the image of that historic moment and tell us, half a century later: from the workplace to the trench, defense and work, the reason for living and maintaining, yesterday, today and tomorrow, our socialist revolution.

I want to give thanks on behalf of those who were interviewed—I'm sure Vilma would have liked this book—on behalf of Yolanda, who shares the judgments expressed today, and of the Fed-

eration of Cuban Women, to Mary-Alice and all those who worked with her, and to Pathfinder, for this book we are presenting today. It underscores our unbreakable friendship and our determination to remain united, working for the revolution, here in Cuba and there in the United States.

Thank you very much.

3. Ana Betancourt participated in Cuba's first war of independence against Spain, 1868-78. José Antonio Echeverría was president of Federation of University Students and the principal leader of the Revolutionary Directorate. He was killed in 1957 by henchmen of the Batista dictatorship during an attack on the Presidential Palace. Ernesto Che Guevara was an Argentine-born leader of the Cuban Revolution, holding major responsibilities in the revolutionary government. He led Cuban internationalist volunteer detachments in Congo 1965 and Bolivia 1966-67, where he was murdered by the Bolivian army during a CIA-organized operation. José Ramón Machado Ventura is currently first vice president of Cuba's Council of Ministers and Council of State and second secretary of Communist Party.

## Presentation by Mary-Alice Waters

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toilers under a rule of law—and more.



To end, I want to speak of the more than 100 photos that provide a pictorial summary of the most important elements of the history recounted in the pages of *The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution*. We've learned over time at Pathfinder that the work that goes into putting together these photo pages makes a significant difference, especially to new readers—workers, farmers, and youth—for whom this is all unknown. That wealth of photos, and the display quotes and captions drawn from the interviews themselves, give new readers a way into the book. It is, we could say, a small but faithful revolutionary “picture book within the book.”

We received a great deal of help from a broad number of compañeras and compañeros here, without which this vital component of the book would have been impossible. Help in finding photos, identifying individuals, confirm-

ing dates, locations, and other details, securing the best quality reproductions possible, and much more. Comrades from *Bohemia* and *Granma* and many individuals were part of this, but our special appreciation goes to the family of Raúl Corrales; and to the Council of State Office of Historical Affairs, director Eugenio Suárez and Elsa Montero, organizer of the photo archive in particular. Both the Office of Historical Affairs and the Corrales family authorized the use of many photos in this edition free of charge. And that includes the cover photo taken by Raúl Corrales.

Nothing could capture the political power of this book more eloquently than that striking image of the militia unit of women who were department store clerks, marching together with brewery workers on May Day 1959—with pride, confidence, determination, and discipline (discipline from inside, discipline internalized from and for struggle) marking every line of their faces and demeanor.

For all this, we can only say to you, “Gracias.”



Raúl Corrales

**Militia unit of workers, Plaza de la Revolución, Havana, Cuba, May Day 1959. “The ordinary women and men we see in the photo, department store workers and factory workers, rifle to shoulder, marching resolutely, reflect the image of that historic moment and tell us, half a century later: from the workplace to the trench, defense and work, the reason for living and maintaining, yesterday, today and tomorrow, our socialist revolution,” said Asela de los Santos.**