

## Greek rulers fail to form gov't, Europe crisis deepens

BY LOUIS MARTIN

The economic and political structures of Europe are wobbling as the Greek rulers fail to put together a government following May 6 national elections.

In the vote, the Syriza left bloc and the Golden Dawn ultrarightist party were the main beneficiaries of the deep anger against the austerity measures being imposed on working people by the capitalist rulers in Greece and the German-led European Union.

The political appeal of both groups is a radical program that combines nationalist opposition to foreign bankers and speculators with populist calls for an end to corruption and defense of the little person. Each party draws most of its support from young people, especially among the over 50 percent of youth who are unemployed.

Syriza, which is a heterogeneous coalition, is a heterogeneous coalition. Continued on page 9

## Rally backs IAM strikers at Ill. Caterpillar factory

Bosses target wages, benefits, seniority, union



Militant/Alyson Kennedy

Hundreds of striking Machinists and supporters rally outside Caterpillar's hydraulics plant in Joliet, Ill., May 11. "Company treats us like gum on the floor," said striker Clyde Snapp.

BY LAURA ANDERSON

JOLIET, Ill.—More than 600 Machinists and supporters rallied in front of Caterpillar's hydraulic components plant here May 11 to back striking members of IAM Local 851.

Some 780 members of the Machinists union walked off the job May 1 after voting 94 percent to reject the bosses' contract proposal.

Caterpillar is pressing to freeze wages for six years, expand the use of "supplemental" workers to 20 percent of the workforce, double health care costs, and gut seniority rights, cost of living increases and pensions. The IAM reports that some 200 management personnel and 200 nonunion contract workers are

maintaining limited production.

Caterpillar spokesperson Rusty Dunn told the *Militant*, "We were well-prepared to continue to operate the Joliet facility by deploying our contingency workforce plan." Dunn said there were some 2,000 workers and supervisors employed at Joliet before the strike. "Our Last/Best/Final offer is on the

Continued on page 4

## Profit system drives growing joblessness, boss offensive

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The official U.S. unemployment rate is increasingly meaningless as a measure of what working people actually face—shrinking job prospects, falling wages and deteriorating working conditions.

While the figure declined slightly in April to 8.1 percent, more people were actually out of work. This is because so many more were classified as discouraged and no longer counted as part of the official workforce, which is used by the Labor Department to calculate the jobless rate and is defined as those holding a job or actively seeking work.

With about 3.7 job seekers for every available opening, many without work do become discouraged. This disproportionately hits Blacks and other layers of workers who under capitalism are routinely the last hired and first fired.

According to government statistics, there were 115,000 more jobs in April, but 342,000 workers were "dropped" from the labor force. The percentage of the adult population counted in the

Continued on page 9

## NY cops' stop-and-frisk tactics target young Black, Latino men

BY EMMA JOHNSON

NEW YORK—Stop-and-frisk operations by city cops, which have soared sevenfold here over the last 10 years, target young Black men at a vastly disproportionate rate.

Records obtained through a lawsuit filed by the New York Civil Liberties Union against the New York Police Department under the state's Freedom of Information law provide details about the nearly 700,000 stop-and-

frisk instances last year. The figures were compiled in a NYCLU report released May 9.

"Though they account for only 4.7 percent of the city's population, black and Latino males between the ages of 14 and 24 accounted for 41.6 percent of stops in 2011," the report said. Black men in that age category were stopped on an average rate of more than once per year—there were 168,126 stops conducted among the 158,406 people in this demographic.

On average, Black men and women Continued on page 6

## Working-class fighters speak on, help raise money for, the 'Militant'

BY LEA SHERMAN

Successful Militant Fighting Fund meetings last weekend boosted the campaign to raise \$120,000 for the working-class newsweekly. Twin Cities sent in \$4,479 from their fund meeting and raised their local quota

### INT'L SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE AT HALFWAY POINT

—See article, p. 3

from \$6,500 to \$7,200. More than \$5,300 was collected at a meeting of 60 in Seattle. Meetings were also held in New York, San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

On the speakers panel in Seattle Continued on page 3

## Honeywell halts work abruptly, union says bosses claim sabotage

BY BETSY FARLEY

CHICAGO—At 2:15 p.m. on Thursday, May 10, Honeywell Corp. managers walked 300 union members, contractors, and salaried personnel out of the uranium processing plant in Metropolis, Ill.

"We were told to vacate the plant with little explanation," said Darrell

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### Spring 'Militant' subscription campaign April 14 - June 10 (week 4)

Country	quota	sold	%	2,400	
UNITED STATES					
Los Angeles*	170	115	68%	1,281 should be	
Lincoln *	40	27	68%		
New York	260	169	65%		
Twin Cities*	155	92	59%		
Denver†	7	4	57%		
Boston	60	33	55%		
Houston	90	48	53%		
Seattle*	190	101	53%		
Philadelphia	90	47	52%		
Chicago*	170	86	51%		
Pittsburgh†	6	3	50%		
Atlanta**	200	99	50%		
Des Moines*	140	62	44%		
San Francisco	175	77	44%		
Washington†	75	33	44%		
Miami	100	37	37%		
Total U.S.	1928	1033	54%		
UNITED KINGDOM					
London	130	82	63%		
Manchester*	60	31	52%		
UK Total	190	113	59%		
CANADA	95	49	52%		
NEW ZEALAND	80	42	53%		
AUSTRALIA*	75	44	59%		
Total	2368	1281	53%		
Should be	2400	1200	50%		
* Raised goal **Raised twice † New to scoreboard					

\* Raised goal \*\* Raised twice \* New to scoreboard



# Rally backs union drive at Mardi Gras Casino in Fla.

BY TOM BAUMANN

HALLANDALE BEACH, Fla.— Chanting “Bring back the Mardi Gras 10,” 350 people marched May 8 to demand reinstatement of 10 workers fired in November for leading the campaign to organize a union at the Mardi Gras Casino here.

The march began with a rally at St. Anne’s Episcopal Church. Speakers included Romane Petit Joseph, a UNITE HERE organizer; Theresa Muse, one of the Mardi Gras 10; Maria del Rosario Rodriguez, from the Florida Immigration Coalition; Rev. Richard Aguilar; and Dylan Beasley, a student at the University of Miami.

UNITE HERE Local 355, which represents 5,400 hotel, airport, stadium and casino workers in South Florida, organized the action.

Muse began working at Mardi Gras as a floor attendant in 2006, making \$10 an hour plus tips. “About a year and a half after I started, they cut my pay by \$2,” Muse told the *Militant*. “They demean us, have no respect, fire people all the time. When we heard the union was coming, we were ecstatic.”

On April 30, the National Labor Relations Board filed a complaint against the casino’s management for interfering with the right to form a union. The complaint calls for reinstatement and back pay for the fired workers and “reasonable access” to post union information inside the casino.

