

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Conference in Holguín, Cuba, demands 'Free the Cuban Five!'  
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 75/NO. 44 DECEMBER 5, 2011

## Longshore workers prepare for long fight

Battle union busting at Washington port



Militant/Mary Martin

From left, Randall Davis, Brian Pellham and Richard Hendricks picket November 19 outside EGT grain terminal in Longview, Wash., where bosses refuse to hire ILWU members.

BY MARY MARTIN

LONGVIEW, Wash.—Members of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 21 here are digging in for a long fight against EGT Development's union busting at the Port of Longview. Longshore workers have winterized their picket tents and continue to staff picket lines 24 hours a day, seven days a week. They have installed propane heaters and added storm flaps in the two tents set up along the fence near EGT's front gate.

EGT has refused to hire ILWU members in violation of an agreement

with the Port of Longview and instead has hired members of Operating Engineers Local 701 at lower wages. West Coast ports have been worked by ILWU members for decades. If EGT prevails, Longview would be the only West Coast grain operation run without ILWU labor.

Picket lines went up in June. They are staffed by ILWU members from

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## US, Australian rulers deepen military ties, target China

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—U.S. President Barack Obama used a visit to Australia November 16-17 to announce a strengthening of military ties between the global imperial power and its longtime key imperialist ally in the southwest Pacific. For the first time since World War II, significant U.S. armed forces will be stationed at Australian military bases in the north and west of the country.

Obama's visit to Australia was sandwiched between two conferences in Asia where Washington's participation highlighted the priority it places on bolstering its sway in the region as a counter to China's rising economic and military influence.

Before Australia, Obama hosted the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation conference in Hawaii where further progress was made toward setting up a Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement that excludes China, the world's largest exporter. The pact includes Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, Vietnam and the United States.

On November 19, Obama became the first U.S. president to attend the

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## Locked-out sugar workers 'get word out' on their fight

BY TONY LANE

EAST GRAND FORKS, Minn.—As winter weather starts to set in, workers here resisting the 16-week lockout of members of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers union by American Crystal Sugar are making preparations and expanding efforts to reach out for solidarity.

Workers rejected the company's concession contract proposal by 96 percent on July 30. Two days later bosses locked out 1,300 workers at its seven facilities and has been running its factories with nearly 1,000 scabs. On November 1 the union membership voted down a slightly different company offer by 90 percent.

Over the weekend of November 19-20, union members set up two warming sheds on trailers at the main picket entrances to the plant here. The insulated trailers are equipped with propane heaters. Workers locked out at American Crystal's other plants in the

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## Alabama immigrant rights marchers: 'We're not leaving'

BY SAM MANUEL

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Chanting "We're here, we're not leaving" in Spanish, some 300 immigrants and their supporters rallied at the state capitol here November 19 calling for

repeal of the state's new antiworker and anti-immigrant law, among the harshest in the country.

Jorge Núñez, a construction worker, drove to the rally from Birmingham

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## International subscription drive poised to go over top!

BY JIM CARSON

November 21—With three days to go in an international subscription drive, we are at 2,200—100 percent of our goal! With élan and determination, members of the communist movement in each area are now either fighting for their local quota or, having already reached it, are organizing their forces to push beyond in a collective effort to go well over the top.

The drive ends at midnight Wednesday, November 23. A final scoreboard and wrap-up article will be published in next week's issue.

"Ellen Brickley, Buddy Howard, and I," wrote Maggie Trowe from Des Moines, Iowa, "went to the Red River Valley November 17 where 1,300 sugar-beet workers are battling a lockout

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Militant/Sam Manuel

Protest in Montgomery, Ala., November 19 demands repeal of state's anti-immigrant law.

## Economic, political crisis looms over capitalist Europe

BY JOHN STUDER

A deepening economic downturn looms over all of capitalist Europe. "Recession already is in the cards for the first half of 2012," *Barron's* magazine wrote November 19.

The developing downturn, accelerated by the mounting government debt that is engulfing Greece, Italy, Ireland, Spain, and threatening France, John Mauldin writes in his weekly *Frontline* newsletter, poses the likelihood of "an economic crisis of biblical

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# Poultry workers strike in southeast Australia

BY RON POULSEN

LAVERTON, Australia—To chants of “No more \$10! No more cash-in-hand!” workers held the picket line strong at Baiada Poultry’s plant in this Melbourne suburb.

Some 206 members of the National Union of Workers have been on strike since November 9 after contract negotiations with the company broke down, according to Gabriel Auyen, an NUW delegate who has worked at the plant for seven years.

The unionists are fighting the expansion of nonunion subcontract hiring and substandard wages paid in cash for a growing layer of 430 workers there. There are four tiers of employment—permanent, company casuals, agency casuals, and “contract” workers—which serves to divide workers and drive down wages and conditions.

About 244 workers are employed directly by Baiada, 84 percent of whom are union members, mostly permanent. Approximately 180 others are either considered “casual” (temporary) or cash-in-hand “contractors” who have no job protection, benefits, holiday pay or unemployment compensation when they are laid off.

So-called casual workers are legally supposed to be paid at least 20 percent over the minimum wage of \$15.51. But “contract” workers at Baiada, mostly young Indian immigrants on student visas, are paid \$10 per hour in cash by company-hired contractors.

Baiada did not return the *Militant’s* calls to explain its position.

Strikers say they are also fighting

against speedup and for safer working conditions. Several placards on the picket line read “R.I.P. Sarel Singh.” In August 2010, Singh, a 34-year-old contract worker cleaning an unfamiliar area alone late at night, was caught by a moving line and decapitated. Bosses instructed him to clean a machine in operation moving at top speed. The company had the area “cleaned with hot water, then within three to four hours the line was back up,” said Auyen. “No humanity, no compassion.”

Baiada is the biggest poultry meat supplier in Australia. The plant here is its largest. The workforce is majority female immigrants from Africa, Asia and eastern Europe. With the help of other working people and youth, they have successfully defended their 24-hour picket line from antiunion attacks by the company, courts, cops and security guards.

On November 11 Baiada won an in-



Militant/Ron Poulsen

Striking workers picket Baiada Poultry plant outside Melbourne, Australia, November 13.

junction from the Victorian Supreme Court against union officials’ direct participation in the workers’ picket line. Later, as many as 80 cops unsuccessfully tried to remove about 130 people sitting in front of the gate. The police could not move the Vietnamese women workers especially and were forced to

back off, strikers explained.

On November 13 volunteer organizer Dave Kerin announced to the assembled pickets that workers at the Adelaide plant in South Australia were refusing overtime in support of their strike. Baiada retaliated, he said, by sacking 40 casual workers there.

## Supreme Court rejects death-row appeal in Texas

BY CINDY JAQUITH

HOUSTON—The U.S. Supreme Court November 9 rejected a request for a new trial by Duane Buck, an African-American who was sentenced to death in Texas based on racist testimony.

The Supreme Court had previously decided to halt Buck’s execution September 15—hours before he was scheduled to die—and review his habeas corpus motion for a new trial.

“Every man, woman, and child deserves a fair trial,” Phyllis Taylor, Buck’s

stepsister who was wounded during the shootings for which Buck was convicted, told the *Militant*. “We as Black Americans have fought against being judged by our color throughout our history, and we’re still fighting today. We don’t have a fair system. I’m going to fight until the end.”

Buck was convicted 16 years ago for killing two people. As a defense witness, former chief prison psychologist Walter Quijano prepared a report that included a statement that being Black “increased the probability” of “future dangerousness.” When cross-examined by the prosecution, Quijano was asked, “You have determined that . . . the race factor, black, increases the future dangerousness for various complicated reasons; is that correct?” Quijano answered, “Yes.”