Haitian hotel workers from the Westin Diplomat Resort and Spa in Hollywood, students from the University of Central Florida in Orlando, and airport workers

from Fort Lauderdale and Miami were among those who joined the march.

“We are in the middle of negotiating a second contract,” said a worker at the march employed by Isle Capri Casino in Pompano Beach. He declined to give his name for fear of company reprisal. “Even when you win the union, the fight’s not over.”

“Everyone has the right to organize,” said Mike Beaver, a ride operator at Disney World, near Orlando, and member of UNITE HERE Local 362. “A struggle for them is a struggle for all of us.”

Mardi Gras Casino did not return calls from the *Militant* requesting comment.



Militant/Dean Hazlewood

May 8 march to Mardi Gras Casino in Hallandale Beach, Fla., demands reinstatement of 10 pro-union workers. “A struggle for them is a struggle for all of us,” said one marcher.

## ‘Silent raids,’ job crisis spur migration shift

BY SETH GALINSKY

Pressing the Barack Obama administration’s crackdown on undocumented workers, Immigration and Customs Enforcement confirmed May 1 that it had ordered immigration audits at 500 businesses so far this year.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, ICE agents have spoken at conferences of capitalist farmers and announced an expected “40% increase in the number of employers inspected this year.”

The silent raids have been increased fivefold since Obama took office. The administration has also continued to expand E-verify, which allows bosses to reference employee work status records online.

The tougher enforcement of anti-immigrant measures combined with effects of the economic crisis have caused

a shift in immigration from Mexico.

A study released by the Pew Hispanic Center April 23 estimates that the number of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. without papers declined from a peak of nearly 7 million in 2007 to some 6.1 million in 2011, although those with papers increased slightly.

The Pew study notes that “immigration from Mexico dropped after the U.S. housing market (and construction employment) collapsed in 2006.” Hundreds of thousands of workers have returned to Mexico over the last few years, often with their entire families, including U.S.-born children. The resulting decline “may become the first sustained loss since the 1930s, when the Mexican-born population shrank during the Great Depression,” the report says.

From 1929 to 1934, as many as 500,000 Mexicans returned to Mexico, amid falling wages and rising deportations, according to the Texas State Historical Association.

After the Depression ended the capitalists again needed cheap labor power. In 1942 Washington implemented the *bracero* program, which at its peak brought in more than 400,000 Mexican workers a year, mostly to work in the fields, with few rights.

Today, 30 percent of immigrants in the U.S. were born in Mexico.

Meanwhile, the Obama administration is challenging state anti-immi-

grant laws passed in Alabama, Arizona and Georgia, asserting that they interfere with federal enforcement decisions.

The Supreme Court heard arguments on the challenge to Arizona’s SB 1070 law April 25. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals granted injunctions last year against four parts of the law, including a requirement that cops question the status of anyone they suspect is undocumented and a provision allowing police to arrest those individuals without a warrant.

U.S. Solicitor General Donald Verrilli said the government has no objection to Arizona engaging “in detention in support of the enforcement of federal law,” but that decisions on who to prosecute or deport “needs to be an exclusive national power.”

“I don’t see the problem” with SB 1070 provisions, Chief Justice John Roberts told Verrilli. This “is not an effort to enforce federal law. It is an effort to let [the federal government] know about violations of federal law.”

Obama appointee Judge Sonia Sotomayor indicated that she thought Verrilli’s arguments were weak, suggesting, “Why don’t you try to come up with something else?” The court is expected to rule in June.

The day the hearing took place, hundreds of immigrant rights supporters demonstrated in Washington, D.C., and Phoenix against the Arizona law.

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Need to reestablish pace in subscription campaign

BY LOUIS MARTIN

Halfway through the eight-week campaign, we have signed up 1,281 people in the international dive to sell 2,400 *Militant* subscriptions to broad layers of working people. While still on schedule, the pace slowed last week.

Los Angeles increased its local quota by 10. We need other areas to follow this example to close the 37-subscription gap between the combined local quotas and the international goal.

“The *Militant* is a real good paper. I see it gets around. I’ve been reading about the sugar workers’ fight. You cover a lot of places,” said Barbara McFadden, a nurse assistant and member of Service Employees International Union Local 1199 at the West River Health Care Center in Milford, Conn.

McFadden was one of 100 workers locked out Dec. 13 by West River in an attempt to impose a concession contract. They returned to work April 4 under the old contract while the two sides resume negotiations. The 1,300 sugar workers McFadden referred to have been fighting a similar lockout by American Crystal Sugar in the Upper Midwest since Aug. 1.

McFadden met with Deborah Liatos and Susan Lamont from the Socialist Workers Party in New York. They went to Milford to talk with workers at West River who had bought subscriptions during the lockout.

McFadden renewed her subscription and bought a copy of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, one of two books offered at reduced price during the subscription campaign. (See ad on age 8.)

“Montreal had its best week in the drive so far, selling 19 subscriptions,”

writes John Steele. Communist League members going door to door in working-class neighborhoods sold six of them.

“Of the 12 subscriptions SWP members sold in Seattle this week,” writes John Naubert, “one was off a Socialist Workers election campaign table in a Black neighborhood to Cy Hagos, an activist in the Eritrean community. “I am following American politics,” said Hagos. “The system is for the capitalists, not for us. We have to stop dealing with the symptom.”



Militant/Alex Huinil  
Maria Corovoa Perez, center, bought *Militant* subscription in Atlanta April 21 from Jacob Perasso, left, and Gustavo Hernández, right. Hernández came from Alabama to join effort that day.

Fighting workers help raise money for ‘Militant’



Militant/Clay Dennison  
Some 60 people attended *Militant* Fighting Fund event in Seattle, May 12. Panel from left: Mary Martin, Socialist Workers candidate for Washington state governor, who chaired meeting; James Harris from Los Angeles, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in California; Dan Coffman, president of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 21 in Longview, Wash.; Ralph Rider, member of Local 21 executive board.

Continued from front page

May 12 were James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in California; and Dan Coffman, president of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 21 in Longview, Wash.; and Ralph Rider, an executive board member of Local 21. Mary Martin, SWP candidate for governor of Washington, chaired the meeting.

Coffman talked about his union’s two-year struggle against EGT Development’s attempt to shut the ILWU out of its grain terminal at the Port of Longview. Union members are now working in the terminal from where their fight continues.

“Thanks to the *Militant* people for coming to Longview every Saturday and not only telling the truth in the paper but participating in the picket lines and canvassing neighborhoods in the community,” Coffman said.

Harris talked about the worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the importance of workers’ struggles today, from the ILWU’s fight in Longview to port truck drivers in Los Angeles who recently won a union. “This increases the confidence of workers, which is necessary along the road toward workers wresting power from the capitalist class. Workers need our own revolutionary party to help lead our class and its allies in this direction.”

A lively discussion ensued on questions ranging from the energy policy of the proletariat and nuclear power to the Occupy movement.