Juries in Texas are asked to consider a perception of “dangerousness” in deciding on capital punishment, and the prosecution urged the jury to give weight to Quijano’s statement.

Quijano’s racist “expert” opinions have been used to send five other African-Americans to death row. In 2000 then Texas Attorney General John Cornyn, now a U.S. senator, urged re-

examination of these cases, and that of Buck. The five were given new sentencing trials, and resentenced to death.

In 2010 the state of Texas executed 17 of the 46 inmates put to death that year, about one-third nationwide were Black. Two hundred thirty-five people have been put to death in Texas during the 11 years that Gov. Rick Perry, a Republican presidential candidate, has been in office.

Writing for the majority of the Supreme Court, Justice Samuel Alito argues that since Quijano was originally called as a defense witness, his “bizarre and objectionable testimony” did not amount to a violation of Buck’s rights.

Judge Sonia Sotomayor, joined by Elena Kagan, wrote a dissenting opinion in which she pointed out that the prosecution asked its question of Quijano in order to persuade the jury that “Buck’s race made him *more* dangerous and that, in part on this basis, he should be sentenced to death.”

Dozens of civil rights activists, politicians and church figures have signed an open letter opposing Buck’s execution. Signers include one of the prosecutors in his original trial, Linda Geffin.

## THE MILITANT

“The ‘Militant’ shared our struggle”

“Thanks to the ‘Militant’ for sharing our struggle with all the others. We’ll always remember the people who are still our friends.”

—Darrell Lillie

United Steelworkers Local 7-669 president. In 2010-2011 fought lockout by Honeywell, Metropolis, Ill.



Militant/Jacob Perasso

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

# Decade-long history of U.S. operations in Somalia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington has been expanding use of hunter-killer aerial drones in Somalia since it began using them this summer against al-Shabab, an Islamist group labeled by Washington as “terrorist” that controls much of the central and southern parts of the country. The drone assassination campaign—which now operates from air bases in Ethiopia, the Seychelles Islands, and Djibouti—is a supplement to U.S. operations in Somalia, which go back more than a decade.

In 2008 the Pentagon set up the Africa Command, which together with the CIA is working to establish a regime compliant to U.S. imperialism in Somalia, similar to their role in Libya. Through its largely clandestine Somali war, Washington is also strengthening its relationship with governments and other armed forces in the region and deepening its foothold in Africa.

A series of articles titled “The Secret War” by Sean Naylor in the *Army Times* in November details some of Washington’s operations in Somalia over the last 10 years.

Starting in 2003, teams of CIA and U.S. military special forces flew from Nairobi, Kenya, into Mogadishu, Somalia’s capital, “to build relationships with the warlords,” Naylor wrote. Their aim was to convince “warlords” to capture al-Qaeda personnel who would then turn them over to U.S. military officials for “extraordinary rendition”—torture in CIA secret prisons outside the U.S.

John Bennett, at the time chief CIA officer in Nairobi and currently head of the CIA’s National Clandestine Service, laid out four “ground rules” for U.S. special forces operating inside the country, the *Army Times* reported. These were: “We will work with warlords. We don’t play favorites. They don’t play us. We don’t go after Somali nationals.”

However, the paper reported, the latter rule “applied only to operations conducted by, with and through the warlords” not to other “unilateral efforts” conducted by Washington.

“The Americans used a carrot-and-stick approach,” wrote Naylor, “offering the warlords cash if they helped, with the implicit threat of U.S. air power if

they didn’t.”

Kenya’s invasion of southern Somalia in October in a drive to take control of the southern port city of Kismayo is “faltering,” notes the November 17 *Los Angeles Times*. In response, Nairobi has made an “urgent appeal” to the Barack Obama administration for “military surveillance and reconnaissance that could include imagery from drone aircraft,” the paper notes.

While Washington has supplied the Nairobi with \$700 million in “aid” this year, much of it for the military.

In a related development, the African Union is considering sending thousands of Ethiopian troops into Somalia to operate around the city of Baidoa, reported the *New York Times*. This move, together with the several thousand Kenyan troops, would double to 20,000 the AU’s occupation force in Somalia.

Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia in December 2006 in a U.S.-backed operation that ousted the ruling Somalia Islamic Courts Council. In the face of rising popular anger over arbitrary shelling of urban areas and killings of thousands of civilians, the troops withdrew about two years later.

Meanwhile, in Minnesota two Somali women—Amina Farah Ali and Hawo Mohamed Hassan—face up to 30 years in prison after being framed-up by the FBI and convicted October 20 for allegedly raising money for al-Shabab. The case is among the latest example of trials that serve to advance the U.S. government’s persistent erosion of constitutional protections in the name of combating “terrorism.”

## Egypt: Protests spread against military rule



Reuters/Mohamed Abd El-Ghany

Thousands of demonstrators filled Tahrir Square Nov. 22, the fourth day of protests against continued military rule. Nine months ago, a section of the officer corps played a key role in orchestrating the overthrow of U.S.-backed Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak. At the same time, the overthrow took place under pressure of mass protests through which workers, youth, and others have pressed to open political space.

On Nov. 18 tens of thousands attended a demonstration organized by the Muslim Brotherhood, criticizing the Army high command’s announcement of rules for a new constitution that would impose the military’s authority over whatever government emerges from upcoming parliamentary elections, which the Brotherhood is widely expected to win.

Later that night riot police attacked demonstrators remaining in Tahrir Square after the protest had ended. Outraged at the attack, thousands poured back into the plaza. Demonstrations also spread to at least seven other cities, including Alexandria and Suez.

In response, the Muslim Brotherhood issued a statement Nov. 22 declaring that it “will not participate in any protests or demonstrations that may lead to more confrontations and tensions.” Instead, the Islamist group wants the elections to proceed as scheduled.

Other groups opposed to the military—including forces that oppose the restrictions that would be imposed on democratic rights and freedom of religion with an Islamist government—backed the Nov. 22 “million-man march,” demanding that the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces relinquish its power.

—SETH GALINSKY

## Antiabortion referendum defeated in Mississippi

BY EMMA JOHNSON

The so-called “personhood” initiative in Mississippi was voted down November 8 by a margin of 55 to 45 percent, an indication of the broad support for women’s rights. The referendum defined life as beginning at conception, that a “person” includes every human being from the moment of fertilization. It would have totally criminalized abortion and many forms of contraception.

An apparently useless poll just days before the vote showed those in favor of the antiwoman bill to be leading by a narrow margin. The *New York Times* called the result “one of the biggest surprises” in the November elections. Two months earlier opponents of the law were outpolled by 31 percent.

Planned Parenthood, Mississippi Medical Association, Mississippi Nurses Association, National Advo-

cates for Pregnant Women, Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, National Organization for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union were among the organizations that campaigned against the initiative.

The main axis of the campaign focused on women’s health and violation of privacy. The direct attack on women’s right to choose abortion was a subdued aspect of the arguments.

Supporters of the initiative have been very clear that it targeted abortion rights and aimed at overturning them. It was filed by Les Riley, head of Personhood Mississippi, and had bipartisan support, including from the recently elected governor, Republican Phil Bryant, and Democratic Attorney General Jim Hood.

Colorado-based Personhood USA will try to place similar initiatives on the ballot in Florida, Montana, Ohio, Oregon, Nevada and California in the 2012 elections. In Colorado “personhood” proposals were rejected in 2008 and 2010.