“This meeting and the *Militant* help further my knowledge of struggles of the working class,” said Nathan Clifton, a warehouse worker who bought a subscription at a May Day action.

Sharing the platform at the May 11 fund event in the Twin Cities were John Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate in the 1st Congressional District in Illinois, and Becki Jacobson and Scott Rip-

plinger, two workers fighting the ongoing lockout by American Crystal Sugar.

“We are always much better off fighting,” said Hawkins who described several struggles, including the recent walkout by Caterpillar workers in Joliet, Ill.; the fight of uranium workers at Honeywell in Metropolis, Ill.; and the fight by 1,300 sugar workers locked out by American Crystal in Minnesota and North Dakota since Aug. 1. “The rulers are determined to drive us down. By putting up a fight, we come out stronger and more ready for the next struggle.”

“The *Militant* is an awesome paper,” Jacobson said. “It doesn’t depress us like the *Fargo Forum*, which paints us as no good, lazy union workers.”

Ripplinger described the impact of the struggle on the locked-out workers as a social awakening. “Many of us are different people,” he said.

“I have subscribed to the *Militant* for many months now,” added Ripplinger. “It is a good paper that lifts our spirits because it puts our fight in the forefront. It makes us feel less alone by connecting us to other struggles.” Ripplinger said he often brings the paper to the picket lines for others to read.

Socialist workers have been getting contributions to the fund while distributing the paper. For example, during door-to-door sales last week in Atlanta, a nurse contributed \$23 after purchasing *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* with an introductory subscription, reported Jacob Perasso.

At the fund event in Houston, factory worker Antonio Jimenez made a first-time pledge to the fund of \$50. “I looked at the chart on the wall with the goal of \$4,000 and I wanted to do something to keep the *Militant* coming out. I wanted to help raise this money because the *Militant* keeps me informed.”

Buddy Howard, a leader of the 10-month fight against a lockout last year

by Roquette America in Keokuk, Iowa, recently sent in \$50 to the fund on behalf of himself and two other Roquette workers. Unable to attend, he sent a message to the fundraising meeting in Des Moines:

“As you know, we have accepted a lousy contract with a few gains from an earlier lousier contract to continue our fight inside. We have ex-scabs joining the union as they find out we were actually holding out to better their wages and benefits. Many of them have found out what kind of company they work for and what being in a union means.

“Our struggle opened many of my comrades’ eyes so that we can see other struggles that were/are going on. We now keep in contact with groups like Northern Illinois Jobs with Justice, the USW 7-669 workers, the BCTGM workers locked out by Crystal Sugar, the Teamsters in Henry, Ill., the UFCW workers in Muscatine, Iowa, going on four years of being locked out by GPC.

“I talked to AFSCME Red Cross workers who became AFSCME five years ago and are still waiting for their first contract. This should tell people that we need our own workers party.

“Thanks to the *Militant* and the SWP for all the support you give workers. I’ll never forget all you did for us in our struggle. In SOLIDARITY. And now we continue the fight, don’t we.”

To contribute, contact distributors listed on page 8, or send a check made out to the *Militant* to: The Militant, 306 W. 37th St., 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Edwin Fruit in Seattle and Frank Forrestal in Minneapolis contributed to this article.

<i>‘Militant’ Fighting Fund</i>			
April 14–June 4 (week 3)			
Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
Twin Cities*	\$7,200	\$4,479	62%
Atlanta	\$8,600	\$5,204	61%
Des Moines	\$2,200	\$1,013	46%
Chicago	\$10,000	\$4,570	46%
Philadelphia*	\$4,400	\$1,920	44%
Boston*	\$4,000	\$1,685	42%
Los Angeles	\$9,000	\$3,585	40%
Miami	\$3,200	\$1,194	37%
New York	\$21,000	\$6,899	33%
Lincoln	\$375	\$107	29%
San Francisco	\$15,000	\$3,349	22%
Seattle	\$8,800	\$1,220	14%
Houston	\$4,000	\$380	10%
Washington, D.C.	\$7,600	\$370	5%
Total U.S.	\$105,375	\$35,975	34%
CANADA	\$7,000	\$4,180	60%
NEW ZEALAND	\$4,500	\$1,670	37%
AUSTRALIA	\$1,500	\$496	33%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	\$700	\$0	0%
Manchester	\$375	\$133	35%
Total UK	\$1,075	\$133	12%
FRANCE	\$320	\$245	77%
Total	\$119,770	\$42,699	36%
Should be	\$120,000	\$51,600	43%
* Raised goal			

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

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Anarchism vs. the Working Class. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 25, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 5418 Rainier Ave. S. Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

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Strongman, the Tragedy: Documentary on 1967 Coal Mine Disaster Shows Cover-Up of Shortcuts on Safety. Fri., May 25, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged, \$2 unwaged. 4/125 Grafton Road. Tel.: (09) 369-1223



# Lockheed workers fight for past gains ‘earned in blood’

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON  
AND CYNTHIA JAQUITH

FORT WORTH, Texas—Chanting “Ain’t no way!” striking workers who build U.S. Air Force fighter jets are picketing the giant Lockheed Martin plant here around the clock. The 3,600 workers have been on strike since April 23, along with 150 union members at Edwards Air Force Base in California and 200 at Patuxent River Naval Air Station in Maryland.

The workers, members of Machinists Union Local 776, voted by a 94 percent margin to reject company proposals that would slash the pension plan for new hires and significantly increase the cost of health insurance for all workers. They would also restrict access of union representatives to the plant, said Machinists regional representative David Hardison.

“We can’t let them move in on our health care,” LaDonna Fritchman, an electrical assembler, told the *Militant*. “When you’re cramped up in a cockpit all day and you have to twist around and pull the cables through, your knees go and you really need good health insurance.”

According to the Machinists’ website, almost 60 percent of union members at the plant are already on a lower wage tier imposed in a 1993 concession contract. They make about half the wages or less of longtime workers. The pension proposal would widen the divisions.

“We are proposing that new hires would no longer receive a defined benefit pension,” company spokesman Joe Stout told the *Militant*. “Lots of companies are making this kind of change.

Lockheed expected us “to sell out the new workers,” said David Faith, who was dispatching pickets from the union

hall. “But my dad fought for these benefits for me and we continue to fight for future generations. These things are not given, they’re earned in blood on the picket line.”

The company vowed to continue production and has refused to negotiate with the union since the contract vote. “We are dedicated to our customers’ mission: to secure and protect our country and the men and women who fight to defend it,” Greg Karol, Lockheed’s vice president for corporate labor relations, wrote in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* April 14. “Affordability—creating greater efficiencies and lowering costs in everything we do—must be the way we do business.”

“Lockheed has always claimed that we’re one big team,” Rory Miller, an aircraft assembler, told the *Militant*. “There is no team, it’s them and us. Always has been.”

Miller earns \$32 an hour after 25 years in the plant. New hires start out as low as \$8.92 an hour and top out at \$18.11.

More than 1,500 strikers and their families attended a picnic May 5 at the Local 776 union hall and strike headquarters next to the plant. Workers said that the giant inflatable rat set up in front



**Machinists on strike against Lockheed Martin picket plant in Fort Worth, Texas, April 29. Walkout by 3,600 began April 23 over health care costs and pension cuts for new hires.**

of the plant was one of the most popular features of the event, with many families posing for pictures with it.

Firefighters and nurses are also part of the union and the strike. Contracts with two more unions, Office and Professional Employees and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, expire May 20.

Teamsters refuse to cross the picket lines, forcing management to pick up loads outside the plant. The strike has received support from many area unions including the Communications

Workers, Transport Workers, Flight Attendants, United Food and Commercial Workers, IBEW, Teachers, and the Seafarers union.

The strike headquarters includes a well-stocked kitchen where pickets are served food and beverages 24 hours a day. Other unions “have brought donations, including truckloads of water,” said Faith, pointing to thousands of bottles of water stacked against a wall.

Send strike donations and support letters to District Lodge 776, 7711 Clifford St., Ft. Worth, TX 76108.

## Rally backs workers on strike against Caterpillar

**Continued from front page**  
table,” he said.

“The pension was the thing that pushed me over,” said Clyde Snapp, a machinist. “For years we took cuts. Back then they called us experts. Now they treat us like gum on the floor.”

“They are making record profits,”

pointed out Chris Shelby, a maintenance worker for 19 years. “Our union gives and gives. We’re divided into two tiers working the same jobs at different pay, one person gets \$13 the other \$22.”

Caterpillar, the world’s largest maker of construction equipment, reported a

29 percent increase in first-quarter profits, with revenues of \$15.98 billion.

According to workers on the picket line, basic production jobs are organized by the IAM. Other workers are mostly nonunion and work for outside contractors. Forklift drivers, for example, make \$10 to \$12 per hour and work for the Belmont Group contractor.

“Members of the Laborers union who work at the plant are not crossing the picket line,” Matt Roesel, who worked there for 19 years as a machine assembler, told the *Militant*.

“This is bigger than Caterpillar,” IAM General Secretary-Treasurer Robert Roach Jr. told participants. “It’s about all of labor. Your fight is our fight.” Other speakers included Tim Drea, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois AFL-CIO; and Joliet Mayor Tom Giarrante.

Troy Petri, a member of United Auto Workers Local 2096, came with a group of coworkers from Caterpillar’s plant in Pontiac, which makes fuel injectors. “The boss can fire supplemental workers at will,” said Petri, who worked as a supplemental worker for three years. Caterpillar expanded the number of supplemental workers there to 20 percent of the workforce in the last contract, he said.

“Over a dozen came from my local today,” said Myron Magee, chairman of IAM Local 492, who works at Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad in Chicago. “We are here today to support all of my brothers and sisters who are doing what they need to do.”

Nine workers from Laborers Local 393 from Marseilles brought their union banner and a giant inflatable rat.

Send letters of solidarity and contributions to: Local Lodge 851, 23157 S. Thomas Dillon Dr., Ste. B, Channahon, IL 60410.

*Alyson Kennedy and Candido Deleon contributed to this article.*

## Honeywell halts work at uranium plant in Illinois

**Continued from front page**

Lillie, United Steelworkers Local 7-669 president, in a union statement released by spokesperson John Paul Smith later that day.

Smith told the press that the company is classifying the work stoppage as a temporary layoff.

“Honeywell managers told our members that they must leave the plant until further notice,” said the statement. “No explanation was given at the time except that Honeywell was investigating claims of sabotage.”

Honeywell has not responded to re-

quests for comment from the *Militant*.

Steelworkers at the plant fought a 14-month battle against a lockout by Honeywell, which ended Aug. 15 last year after workers voted to approve a new contract. Not one member crossed the picket line and workers were able to push back some of the company’s concession demands on seniority, wages and pensions.

“We came out of the lockout a stronger, more experienced union,” Stephen Lech, president-elect of USW 7-669, told the *Militant* in a phone interview that was reported in an article titled “Il-



**Steelworkers rally in Metropolis, Ill., June 25, 2011, one year into lockout by Honeywell.**

*Militant/Maura DeLuca*



# US airstrikes in Yemen, Afghanistan kill civilians

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Two suspected U.S. aerial drone strikes in Yemen May 15 killed 15 people. Eight of those killed were civilians and at least seven other civilians were injured, Yemeni officials told CNN. Other press sources report that as many as 12 of those killed were civilians and up to 21 civilians were injured.

Afghan officials told the press that airstrikes in Afghanistan killed 18 civilians, including five children, in four provinces between May 3 and May 9.

## Students call Quebec-wide action against tuition hikes

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL—Quebec's largest student organization, the CLASSE, has called a Quebec-wide demonstration for May 22 here following the rejection by tens of thousands of university and CEGEP (junior college) students of an agreement signed by representatives of Quebec's four student federations with the Quebec government.

The accord maintained the government's tuition fee hikes of 75 percent over seven years. It projected setting up a provisional council of government made up of student, union, business and post-secondary school representatives to look for ways to cut university management costs.

"The government didn't count on our determination," CEGEP student Raphaëlle Beauchemin told the *Militant* May 11 while waiting in line with hundreds of students to enter the Collège del Maisonneuve school gymnasium to vote on the proposal, which was rejected 1,035 to 540. Across Quebec more than 160,000 students remain on strike, which for many began in February.

Meanwhile, opposition parties are calling for an investigation of an attack by Quebec's provincial police on a May 4 student demonstration in Victoriaville. Using the pretext provided by a small number of undisciplined stone throwers, the cops used tear gas, plastic bullets and mass arrests. Over 400 demonstrators were injured, three seriously. One student lost an eye.

The drone attacks hit the city of Jaar in the south of Yemen. Residents told CNN that people flocked to help the victims and then were killed in a follow-up strike.

"Our lives are valueless in the eyes of our government and that is why civilians are being killed without a crime," resident Ali Abu Abdullah was quoted as saying by CNN.

"We give our condolences to the families of those who lost a loved one," a Yemeni official told CNN.

The number of drone strikes have escalated sharply in Yemen, with 29 since the end of 2009, half of them during the last two months, according to the Long War Journal website.

Meanwhile, in Afghanistan a NATO airstrike May 4 killed a family of six in Helmand province. "We are able to confirm the incident and will be formally apologizing in the next couple of days," U.S. Lt. Col. Stewart Upton told the *Washington Post* May 7.

During his visit to Afghanistan May 1, President Barack Obama signed a

## Rally protests Tacoma, Wash., immigration prison



Militant/Clay Dennison

TACOMA, Wash.—Some 100 people rallied May 12 in front of the Northwest Detention Center, a 1,000-bed immigration jail here owned by GEO Group Inc. Supporters of immigrant rights organize monthly protests outside the facility. This month's action was organized by the Oregon and Washington New Sanctuary Movements in honor of Mother's Day.