## Party-Building Fund wins new contributors

BY MARY MARTIN

In the home stretch week of the Party-Building Fund contributors are digging deep to support the Socialist Workers Party.

Cheryl Goetz from Atlanta writes that George Williams, a party supporter in Birmingham, Ala., sent, in addition to his own contribution, \$30 from students he knows at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa and \$20 from a couple of workers at a United Auto Workers-organized plant, and three subscriptions to the *Militant*.

From Lincoln, Neb., Joe Swanson writes that during a community festival and pot luck dinner organized by Occupy Lincoln activists on November 20, he was approached by a teacher at the University of Nebraska who had recently renewed his *Militant* subscription. Swanson says, “he told me he noticed Lincoln was on the Party-Building Fund scoreboard in the *Mili-*

*tant* and handed me a check for \$50 and said to ‘Keep up the good work.’ I thought this was a notable example of how many subscribers regularly read the paper from cover to cover.”

From New York, Nancy Boyasko writes that \$60 was received in contributions to the Party-Building Fund at the November 17 demonstration organized by labor unions and Occupy Wall Street and another \$80 at the party’s tables at the Occupy camp at Zuccotti Park, as well as \$21 from other street tables. A co-worker at an electronics factory where party members work also made a contribution, according to Boyasko.

As of November 21, \$89,799 had been received, 90 percent of the \$103,600 goal. Contributions can be sent to the SWP units in the “Look Us Up” listing. Those received in New York by November 28 will count toward the final total.

### Party-Building Fund week 6 of 7

Area	Quota	Collected	%
San Francisco	\$14,000	\$14,277	102%
Seattle	\$9,000	\$8,743	97%
Los Angeles	\$8,500	\$8,105	95%
Boston*	\$4,100	\$3,805	93%
New York	\$20,000	\$18,311	92%
Atlanta*	\$10,200	\$9,224	90%
Philadelphia	\$3,700	\$3,120	84%
Des Moines*	\$3,200	\$2,584	81%
Lincoln	\$200	\$155	78%
Miami	\$3,200	\$2,447	76%
Twin Cities	\$6,000	\$4,561	76%
Washington	\$7,500	\$5,573	74%
Houston	\$4,000	\$2,899	72%
Chicago	\$10,000	\$5,144	51%
Other		\$850	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$103,600</b>	<b>\$89,799</b>	<b>90%</b>
<b>Should Be</b>	<b>\$100,000</b>	<b>\$85,714</b>	<b>86%</b>

\* Raised goal

## — CALENDAR —

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Film: *Will the Real Terrorist Please Stand Up.*** Introduction by Saul Landau. Sat., Dec. 3. Showings at 5:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. Organized by International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5. *Kellen Auditorium, New School for Social Research, 66 Fifth Ave.*

# Locked-out sugar workers

Continued from front page

Red River Valley—Drayton and Hillsboro in North Dakota and Crookston and Moorhead in Minnesota—are also preparing for colder weather.

Another round of food drive collections and deliveries has been set up for Thanksgiving. A semitrailer of food collected from unions in the Twin Cities in Minnesota is scheduled to be delivered by Teamsters Local 120. The Minnesota Nurses Association contributed \$1,500 towards food purchases. The BCTGM locals are also contributing to the food drive effort, which is aimed at giving assistance to workers at the Drayton and Hillsboro plants, where the state Department of Labor has denied unemployment compensation to them.

American Crystal Sugar is stepping up efforts against the sugar workers, announcing it will be advertising for temporary employees. Openings for “non-union” positions of “limited duration” where there is “a union lockout in progress” have been posted for manufacturing technicians, millwrights and mechanics. The company says on its website that “it appears that this lockout will go on for an extended period of time,” and that they have “decided to move on to the next phase of [their] contingency plan.”

Those who lead the farmers’ cooperative, which owns American Crystal, back management. Paul Mathiason,

a former president of the American Sugarbeet Growers Association, wrote a letter published November 19 in the *Fargo Forum* in which he said the large growers “stand behind management and the board of directors. . . . We support the company because we want Crystal Sugar to be a good, strong employer far into the future.”

The union is stepping up efforts to get out the facts and the workers’ side of the story. Union members are scheduled to speak to a meeting of the National American Letter Carriers in Golden Valley, Minn.

Scott Ripplinger from the East Grand Forks plant told the *Militant* they would be “sending out crews across the country to get the word out on the fight in the valley. This fight can happen anywhere. If we lose, who’s next?”



Militant/Tony Lane

Sugar workers and supporters in new warming shed outside American Crystal’s plant in East Grand Forks, Minn. Locked-out unionists are prepared to maintain picketing through winter.

## Longshore workers prepare for long fight

Continued from front page

four locals: Local 21 in Longview; Local 8 in Portland, Ore.; Local 4 in Vancouver, Wash.; and Local 40, the ILWU clerks’ union for the local region, based in Portland. The Port of Longview has limited the number of pickets on port property to eight.

“The ILWU cannot lose this fight; we are in it to win it,” Dan Coffman, ILWU Local 21 president told the *Militant*.

Coffman went over a number of developments in December. EGT’s lawsuit for supposed “unfair labor practices” will be brought before a judge for the National Labor Arbitration Board. A number of trials of union members will take place at the Cowlitz County courthouse for trespass citations issued in the course of peaceful protests at the port. And EGT will try to bring its first ship into the port to receive grain. “The ILWU will protest when this happens,” Coffman said. “We have received pledges of support from many unions and from Occupy protesters who say they will join us.”

In solidarity with ILWU 21’s fight

with EGT, Occupy Oakland protesters held a port shutdown action at the Port of Oakland November 2. Organizers of Occupy Oakland and Occupy Los Angeles are planning similar actions December 12 in solidarity with the ILWU, according to a press release posted on the Occupy Oakland website. “Our eyes are on the continued union-busting and attacks on organized labor,” it said. “In particular the rupture of Longshoremen jurisdiction in Longview Washington by the EGT.”

Local 21 officers have addressed Occupy Oakland protests in recent weeks and the Oakland Teachers Association.

On November 6 Coffman addressed a National Workers Rally of some 6,000 unionists in Tokyo. The rally was called to protest temporary work, privatization of the railroads, and inaction by the government toward those affected by the Fukushima nuclear reactor meltdown earlier this year. The day before, Coffman joined rail workers in Chiba City, Japan, who had delivered a letter of protest to the Itochu Corporation there in solidarity with the ILWU. Itochu is one

of EGT’s owners.

ILWU members have been subjected to brutality by cops while engaged in peaceful protests at the Port of Longview. Incidents are well documented and the union has filed a civil suit against local police agencies.

The *Kelso Longview Business Connection* ran an open letter to “business leaders” by EGT’s CEO Larry Clarke in its October issue thanking local cops for defending EGT’s business interests in face of union protests. “We are sincerely grateful to local law enforcement for their efforts to help protect the safety and security of local workers on the site,” he stated.

“Who are the police here to protect? They serve the interests of the rich,” said Coffman. “Just look at how they treat the union members and the Occupy protesters.”

There has been no reply to the *Militant’s* request for an interview with Matthew Beck, EGT’s public information officer and an owner of the company.

## Subscriptions

Continued from front page

by American Crystal Sugar and where we have sold some 160 subscriptions since the lockout began August 1. Bringing solidarity, we visited the picket lines in Drayton and Hillsboro, N.D., as well as in Crookston and East Grand Forks, Minn., and sold nine subscriptions, two of which were renewals.”

Howard is a corn-processing worker and member of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers Local 48G, which fought a 10-month lockout against Roquette America in Keokuk, Iowa, that ended in July.

“Reaching out to longshore workers and supporters engaged in a hard-fought struggle against union busting by EGT Development in Longview, Wash.,” writes Mary Martin from Seattle, “members of the Socialist Workers Party and other *Militant* supporters recently sold five subscriptions going door to door in the Latino community of Longview.

“This brings us to a total of 116 subscriptions and 57 copies of *Teamster Rebellion* and other Teamster titles by Farrell Dobbs sold in Longview since the end of July,” she added. The four-volume Teamster series recounts the strikes and organizing drives that transformed the Teamsters union in the 1930s in much of the Midwest into a fighting social movement. (See ad on this page.)

“Members of the Miami branch of the SWP,” writes Tom Baumann, “sold 21 *Militant* subscriptions this weekend, including 15 to participants in the Miami International Book Fair. In addition, a team went door to door in Fort Lauderdale and Miami Gardens where four residents decided to subscribe to the paper.”

### Special offers with *Militant* subscription

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by Farrell Dobbs ~~\$19~~ **\$10 with subscription**

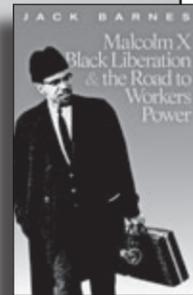
The story of the strikes and union organizing drive the men and women of Teamsters Local 574 carried out in Minnesota in 1934, paving the way for the continent-wide rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations as a fighting social movement.



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A handbook for those seeking the road toward effective action to overturn the exploitative system of capitalism and join in reconstructing the world on new, socialist foundations.

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by Mary-Alice Waters ~~\$7~~ **\$5 with subscription**

#### **The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning**

by Jack Barnes ~~\$3~~ **\$2 with subscription**

Contact distributors on page 8—subscription rates on page 2

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Is Socialist Revolution in the US Possible? Speaker: Tom Baumann, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 719 NE 79th St., Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

### NEW YORK Manhattan

European Union Frays Under Lash of Capitalist Crisis. Speaker: Anita Olsson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 307 W. 36th St., 10th floor. Tel.: (212) 629-6649.

### TEXAS Houston

Debate over Confederate Flag License Plate: From Slavery to Civil Rights Movement, the Real History of Fight for Black Rights in Texas. Speaker: Jacquie Henderson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 4800 W 34th St., Suite C-50L. Tel.: (713) 688-4919.

### KINGDOM

London  
Hands Off Iran! Speaker: Alex Xezonakis, Communist League. Fri., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. Donation: £3. First floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (entrance in Brick Lane), E2 6DG. Tel.: (020) 7613 2466.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

### Crane factory workers in Wisconsin defend union

MANITOWOC, Wis.—“We are standing up for our rights and defending our union,” said Wayne Rebarck, a member of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 10, Local 516. Rebarck, who was organizing the picket shift change in front of Manitowoc Crane, has worked at the plant for 22 years.

Some 200 members of IAM Local 516 walked off the job November 14 after rejecting by a margin of 183-3 what they say is a union-busting contract proposal and voting 181-2 to authorize a strike.

Company demands include what they call “freedom of choice”—an open shop in which each employee decides whether they want to pay union dues. “They left us no choice but to reject the contract,” Ben Elizondo, the local business agent, told the *Militant*. “This is not a wage issue. To us it is union busting.”

The 800 workers at Manitowoc Crane make gigantic crawler cranes that are used in construction and other industries. They are organized in several different unions. Striking Machinists said 156 members of the Boilermakers union just received lay-off notices.

Teachers and other workers have walked the picket line bringing solidarity, food and hot drinks, said Elizondo.

—Alyson Kennedy

### Flour mill workers’ strike in Texas solid after 7 months

SAN ANTONIO—“Spirits are up. We know if the company went back to their previous offer we could end this,” said Manuel Arcos, a machine operator for 28 years and member of Teamsters Local 657 on strike at C.H. Guenther & Son Pioneer Flour Mill.

Some 90 members of the local walked out April 25 after the company reopened the union contract and demanded increases in the weekly insurance premium from \$11 to \$35.

“In my 30 years in the mill I’ve never gone to a company picnic or Christmas party, not once,” said Salvador Garay. “I always knew the company had a wall up. Now I tell everyone you can see it.”

Passersby honked in support. Sometimes some stop to visit at the plant entrance in a busy intersection on the south side of the city, according to strikers.

The company has been maintaining some production with replacement workers, nonunion workers, and a few union members who crossed the picket line.

Last month several members of the local participated in a protest at the nearby Oak Farms Dairy, demanding the reinstatement of a union supporter who was fired during a union-organizing drive there. At the protest, dairy workers submitted a petition demanding recognition of their union, the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers.

The Teamsters have set up two funds to support the strikers. One is the Pioneer Christmas Fund, the other the General Assistance Fund. Checks can be made out and sent to Teamsters Local 657, 8214 Roughrider Dr., San Antonio, TX 78239.

—Mike Fitzsimmons



Militant/Mike Fitzsimmons

Teamsters Local 657 members picket Pioneer Flour Mill in San Antonio, Texas, November 16. Workers walked out in April over bosses’ demands they pay more for health insurance.

## Production, ‘safety’ bonuses aim ‘to bribe workers into silence’

“Today I mailed a check to the party for \$318.91, the total blood money I received after taxes from Yamaha as a ‘production bonus,’” writes Jacob Perasso from Atlanta.

Blood money is a term communist workers use to describe so-called bonus payments and other bribes from bosses or their government—which are often connected—pressing workers to accept speedup, wage cuts, concession contracts or dangerous working conditions. Contributions go to the Socialist Workers Party’s Capital Fund, which helps finance long-range work of the party.

“For the three-month period this bonus was calculated, the company reported 26 injuries,” Perasso explained. “The bonus was for production speed and ‘quality.’ Last month the company eliminated five jobs by moving that work to other jobs on the line and other pre-line assembly areas. This is on top of the 10 percent ‘productivity’ increase last quarter and more job combining anticipated. Injuries have increased substantially in the last several months.

“I know of a torn tendon, carpal tunnel, a dislocated finger and a herniated disk,” continued Perasso. “When we go to the doctor for our injuries, it cuts into the ‘bonus.’ To discourage reporting of injuries, people are routinely placed back on the same job that injured them in the first place once the company doctor has declared them ‘healed,’ often resulting in reinjury. Those who request to see their own doctors are told they will lose

their right to workman’s comp.”

Jacquie Henderson from Houston sent in \$196, explaining that “this is the ‘bonus’ for what the company calls ‘safety, quality and production’—for not reporting accidents, for not getting your drilling pipe couplings rejected for flaws while producing more and more, working beyond your body’s limits six days a week. And for putting up with the lowered wages and worsening work conditions.

“One of my coworkers raised questions about these bonuses at a mandatory so-called safety meeting a couple weeks ago,” Henderson continued. “He pointed out that last year he and other workers worked so hard to make the company’s quotas. And then the company raised the quotas so this year we have to work twice as hard to make even less money in bonuses. ‘Isn’t it true that if we managed somehow to make these quotas we will be making even less next year as the quotas will continue to be raised?’ he asked.

“He didn’t get an answer,” Henderson writes. “Fortunately he is one of the growing number of subscribers to the *Militant* newspaper. He can read about the way companies across the country and the world attempt to bribe workers into silence with their blood money and about the growing resistance of workers like themselves.

“And I get to say what they can do with their money—put it to work ending this system of exploitation.”

—EMMA JOHNSON

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



December 5, 1986

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa—Meatpackers began to cheer loudly when it was announced that the latest contract offer from Swift Independent Packing Co. had been voted down.