—EDWIN FRUIT

strategic partnership agreement with the Afghan government about continued assistance with "counterterrorism" and training through 2024.

Under pressure of widespread resentment of the U.S.-led war and af-

ter meeting with the families of the recent victims, President Hamid Karzai's office released a statement saying, "If the lives of Afghan people are not safe, the signing of the strategic partnership has no meaning."

## Muslims push challenge to US gov't 'no fly' list

BY JOHN STUDER

Attorneys for 15 Muslims were in federal appeals court in Portland, Ore., May 11, arguing that they should be able to proceed with their lawsuit challenging the right of the government to place these individuals on its "no fly" list.

The 15 plaintiffs—all U.S. citizens or permanent residents—learned they were on the "no fly" list when they were blocked from getting on a plane, many when they were already traveling overseas and were prevented for months from being able to return to the U.S. They attempted later to challenge being placed on the list, but in practice found it impossible to do so.

The government's secret "no fly" list was created in 2003 and is run by the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center. The

government says that there are some 20,000 people on the list, the *Wall Street Journal* reported May 10. About 500 are U.S. citizens. The number of people on the list has doubled since 2009.

The program was created under President George W. Bush and has continued under President Barack Obama, with broad bipartisan backing.

"It is unconstitutional for the government to put people on secret lists and deny them the right to travel without even basic due process," said Nusrat Choudhury, the American Civil Liberties Union's National Security Project staff attorney who argued the case, in a press release.

The plaintiffs include four U.S. military veterans; Mohamed Sheikh Abdirahman Kariye, the Imam of the

Masjed As-Saber Islamic Center in Portland; and Adama Bah, a woman from Guinea who was granted political asylum in the U.S.

Two of the plaintiffs said that after being barred from flying they were contacted by the FBI and told they would be taken off the list if they would agree to become informants for the agency in their communities.

The suit names as defendants Attorney General Eric Holder, FBI Director Robert Mueller and Timothy Healy, director of the Terrorist Screening Center. In May 2011, U.S. District Court Judge Anna Brown threw the case out, agreeing with government arguments that the court did not have jurisdiction.

The three-judge appeals court panel will rule later on the ACLU motion to reinstate the case.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



May 29, 1987

DALLAS—Three hundred flight attendants and their supporters marched through the downtown area here last month in their fight to win a better contract at American Airlines. The workers are members of the Association of Professional Flight Attendants.

Their main demand is an end to the two-tier pay scale the airline instituted in 1983. Under this system, "A-scale" attendants are paid about \$25,000 a year while the base pay for "B-scale" attendants begins at under \$12,000. Over 40 percent of the 10,000 union members are B-scalers. Under the current contract, it takes 15 years to reach A-scale.

The airline recently fired 20 attendants for passing out literature at the Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport critical of American's safety practices. The union is fighting the firings in court.



May 28, 1962

A wildcat strike at the Waldorf-Astoria—America's most famous luxury hotel—threw a brief but penetrating light on the state of much of the union movement in the U.S. today.

The revolt at the Waldorf started at a \$75-a-plate banquet sponsored by a committee of philanthropists. The usual procedure is for the committee to pay a percentage of the dinner's cost for the waiters' tip, but sometimes that arrangement is not made. The waiters would have to pass a basket at the end of the meal, a procedure they resented.

The 120 waiters disappeared from the Grand Ballroom leaving 1,400 guests to listen to speeches on empty stomachs. After 90 minutes of negotiation, the waiters returned. [They] won a straight 12 percent of cost for tips and a written agreement that there would be no reprisals against participants in the walkout.



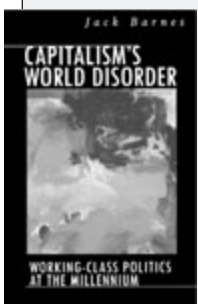
May 1, 1937

The Supreme Court has finally acted on the five cases before it which involved the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, usually referred to as the Wagner Bill.

The Bill provides that there shall be no discrimination against union members and that representatives of the majority of the workers in a given plant shall have sole bargaining powers.

Labor will have to rely upon its own strength, while utilizing the opportunity afforded by the decisions to organize and consolidate its forces. It is true that the boss who has exhausted the legal angles will have to forego his golf in order to sit around the table with workers' representatives and "negotiate," but there is nothing in the law that compels him to reach an agreement. A stoppage of production will prove to be a far more persuasive argument in the negotiations.

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



The social devastation and financial crisis, cop brutality, and imperialist aggression all are products not of something gone wrong with capitalism but of its lawful workings. \$25

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# Stop-and-frisk targets Blacks

Continued from front page

of all ages were stopped at a rate of more than 1 in 6; Latinos less than 1 in 10; and Caucasians, 1 in 44.

While stop-and-frisk operations are concentrated in working-class neighborhoods that are predominantly Black and Latino, minorities are also the primary targets in predominantly Caucasian neighborhoods. In four of the five police precincts where 10 percent or less of the residents are Black or Latino, they nevertheless made up more than 70 percent of those stopped.

"There are police here all the time," said Jeremiah, 16, at a barber shop in the South Bronx. He came to the U.S. with his parents from the Dominican Republic when he was three.

"They stand in the lobby of our apartment building," he said. "When I see them, I wait until they leave before I go inside. But sometimes I don't see them until I open the door. Then I close it and go back out into the street where I feel safer. Then they follow me and ask why I'm running, if I live there, if I can prove it, do I have any ID. Sometimes they frisk me, sometimes not."

Jeremiah said a friend visiting him was ticketed for trespassing.

"He stood outside the house making a phone call. Two cops walked up to him and asked if he lived here. He said no, he was visiting a friend. Then they issued the ticket. He never even entered the house."

About 55 percent of those stopped were also frisked. A weapon was found in less than 2 percent of the cases. While Blacks and Latinos are much more likely to be frisked, they are "less likely" to be found with a weapon, according to the report.

While stops have mushroomed, discovery of weapons has not. In 2003, a gun was found for every 266 stops; in 2011 it took 879 stops to find one.

Police officials cite these figures as proof of the program's effectiveness, saying criminals are now more likely to leave their guns at home, knowing they may be stopped.

The most common pretext for the stops are "furtive movements" (51.3 percent) and "casing a victim or location" (32.5 percent). Other official excuses include, "acting as a lookout," "fits a relevant description," "suspicious bulge," and "clothes commonly used in a crime."

"I've been stopped and frisked three times since I was 16," said Tyler Green, a 22-year-old African-American, at a basketball court in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of Harlem. It occurs "on my way home from the subway, going to the store and walking to visit my aunt. It has happened in the evening, same thing every time. A police car drives up, three or four of them jump out and grab me. They put my hands on the top of the car and frisk me, take my wallet and my mobile."