Members of Local 50 of the National Brotherhood of Packerhouse and Industrial Workers have been on strike since the end of September.

The rejected contract was similar to the takeback contract voted down before the strike. Takebacks the company is demanding include an 80-cents-an-hour cut in pay, a reduction in pension benefits, the creation of a “permanent flexible workweek,” a part-time work force of up to 15 percent of the employees in the plant, and mandatory drug tests.

Swift began hiring scabs as soon as the strike began. The 250 scabs are being paid \$5.60 an hour. The hourly wage was \$8.80 an hour before the strike.



December 4, 1961

The continued presence of U.S. warships off the coast of the Dominican Republic while the Dominican workers are engaged in a general strike to oust Trujillo’s appointee, President Balaguer, makes clear that Washington’s intervention is not intended to bring democracy to that island.

The menace of the Marine-filled ships was further emphasized by Adlai Stevenson’s sudden flight to Trinidad. His object was to pressure Argentine President Frondizi into supporting OAS action for what he described as “the security of the continent against intervention from extra-continental sources.”

The urgency of this diplomatically worded demand for support of a gang-up against Cuba is particularly ominous. A carefully faked “Cuban invasion” of the country could provide the pretext for sending the U.S. ships now off the Dominican coast the few miles across to Cuba.



December 5, 1936

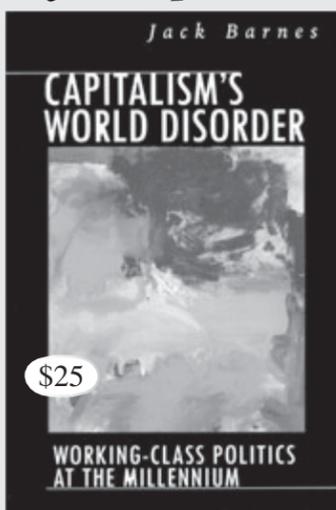
Not the least of the reasons for the renewed vitality and firm healthy growth of the Socialist movement in California is the newly developed activity of many of its members in trade unions and the increased attention the party as a whole is devoting to this field.

The theory of Marxism is a guide to action. Effective revolutionists unite theory and practice in all their activity.

The purposeful activism of the educated socialist must be directed primarily into the trade unions precisely because they are the immediate connecting link with a broader circle of workers and therefore the most fruitful field of activity.

In the trade union struggle the party tests and corrects itself in action. It hardens and grows up to the level of its historic task as the workers’ vanguard in the coming revolution.

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# U.S. gov't steps up attacks on undocumented workers

BY SETH GALINSKY

The Barack Obama administration is stepping up its attacks on undocumented immigrant workers.

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement recently announced that over the last year it conducted 2,496 immigration audits, five times more than in 2008.

The I-9 audits, referring to forms workers fill out when hired, are sometimes called “silent raids” because they lead to immigrants being fired instead of arrested and deported in higher profile factory raids by armed ICE agents.

ICE says that it fined 385 employers for various infractions, but did not release figures for how many workers were fired as a result of the audits. Escondido Disposal in southern California fired 50 of its 200 employees in July and August after an ICE audit said they lacked needed documents.

According to Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano, more than 292,000 companies at 898,000 worksites use E-Verify to check employees’ immigration and work status. They did so 17.4 million times last year. More than 1,000 companies join the program each week, she said.

ICE has also been expanding the so-called Secure Communities program, now in place in 1,595 jurisdictions, which checks the fingerprints of everyone in jail with a Homeland Security database looking for people to deport.

A big part of the government’s effort is to give the impression that its programs are fighting crime by prioritizing the arrest of “criminal aliens.”

Napolitano brags that over the past year ICE carried out a record 396,906 “removals,” where those deported face the possibility of felony charges if they return to the U.S. She said that 55 percent of these deportations were of immigrants previously convicted of crimes, mostly drug and alcohol offenses.

And there are more than 18,000 Border Patrol agents at the U.S.-Mexico border, Napolitano said, more than twice the number stationed there in 2004.

The tightening of the border, increased penalties and risks of being detained or fired, and the deepening economic crisis have reduced the number of undocumented workers attempting to cross the southwestern

border by at least two-thirds, according to the Homeland Security secretary.

In an October 29 editorial titled “The Other Jobs Crisis,” the *Wall Street Journal* blamed the immigration crackdown for “leaving unfilled tens of thousands of jobs that few Americans seem to want,” noting that “most of the 1.6 million agricultural laborers in America are Hispanic, and a majority of them are assumed to be undocumented immigrants.”

Recent laws targeting undocumented workers in Alabama, Arizona, Georgia and other states, which build on existing federal law, have heightened uncertainty among immigrants, some of whom have moved to other states. Thousands of immigrant workers held a one-day strike in Alabama October 12 protesting that state’s new anti-immigrant measures.

Capitalist farmers are looking for other sources of “cheap” labor with the aid of prison authorities in several states. Georgia Gov. Nathan Deal pushed prisoners released on probation to work on vegetable farms when agribusinesses complained that since the law passed crops were rotting in the fields. Many quit after a short stint.

Idaho prisons have profited off inmate labor in the fields for more than a decade. The Arizona Department of Corrections has one of the more “successful” programs, paying prisoners barely 60 percent of what other farm-

## Chicago immigrant rights speakout slams Ala. arrests



Militant/Alyson Kennedy

CHICAGO—Some 80 workers, youth and immigrant rights activists packed a press conference here November 16 to support 13 mostly student activists from around the country who were arrested the day before during a protest at the Alabama state capitol building in Montgomery against that state’s new anti-immigrant law. Martín Unzueta, 57, a longtime advocate for the rights of immigrant workers here was among them.

After two days in jail, the 13 were released on \$300 bail. Eleven, including Unzueta, were charged with disorderly conduct for participating in a “sit-in” following a rally of 100 at the capitol. Two others were charged with trespassing.

The press conference was organized by the Immigrant Youth Justice League. “They are prosecuting workers, not criminals,” said Rodrigo Martínez, from the Chicago Community and Workers’ Rights group.

“I am undocumented and no longer afraid,” said Emmanuel Cordova, from the Latin@ Youth Action League in DuPage County. “I stand in solidarity with the students in Alabama who can’t get utilities, who can’t live normal lives.”

—ALYSON KENNEDY

workers get. Prisoners put in 1.3 million hours working for five capitalist farmers during the 2011 fiscal year, a 30 percent increase over 2010.

But many agribusiness owners are skeptical that this can solve their

problems. They want Washington to expand “guest worker” programs. Although guest workers have a few more tenuous rights than undocumented immigrants, they can be deported if they are fired, quit, or go on strike.

## Alabama march against anti-immigrant law

Continued from front page

with his family. “I want my kids to see that we have rights and we need to stand up for ourselves,” he said. “We are having a hard time finding work. We don’t need this bad law also.”

This was the final stop on a walk initiated by announcers at the popular Spanish-language radio station *La Jefa* through 14 cities over 14 days to protest the law known as HB 56.

José Antonio Castro, the station’s program director, said that while this is the last stop of this walk, immigrants and their supporters “will keep walking across this state and across this country until HB 56 is repealed.”

The rally was moderated by Gerardo Guzmán, *La Jefa*’s news director. He told the *Militant* the walk had been

organized not only to reach immigrants but also to “have a dialog with all Alabamans about the law and the injustice it represents for all of us.” Guzmán said he thought it had been successful in changing the opinions of many people.