When Green asked the cops why he was being stopped, the first time he was told someone had reported a disturbance in the apartment building where he lives and he "fit the description." The second time they said he seemed to be "checking out" a house.

"The third time they just gave back the wallet and the mobile and drove away without saying anything," Green said. "I've never been charged. But I'm on my guard now. I think about how I dress and how I act. I used not to be against the police, but this has got to stop."

No charges were filed in 90 percent of the stops.

## Grand jury lets off NY cop who killed 68-year-old man

BY SARA LOBMAN

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.—A Westchester grand jury here has decided not to indict the police officer who shot and killed 68-year-old Kenneth Chamberlain in his own apartment in a public housing complex here in November. According to an article published by the McClatchy-Tribune News Service, the grand jury only began hearing the case in April of this year after the outrage over Trayvon

## NJ protest slams cop killing of Malik Williams



Supporters of Malik Williams, a 19-year-old African-American killed Dec. 10 by cops in Garfield, N.J., protest May 2 after New Jersey Gov. Christopher Christie's "town hall" meeting there. Third from left is Shirley Williams, Malik's mother.

"We had our hands up during the whole question and answer period," Williams told the *Militant*. "He didn't even look our way." According to the Bergen County Record, Christie called on six people in the audience, none of whom were from Garfield.

—SARA LOBMAN

Mayor Michael Bloomberg defended the program in an interview with the *New York Post* May 11. "Stops are a deterrent," he said. "If you think you may be stopped on the street, you are a lot less likely to carry a gun. It's that

simple."

Stop-and-frisk incidents are continuing to increase. In the first three months of 2012 more than 200,000 stops were reported, up 20,000 from the same period last year.

Martin's killing in Florida spurred the Chamberlain family to demand some action.

Chamberlain was a retired Westchester corrections officer and Marine. When he accidentally triggered his heart pendant Nov. 19, the medical alert company asked the police to respond. When cops arrived at Chamberlain's apartment he assured them through the door that he was fine and refused to open the door. The *New York Daily News* reports that the medical alert call also cancelled their request for the police.

"They have shotguns, stun guns, they have their Glocks out ... they're trying to kill me!" the medical alert company tapes record Chamberlain yelling. After more than an hour, the cops took the apartment door off its

hinges and shot Chamberlain with a Taser and a beanbag gun before White Plains Officer Anthony Carelli fatally shot him in the chest.

According to the cops, Chamberlain had been shouting incoherently and wielding a knife.

"It's a real injustice," Mia Ruff, one of Chamberlain's neighbors, told the *Militant*. "There's no way to even justify the cops going into the apartment."

Chamberlain's son, Kenneth Chamberlain Jr., told the *Daily News* that the grand jury's decision was "a blatant cover-up of the murderous tactics" of the cops.

Stephen Hart, one of the officers on the scene that night, was caught on tape shouting a racist slur at Chamberlain, who is Black. District Attorney Janet DiFiore claimed the cop's use of the N-word was an attempt to "distract" him.

Hart, Carelli, and Sgt. Stephen Fottrell, also on the scene that night, each have either recently been through or still face unrelated separate lawsuits for allegations of brutality and racial discrimination.

The U.S. attorney's office says they will review the Chamberlain case for violations of criminal civil rights laws.

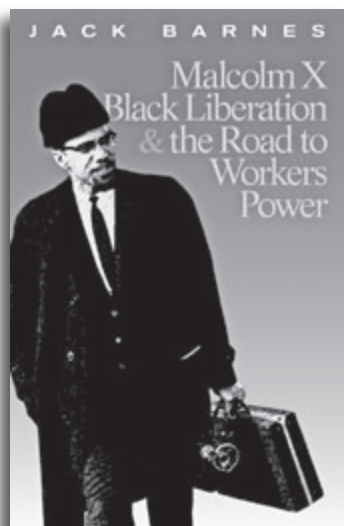


Leroy Gadsden (center), president of the Jamaica, Queens, chapter of NAACP, speaks out against cop killing of Kenneth Chamberlain Sr. at May 12 news conference in White Plains, N.Y. To his right is Kenneth Chamberlain Jr.

## Special offer

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

by Jack Barnes

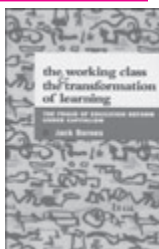


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—Jack Barnes

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# UK exhibit ‘captures art and frame-up’ of Cuban 5

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN  
AND CAROLINE BELLAMY

LONDON—An art exhibition shown here and in Glasgow, Scotland, has drawn attention and won new support for five Cuban revolutionaries framed up and imprisoned by the U.S. government—Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, René González, Gerardo Hernández and Ramón Labañino.

Entitled *Beyond the Frame*, the exhibition features works by Cuban artists, including Guerrero and Hernández, as well as from other mostly UK-based artists who donated artwork.

Guerrero paints and draws using a wide variety of techniques, which he learned in prison. Hernández creates mostly political cartoons, an art he practiced before his incarceration.

The exhibition was organized by the Cuba Solidarity Campaign to publicize the international fight for their freedom. “*Beyond the Frame* aims to capture both the character of the art and the fact that the five were framed up,” Dodie Weppler, the main organizer of the effort, told the *Militant*.

Hundreds crammed into Gallery 27 in London’s West End during the opening week, April 23-28. It then traveled to the Lighthouse in Glasgow May 7-13.

Antonio Guerrero’s mother, Mirta Rodríguez, and sister, Maruchi Guerrero, spoke at the opening and at special viewings. Among the participants were Esther Armenteros, Cuban ambassador to the United Kingdom, and prominent Cuban artists Lesbia Vent Dumois and “Choco” (Eduardo Roca Salazar), whose work was also on display as part of the exhibit. Work donated by 26 Cuban and 20 non-Cuban artists has been available for sale, with the proceeds going to the campaign for the release of the five.

Both the daily *Guardian* and the *Glasgow Sunday Herald* featured major articles on *Beyond the Frame* and the Cuban Five, as they are commonly known. “Two of the artists featured in a new exhibition will definitely not be present on the opening night,” wrote *Guardian* journalist Duncan Campbell. “Instead of mingling with fellow artists in London’s West End, they will each be spending the time in a high-security cell in a penitentiary in the US.”

The five were arrested by the FBI in 1998. At the time they were living and working in southern Florida gathering information for the Cuban government on activities of U.S. government-backed Cuban-American counterrevolution-

ary groups with a long history of murderous attacks against Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution. The revolutionaries were convicted in 2001 on various trumped-up “conspiracy” charges in a Miami trial marked by egregious violations of constitutional rights.

The Scottish Parliament on May 9 debated the issue of the Cuban Five. Initiated by Labour Member of Scottish Parliament Elaine Smith, the legislative session also discussed



Visitors view artwork May 4 at gallery in Manchester, England, by two of five Cuban revolutionaries imprisoned in U.S.