“A lot of discrimination that existed before and was fought by people like Martin Luther King and Fred Shuttlesworth has come back, but this time it’s Latinos,” Orlando Rosa, a *La Jefa* announcer, told the crowd. “We are reaching out to let everyone know that we will fight this law to the last day to get it repealed.”

“We have to rise up for our rights,” Evelyn Servin told rally participants to applause. Servin, a volunteer with Presente.Org, helped collect 50,000 signatures on petitions for repeal of the law.

Organizer’s encouraged everyone to attend a rally November 21 at the historic 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham.

The church was an organizing center of the massive struggle against Jim Crow segregation in that city. It was bombed by segregationists in 1963 killing four Black girls.

The Alabama Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act or, HB 56, like recent laws in Arizona, Georgia and other states, builds on existing federal law. Among the provisions, it instructs police to “determine the citizenship and immigration status” of anyone they stop and bans many contracts and

business transactions with undocumented immigrants, including rental and home ownership agreements.

The utilities company in Decatur, Ala., has announced that it will start requiring proof of citizenship or legal residency for anyone applying for new accounts or for restoration of service after being shut off for nonpayment, reported the *Decatur Daily*.

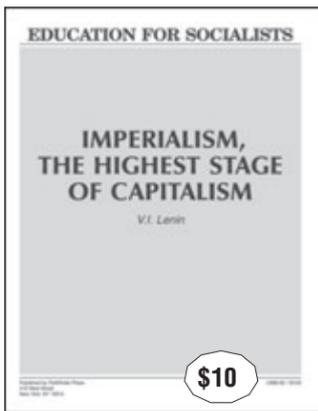
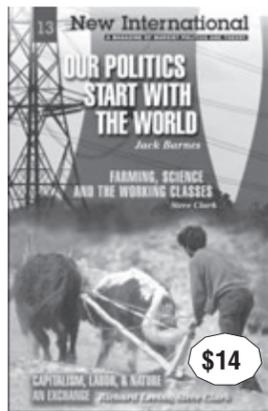
State Rep. Micky Hammon from Decatur told the *Decatur Daily* that the goal of HB 56 is to prevent transactions between government agencies and undocumented immigrants. “It’s just an extension of the goal of the entire bill—to prevent illegal immigrants from coming to Alabama,” he said.

Hammon added that the law has a conspiracy clause that makes it a felony for anyone to assist an undocumented immigrant in conducting a transaction with a government agency.

According to the paper, the municipal utility company in Huntsville has also announced that it will prohibit services to undocumented immigrants. An official of the Decatur utilities agency said he expects that the state’s 35 other utilities will enact similar prohibitions.

A section of the law requiring schools to determine if each student is a legal U.S. resident “or is the child of an alien not lawfully present” was temporarily blocked by a federal court.

## For further reading...



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# Cuban daily reports on int'l meeting for Cuban 5

Reprinted below is a translation of a front-page article from the November 16 Cuban daily *Granma* reporting on the opening of the Seventh International Conference for the Release of the Five and against Terrorism, held in Holguín, Cuba.

The Cuban Five—Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, and René González—were convicted in 2001 on trumped-up charges that included “conspiracy to commit espionage” and, in the case of Gerardo Hernández, “conspiracy to commit murder.”

They were given sentences ranging from 17 years plus nine months for René González to double life plus 15 years for Hernández. Each has been held in separate prisons for more than 13 years.

On October 7, René González was released on probation, but is barred from returning to Cuba under a three-year “supervised release.”

The five, who are heroes in Cuba, were arrested and framed by the FBI in 1998 as they waged an effort to keep the Cuban government informed about the actions of counterrevolutionary Cuban American groups that have a long history of organizing bombings and other deadly attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil with Washington’s complicity.

The conference is part of the ongoing international campaign to publicize their fight for freedom.



## International Conference for the Five Opens

BY GERMAN VELOZ  
PLACENCIA

HOLGUÍN—The example René González set by leaving prison with his head held high and determined to continue fighting for his compañeros was hailed by Martín Koppel, a participant from the United States in the Seventh International Conference for the Release of the Five and against Terrorism. The conference starts today and concludes Saturday, November 19.

Koppel, a member of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, is one of more than 300 delegates from 50 countries present at the event, which is organized by the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP). He said the gathering will continue the effort to mobilize forces to return the Five to their homeland.

He said the U.S. government made clear its unwillingness to end the injustice by imposing supervised release on René González after he served his sentence.

Mary-Alice Waters, also from the United States and president of the publishing house Pathfinder Press, is attending for the second time this event that has taken place every year since 2005. She will share her experiences on publicizing the case.

Among the highlights of the activities planned for the next few days is a

## 5,000 rally to ‘free the Cuban 5’ in Holguín, Cuba



Ahora/Edgar Batista

HOLGUÍN, Cuba—Some 5,000 women, from workplaces and schools across the city, led a march and rally by local residents November 19 demanding the release of the Cuban Five, revolutionaries held in U.S. prisons for more than 13 years. The action, organized by the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) in Holguín province, was organized November 16-19 as part of an international conference of more than 300 people from some 50 countries that discussed how to broaden the worldwide campaign to free Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González and René González.

The conference, sponsored by the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), also included visits by international delegates to towns across Holguín province and neighborhoods in the city here to exchange experiences with working people and students.

—MARTÍN KOPPEL AND RÓGER CALERO

panel discussion entitled “The People of the World Condemn [Luis] Posada Carriles.” The event, which will be held November 17 in the city of Hol-

guín, will demand prosecution of the man responsible for the crime in Barbados [the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner that killed 73 people].

# U.S., Australian rulers strengthen military ties, target China

## Continued from front page

East Asia Summit, a meeting of heads of states from 18 countries. There Obama promoted Washington’s just concluded military pact with Australia. Under the rubric of “maritime security,” he sought to garner support for Washington’s aggressive military moves aimed at China in the Pacific by exploiting disputed claims in the South China Sea between Beijing, Vietnam, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and others.

This aggressive military stance underpins, in Obama’s words, Washington’s “indispensable” alliance with the

Australian government. The alliance is central to the U.S. imperialists’ refocus toward Asia, which was diverted over the last decade by their wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The U.S.-Australia alliance goes back to World War II, through which Washington established its unchallenged dominance of the world’s seas, a hegemony that for the first time is being challenged in the Pacific by Beijing.

At a press conference on his arrival in Canberra, the Australian capital, Obama flanked Labor Prime Minister Julia Gillard as the two announced the permanent “rotational deployment” of

U.S. Marines near Darwin to begin next year. Darwin, Australia’s northern-most city is just a few hundred miles from Indonesia and some 2,000 miles from Singapore and the Malacca Strait—one of the most important shipping lanes in the world and vital to Pacific trade, which surpassed that of the Atlantic some two decades ago.

Last year Washington signed the Wellington Declaration, formally cementing military ties with the New Zealand government for the first time in decades.

In five years, the Darwin base will accommodate 2,500 troops, “a full Marine Air-Ground Task Force,” said Gillard. The Marines will conduct joint exercises with Australian troops as well as their own live-fire and amphibious training in the tropical north.

Now more U.S. bombers, fighters, refueling aircraft, and spy planes will be based at Royal Australian Air Force bases in the Northern Territory at Darwin and near Katherine. U.S. warships, from aircraft carriers to submarines, will increasingly use an expanded Royal Australian Navy base near Perth, Western Australia, on the Indian Ocean.

An editorial in the *People’s Daily*, official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, warned “if Australia uses its military bases to help the U.S. harm Chinese interests, then Australia itself will be caught in the crossfire.”

The editorial said Australia’s “economic co-operation with China does not pose any threat to the U.S., whereas the Australia-U.S. military alliance serves to counter China.”

China is now Australia’s largest trading partner because of high iron ore and

coal exports to the mainland.

In his speech to a joint sitting of the Australian houses of parliament November 17, Obama praised the alliance between Washington and Canberra “from the trenches of the First World War to the mountains of Afghanistan” and pointed out the deep economic ties between the two nations.

Marty Natalegawa, the foreign minister of neighboring Indonesia, which is among the governments that Washington is deepening its relationship with, voiced concern at the military buildup in northern Australia. He said the plan risked creating a “vicious circle of tensions and mistrust” in the region. The statement reflects concern by a number of area governments over being caught between the intensifying rivalry of the world’s two major powers.

In his Canberra speech, Obama asserted, “The United States is a Pacific power, and we are here to stay.” He listed U.S. imperialism’s traditional allies, including imperialist Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, as well as those with which it is beginning to establish closer relations, most notably Indonesia and Vietnam.

He welcomed India as it “looks east,” encouraging the capitalist rulers in that populous country to play “a larger role as an Asian power,” as a counterweight to China. India, along with its chief rival Pakistan, represents the western edge of the ring of influence surrounding China that Washington is setting in place.

On the eve of Obama’s visit, Gillard announced that her Labor government would lift its ban on uranium exports to India.



Map shows major and minor shipping lanes in Pacific. U.S. military’s planned use of Australian base in Darwin brings it much closer to crucial trade routes in contest with Beijing.

# Malcolm X sought to 'wake people to their own worth'

Below is an excerpt from the May 1990 preface by Steve Clark to Malcolm X on Afro-American History, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for November. The book contains a Jan. 24, 1965, speech by Malcolm X as well as excerpts from other speeches by Malcolm on the history of Blacks in the U.S. Copyright © 1967 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY STEVE CLARK

Malcolm X was an intransigent opponent of the U.S. government and its imperialist policies. He fought the racist oppression of Blacks and the profit-driven plunder of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. He expressed this revolutionary political outlook in the opening years of the 1960s while a major spokesperson for the Nation of Islam. Following his March 1964 break with the Nation, Malcolm's views continued to evolve—first in an anticapitalist, and then increasingly in a prosocialist direction.

During the last year of his life, Malcolm organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Alongside it, in June 1964, he founded a secular political group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). He spent much of the last year of his life in Africa and the Middle East observing, speaking, and meeting with

political leaders there. He visited and addressed audiences in France and Britain as well.

On January 24, 1965, Malcolm X gave the speech on Afro-American history published here. Four weeks later he was assassinated in New York City.

Around the time Malcolm gave this talk, he was interviewed by a reporter for the *Village Voice*, a New York weekly. "The greatest mistake of the movement," he said, "has been trying to organize a sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action."

"Wake them up to their exploitation?" the reporter asked.

"No, to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage," he responded. For Malcolm, an understanding of the historical achievements of Black people, as well as the origins and evolution of their oppression in recent centuries, was an essential weapon in the hands of those struggling for their liberation.

Chattel slavery's crime, Malcolm explains in this speech, was to dehumanize Blacks—stripping them of their humanity and heritage—as it exploited them. "We got to where we had no language, no history, no name. The white man named us after himself—Jones, Smith, Johnson, Bunche, and names like those. . . . He convinced us that our people back home were savages and animals in the jungle."

Malcolm repeatedly emphasized the common interests of the oppressed. "Our interests are worldwide rather than limited just to things American, or things New York, or things Mississippi," he explained, and "we look upon ourselves not as a dark minority on the white American stage, but rather . . . as a part of the dark majority who now prevail on the world stage. . . . When you realize you are part of the majority, you approach your problem as if odds are on your side rather than odds are against you. You approach demanding rather than using the begging approach."

At a time when many saw imperialism as invincible, Malcolm focused on how the growing struggle of the exploited was changing the world. "There is no nation today," he said in this speech, "that can brag about its power being unlimited, or that it can take unilateral action in any



Robert Parent

Malcolm X speaking at Jan. 7, 1965, Militant Labor Forum in New York. Knowing your history, Malcolm insisted, is an "essential weapon" for those struggling for liberation.

area of the earth that they desire. No white nation can do this. But just twenty years ago they could do it. Twenty years ago the United States could do it, twenty years ago England could do it, France could do it, even little old runt Belgium could do it, and Holland could do it. But they can't do it now."

Malcolm pointed to the Cuban revolution, which triumphed against a U.S.-backed tyrant, Fulgencio Batista, in 1959. "The Cuban revolution—that's a revolution. They overturned the system," he said in November 1963. Six months later, at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum on May 29, 1964, he explained, "When Castro was up in the mountains of Cuba, they told him the odds were against him. Today he's sitting in Havana and all the power this country has can't remove him."

Malcolm's internationalism, combined with optimism in the future and confidence in the capacities of the oppressed, was well founded. The pattern

he described has continued, with the crushing defeat of the U.S. government in Vietnam in 1975; the defeat of the South African army at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, in early 1988 by Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian forces; and the unfolding democratic revolution against the apartheid system in South Africa in the late 1980s and as the 1990s opened.

Today tens of millions around the world are attracted to this outstanding working-class revolutionary leader whose words speak the unvarnished truth about their lives, history, common struggle, and aspirations.

The January 24, 1965, speech was planned to be the first of three Malcolm would give at Harlem's Audubon Ballroom on consecutive Sundays, as part of laying the political groundwork for the new program the OAAU leaders were preparing. The first talk was to focus on

Afro-American history, from the ancient African civilizations through slavery to the present day; the second, to discuss current conditions; and the third, to discuss the future of the Black struggle and present the new program.

The second of these public meetings took place on January 31. But the third meeting was not held on February 7 because Malcolm had accepted last-minute invitations to speak in London and Paris that week. It was postponed to Monday, February 15.

Early in the morning of February 14—a few hours after his return from Britain—Malcolm's home was fire-bombed while he and his family slept. As a result, the presentation of the new program was postponed again and the February 15 meeting devoted instead to his speech on the attack and the issues it raised.

At the next OAAU meeting on February 21, Malcolm was cut down by assassins' bullets as he started to speak.

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## Crisis drives U.S. encirclement of China

In recent weeks, President Barack Obama marched across Asia and the Pacific from Australia to Indonesia strengthening U.S. imperialism's trade and military ties throughout the region in order to counter the growing influence of China, its most formidable rival. The rulers of the world's foremost imperial power will not passively watch as their hitherto unchallenged dominance of the Pacific begins to slip from their grasp for the first time since it was conquered with U.S. imperialism's bloody triumph in World War II.

During his trip to cement deeper military cooperation with the government of Australia, Obama crowed the hackneyed refrain: "The United States is a Pacific power, and we are here to stay."

But toward Washington's allies and potential allies the imperial arrogance was well restrained during Asian summits in Indonesia and Hawaii, where the Obama administration appeared to do an effective job of advancing the U.S. rulers' priority of strengthening alliances to China's west, south and east.

The U.S. rulers' accelerating shift to the East takes place in the context of substantial cuts in its military budget and drawdowns in Iraq and Afghanistan. This does not represent a move away from military aggression and war. On the contrary, like the world crisis of capitalism that propels imperialism's mili-

tary conflicts, we are seeing just the beginning of the unending wars that will spread and pose ever greater threats amid intensifying cutthroat competition for markets, labor and resources. And the central arena of the escalating trade wars—which have a tendency to lead to shooting wars—is Asia.