## Twitter challenges gov’t order to turn over messages from activist

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Twitter filed a motion in New York criminal court May 7 to quash a subpoena issued Jan. 26 by the Manhattan district attorney’s office requiring the company to hand over messages posted to Twitter’s website by Occupy Wall Street protester Malcolm Harris.

In addition to gaining access to Harris’ Twitter account messages, New York prosecutors want his “user information, including email address.”

Harris was among 700 arrested on the Brooklyn Bridge in an Occupy Wall Street march last October. He was charged with disorderly conduct.

In February, Harris filed his own motion against the subpoena. Judge Matthew Sciarrino Jr. ruled April 20 that Harris didn’t have the legal standing to make the motion because Twitter owns the rights to his “tweets.”

Twitter’s 10-page memorandum against the judge’s order writes that its

“terms of service expressly state: ‘You retain your rights to any content you submit, post or display on or through the services.’”

In January 2011, the U.S. Justice Department ordered the tweets of Icelandic MP Birgitta Jonsdottir be released as part of an investigation into Wikileaks. In November a judge ruled against Twitter, forcing the company to turn over the information. Jonsdottir only heard of the subpoena request after Twitter challenged the court order.

In a related case of privacy rights of Twitter users, Austin Carroll, a senior at Garrett High School in Indiana, was expelled in March for posting messages with profanity on his personal account. When a student logs in on Twitter, the school system tracks all tweets, regardless of where they were made, the school principal said to Indiana’s News Center March 23.



Political cartoons by Gerardo Hernández, like one above, were shown as part of “*Beyond the Frame*” exhibition in United Kingdom in April and May. Camera at left says “Foreign press,” one on the right, “National press.” Underneath Hernández wrote, “Neither very-very, nor too much ...” [Don’t exaggerate either way.] Wishing many successes to our journalists in their 8th Congress and for the necessary efforts they will have to carry out so that Cubans can count on a press that becomes more revolutionary in the battle to perfect our socialism. With a strong embrace from the five! Victorville Prison, California. July 2008.”

opposition to the U.S. embargo, reported Cuba Solidarity Campaign News. Smith told parliament that the Cuban Five had suffered a “miscarriage of justice” and were being used by Washington as “pawns in a political game.” The debate received nationwide media attention with BBC broadcasting the entire event on its website.

Smaller displays of work by Guerrero and Hernández and prints from other Cuban artists and associated public meetings were organized in York and in Manchester.

In Manchester, laminated printed photographs of each of the five placed behind wooden “prison bars” looked out onto a city center street for the May 4 display, which drew a steady stream of visitors. A meeting to hear Antonio Guerrero’s son, Tony, and Rosa Aurora Freijanes, the wife of Fernando González, drew more than 70 people.

“Antonio and Gerardo have a talent to share and they are using it to communicate with the people of the world and to

resist,” Tony Guerrero told participants. “If we have to go all over the world to free them, that is what we will do.”

“Angola is what made Fernando more revolutionary and more radical. It was his Moncada and his Playa Girón,”\* said Freijanes. “He learned what colonialism and imperialism really were. A reality we never want for Cuba.”

Three of the five revolutionaries—Fernando González, René González and Gerardo Hernández—were among some 375,000 Cuban volunteers who served in Angola from 1975 to 1991. The volunteer combatants were decisive in helping Angolan forces repel repeated invasions by the then white supremacist regime of South Africa.

“I’d like to put on this exhibition at my university,” creative writing student Kerry Slater told the meeting. “When I tell friends about the five, they want to know more.”

Meetings associated with *Beyond the Frame* were also hosted at London and Essex universities.

## Must reading!



**Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution**  
by Vilma Espín,  
Asela de los Santos,  
Yolanda Ferrer - \$15  
(normally \$20)

**The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free**  
*Articles from the Militant* - \$5



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\* On July 26, 1953, some 160 revolutionaries under command of Fidel Castro launched insurrectionary attack on Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba and simultaneous attack on garrison in Bayamó, opening armed struggle against Batista dictatorship. Five died in combat at Moncada. After attack’s failure, Batista’s forces massacred 56 captured revolutionaries. Fidel Castro and others were later captured and he and 31 others were sentenced to up to 15 years in prison. Broad national amnesty campaign won their release May 15, 1955.

On April 17, 1961, 1,500 U.S.-based Cuban mercenaries—organized, financed and deployed by Washington—invaded Cuba at Bay of Pigs on southern coast. In less than 72 hours, they were defeated by Cuba’s revolutionary militias, armed forces and police. On April 19 remaining invaders were captured at Playa Girón (Girón Beach), the name used in Cuba for invasion and battle.



James P. Cannon on getting ‘Militant’ into workers’ hands

Below are excerpts from Letters From Prison by James P. Cannon, one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for May. A founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon was jailed at the Sandstone, Minn., federal prison from 1944 to 1945 along with 17 other leaders of the party and of Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO for opposing Washington’s imperialist aims in World War II.

In his prison journal, Cannon addresses key questions of building a communist party in response to growing interest among working people. In the selection below he discusses proposals on how to increase the readership of the Militant as the party prepared for an ambitious subscription effort. Copyright © 1968 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY JAMES P. CANNON

Sandstone, March 16, 1944

The news about The Militant is just right. Now is the time to start the sub campaign. ... I offer the following concrete proposals:

- 1) A special rate of twenty-five cents for six months.
- 2) The goal should be 3,000 (yes, three thousand) new subs.
- 3) There should be a definite time limit for the reduced rate campaign—sixty



First issue of Militant following U.S. incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II.

or ninety days, no more. (Otherwise you will endanger the financial structure of the paper by getting people out of the habit of paying the regular rate.)

- 4) It should be an all-out, high-pressure party campaign. (This is timely, and the morale in the ranks can sustain it.)
- 5) The financial transactions and technical details of the campaign should be handled through the regular business manager’s routine, but the party must be mobilized and driven into action from the National Office and all party attention and activity centered on the attainment of the quota goal.
- 6) Quotas should be assigned to the branches, taking as a minimum basis and obligation four subs from each member.
- 7) The subs should be printed on prepaid postal cards so as to eliminate all unnecessary bookkeeping and addressing of envelopes. (This method was one of the secrets of the great success of the old Appeal to Reason.)<sup>1</sup>
- 8) The campaign should be strongly publicized in the paper, and not announced until every technical detail is

- 1. Kansas-based socialist newsweekly (1895-1922). Its press run averaged 500,000 to 750,000 copies around 1910.

worked out and ready.

- 9) Don’t fail to use a thermometer to illustrate the progress of the campaign in the paper, and this time make it a good one. ...

Sandstone, March 27, 1944

Three thousand papers going every week for six months to the same people, who have not been getting the paper before, should be more effective than the same number of papers being distributed, more or less at random, as with the mass distributions. ...