The military cuts, Obama said while in Australia, "will not—I repeat, will not—come at the expense of the Asia-Pacific."

This is unfolding alongside another dangerous development. Over the last decade, for the first time in its history, U.S. imperialism has conducted two wars without increasing the size of its all-volunteer military. Now the U.S. rulers are preparing to cut government expenses in response to their economic crisis, while the White House advances the liberal dream of military operations "on the cheap" with minimal boots on the ground, by increasing reliance on hunter-killer special forces and aerial drones in an effort to assassinate its way to victory from Pakistan to Somalia.

All these trends in foreign policy and military matters abroad flow from the propertied rulers' war on working people at home, from spreading lock-outs to incessant attacks on our rights. From Europe to America, the rulers have no solutions to the spiraling crisis and disorder of their system short of deepening their wars at home and abroad.

## Economic crisis looming over Europe

**Continued from front page**

proportions, from which the recovery would be long and brutal."

These developments pose devastating consequences as the propertied rulers press to foist the maximum burden on the backs of working people to pay for the crisis of their system.

The Greek government is now paying close to 7 percent interest on new bonds it is selling in order to continue paying interest and principal on outstanding debt, which stands at 166 percent of its gross domestic product. Italy's debt of \$2.2 trillion represents 120 percent of its GDP, pushing the interest it pays bondholders to similar heights.

Many of the continent's biggest banks are on the verge of insolvency, largely as a result of massive speculation in government bonds. European bank refinancing needs exceed \$541 billion next year.

For the heavily indebted nations, says Mauldin, "no amount of austerity will work until their labor costs drop"—that is, until they significantly deepen the exploitation of workers—"and their trade deficits are brought into alignment."

But the eurozone project, bringing nations with very different levels of development and productivity under a common currency, served to exacerbate trade "imbalances." The eurozone gave Germany, above all, growing export markets, while providing a mountain of cheap credit to Greece, Italy and other weaker economies, allowing them—for a time—to develop faster than their own resources would have allowed.

The capitalist rulers in Europe acted on the ahistorical assumption that this unsustainable trend would continue indefinitely.

Underlying these developments is the worldwide drop in capitalist production and trade. For decades the propertied rulers have faced declining profitability in the direct exploitation of productive labor, how all wealth is created under capitalism. Their declining rates of profit flowed from increasing competition for markets, low-cost labor and raw materials—a problem endemic to the natural workings of capitalism, not the result of errors or misjudgments by banks, corporate bosses or their governments.

Capitalists the world over turned from investment in expanding plants and production, and instead put their capital in search of higher profit levels in ever more complicated forms of speculative debt, especially in derivatives.

These massive investments in speculative pa-

per were nothing more than "legitimate" ponzi schemes, whose bubbles of debt grew with no actual creation of wealth by workers underlying them, what capitalists call "leverage."

Against this backdrop, a sharp debate is raging among bourgeois political leaders across Europe, whose positions reflect their different economic positions and relations with each other.

If heavily indebted governments cut spending to continue paying ever higher interest, their economies contract, leading to depression conditions. If they go bankrupt, their credit and banking systems collapse and government funds immediately dry up. Either way, workers go to the wall.

### Bank ousts Greek, Italian prime ministers

The directors of the European Central Bank, backed by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, along with French President Nicolas Sarkozy, forced the ouster of the elected prime ministers in Greece and Italy, replacing them with so-called "technocratic" regimes they hope will carry out deeper assaults on working people.

Capital around the world is increasingly fleeing the European bond market, in what the economic press calls a "buyers' strike." France, whose economy is stagnant and whose banks are wobbling, finds its bonds facing demands for higher interest rates from prospective buyers.

The difference in interest paid by the French government on its debt, \$2.3 trillion and rising, and that of Germany has widened sharply, leading to differences between the two on economic policy.

Many European governments, including now Paris, are calling for devaluation of the euro to devalue the debt, which is what the governments of Greece or Italy would probably be doing if they had their own national currency to manipulate—another form of kicking the can down the road, with its own ruinous consequences for working people.

German capital opposes devaluation of the euro, because it could ease the pressure on its deeply indebted neighbors to carry through assaults on the working class and because as the major capital exporter within Europe it would be drained.

None of the proposals being advanced to deal with the European crisis will resolve it, but are exercises in brinksmanship, whose proponents hope that some time can be bought before the whole European Union is torn apart, based on an unfounded optimism that somehow a way out can be found.

## U.S. military organizes pullout from Iraq

BY JIM CARSON

The withdrawal of virtually all U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of the year, announced October 21 by President Barack Obama as a fulfillment of his campaign promise, is precipitating sharper national conflicts in the country and broader region. Alongside the pullout, Washington is organized to strengthen military and other ties with its monarchial allies in the region as a counterweight to the inevitable growing influence of the Iranian government.

As of November 16, there were 33,000 troops in Iraq, down from 165,000. The number of bases to be emptied by December 31 was down to 12, from a peak of 505 at the height of the U.S. occupation three years ago. According to the November 21 *Army Times*, some 55 convoys involving up to 1,650 trucks at any given time are transporting military equipment across the Iraqi border to Kuwait for shipment.

Obama's announcement registered Washington's shift in focus from Iraq and Afghanistan toward China, as well as moves to reduce military spending under the pressure of a deepening economic crisis at home. The administration announced cuts of at least \$450 billion over the next 10 years in the military budget.

Washington has been working for months at redeploying some of its military forces and weapons in Iraq to other bases in the area.

The unpopularity of the Pentagon's plan to put an additional 3,500 to 4,000 U.S. troops in Kuwait came to the fore when, according to a November 7 Associated Press dispatch, Sheik Jaber al-Mubarak al-Sabah, Kuwait's defense minister, denied any such plan.

There are currently some 23,000 U.S. troops in Kuwait and some 16,000 as part of the Fifth Fleet stationed in Bahrain and on surrounding waters. In 2010 the Navy announced it planned to double the size of its base there. The U.S. has Patriot missile systems deployed in several countries of the region.

Washington is also strengthening its economic and military collaboration with the Gulf Cooperation Council aimed at building a buffer against Iran's growing influence in the region. The GCC comprises monarchial allies in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain.

Seizing on a recent U.N. report presenting evidence that Tehran is pursuing nuclear weapons technology, Washington, London and Ottawa announced November 21 coordinated sanctions aimed at shutting down Iran's access to foreign banks and credit. The U.S. government also imposed sanctions on companies involved in Iran's nuclear industry, as well as on its petrochemical and oil industries. These aggressive moves add to a series of other sanctions by the U.N. and Washington's imperialist allies.

Since mid-October, the U.S. government has deployed four Predator drones previously stationed in Iraq to the joint U.S.-Turkey Incirlik air base in southern Turkey. Washington also announced the sale to Ankara of three Super Cobra attack helicopters and parts.

These weapons will be used by Ankara in its two-decade war against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) across its border with Iraq. The PKK is fighting for the creation of an autonomous Kurdish region and more cultural rights for Kurds in Turkey.

In Iraq, the rapid withdrawal of U.S. troops has led in recent weeks to sharpening conflicts between the Shiite-dominated central government and the Kurdistan Regional Government, an autonomous administration in northern Iraq, over a major oil deal with U.S.-based Exxon Mobil and control of an air base U.S. forces are planning to abandon.

At the same time, the Iraqi government has arrested about 800 Sunnis across the country charging them with being part of a conspiracy by supporters of the banned Baath party of former President Saddam Hussein. In September it dismissed 145 Sunni employees of Salahudin University in Tikrit, north of Baghdad, for being former Baathists.