Sandstone, June 7, 1944

Here is a suggestion for the sub campaign which is liked here: Write a special circular to the new readers gained in the campaign enclosing four prepaid sub cards in each letter and asking them, if they like the paper, to sell them to four friends and remit the dollar. This would involve the printing of 20,000 new cards, but in my opinion it would be worth the investment. Perhaps you can leave off the postage stamp as that would cost \$200, and instead enclose an envelope for mailing the cards.

It may seem strange to propose to trust strangers with prepaid sub cards—they might sell them and keep the money—but my experience in similar ventures

has shown that the risk is very small and worth taking. Even in the worst case, if some cards are sold and not paid for, you will have some new readers to show for it and still be the gainer. It is really worthwhile to try to involve the new trial subscribers in the campaign and it will be a very great gain, and well worth the expense, if some of them respond. We must keep trying, by new and extraordinary measures, to expand and push out the boundaries of our active supporters.

Include in the letter greeting the new subscribers some questions: 1) How do they like the paper; 2) If they like it what features do they like best; 3) What are their criticisms and suggestions. I believe you will get some interesting replies which can be printed in the “[Militant] Army” column. ... We don’t know what the new people are thinking and should make every effort to find out. ...

Sandstone, December 25, 1944

The principle that readers must pay for the paper is a sound one; people are inclined to put a higher value on things they pay for, even if it is a very small amount, than on throwaway sheets which they get for nothing. I believe all experienced organizers recognize that throwaway leaflets are the most expensive and least productive of all propaganda methods. That, however, does not prevent some people, who have not yet formed the habit of thinking and weighing experience, from periodically making excited proposals for free leaflet distribution as a panacea. But, nevertheless, experience has also shown that it is the principle of paying, not the amount paid, that is most important. The two should not be confused and lumped together. ...

Sandstone, January 1, 1945

An agitational paper which does not lead him from the first reader to the second, and then still higher, in time becomes monotonous. He doesn’t feel the need of mere “agitation” so strongly on matters on which he is already convinced; and may even get tired of it and fall back into passivity and indifference unless he is led, step by step, into the deeper questions of Marxism with the ever new and ever changing variety of interests aroused by their presentation and discussion. ...

May BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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by James P. Cannon

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by Jack Barnes

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# Workers need conscious leadership

The working class on a world scale is confronted with a relentless assault by the propertied rulers who are driven by the crisis of their profit system to go after our wages and ramp up “productivity.”

The bosses’ assaults have already been met with some resistance by workers looking to defend not only their own wages and working conditions but also those of future generations, drawing and extending solidarity to others facing similar attacks.

This historic crisis, still in its initial stages, is not one of banking and finance, but is rooted in a slowdown of production and trade. Its features are endemic to the capitalist system and cannot be “fixed” by reforms, regulations or government policies. Going after the working class is ultimately the only option the owners of capital have within the framework of maintaining their property, prerogatives and political power.

Under these conditions the normal tendencies inherent in the capitalist system assert themselves in a way not seen for many decades. This includes the expansion of layers of long-term unemployed, which the rulers use as a bludgeon to drive down the price of la-

bor power and ultimately the more permanent and accepted living standards of working people—to drive back what we’ve conquered in struggle over decades.

Workers’ resistance will go up and down, but in the long run will grow to meet the propertied rulers’ ever deeper assaults. These battles raise broader questions—how the attacks are a necessary product of the lawful workings of the capitalist system itself, how fighting them will require an expanding alliance of workers, across industries and borders, and ultimately pose the question of which class should rule. The better we understand what is unfolding, the more effective we can choose our battles and conduct them as effectively as possible, coming out stronger in the process.

At some point revolutionary struggles become inevitable. But the victory of the working class will depend on leadership and organization. As we fight, an essential question becomes the construction of a politically conscious vanguard and a revolutionary workers party that can lead working people and our allies in the contest for political power on a world scale.

## Profit system drives joblessness, boss attacks

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labor force—what government statisticians term the labor force participation rate—has been declining for the past decade, particularly in the last several years. It dropped 0.2 percent from March to 63.6 percent, the lowest level since 1981.

“If the same percentage of adults were in the workforce today as when Barack Obama took office,” stated the *Washington Post*, “the unemployment rate would be 11.1 percent.” If the percentage was where it was when George W. Bush took office in 2001, it would be 13.1 percent.

The participation rate rose steadily for about four decades starting in the mid-1960s, during which time increasing numbers of women joined the workforce every year. The rate for women reached a high of about 60 percent in 2008, but has since declined.

The number of male workers counted in the labor force fell in April to 70 percent, the lowest since the government began keeping these figures in 1948.

A raft of economic commentators have pointed to the retirement of the post-World War II “baby boomer” generation as a major factor. According to the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, a quarter of the decline since 2007 is attributable to retirement. But in fact older workers are going back to work at a striking rate, postponing a retirement they can’t afford. Employment of workers over 55 increased by nearly 3 million in the last three years, 1.1 million more than the net number of jobs created.

Long-term unemployment has also reached record highs; the average duration is currently 39.1 weeks.

A growing pool of “discouraged” workers, persistently high unemployment, long-term joblessness—all this points to an expansion of what Karl Marx termed the industrial reserve army of labor. This tendency inherent in the workings of capitalism is coming to the fore as the bosses’ profit-driven system has entered the initial stages of a profound worldwide crisis.

### Fewer workers produce more

In manufacturing, where 16,000 jobs were added in April, the bosses have shored up their profit margins through wage cuts, speedup and other concessions wrested from workers. Bosses in the U.S. have made substantially more progress along these lines than their rivals in much of Europe and elsewhere, where industrial production and employment is markedly declining. In addition, some U.S. government subsidies, designed to give an added edge in the cutthroat international competition for markets, have also provided a marginal, temporary boost to this sector.

At Revere Copper Products in Rome, N.Y., for example, where the state government has supplied electric power at cost, a concession contract endorsed by the United Auto Workers increased workers’ health care costs, eliminated paid lunch breaks and has emboldened the company to crank up the pace of work—safety and health be damned. “The time required to turn a 22,000-pound cake of copper into finished sheets of

various thicknesses has been reduced to three days from three weeks,” reported the *New York Times*.

What capitalists term “productivity,” the amount of work extracted from living labor, has been rising dramatically since 2009. The U.S. economy today “is producing more goods and services than it did when the recession officially began in December 2007, but with about five million fewer workers,” the *Times* noted.

Much of the press commenting on the U.S. economy lamented about a blip decline in productivity registered in the first-quarter this year of 0.5 percent, an indication that the pace and scope of the bosses’ drive to squeeze more out of each worker is such that a temporary pause is necessary before they press another offensive on this front.

Real wages are declining. Over the past 12 months, average weekly earnings are up 2.1 percent, reported the *Wall Street Journal*. But the purposely understated official inflation rate has risen by 3 percent, which doesn’t even account for the rising cost of food and gas. What the propertied rulers aim to do over time is impose a permanent lowering of expectations and socially accepted living standards of working people, driving down what Marx termed the “historical and moral element” of the value of labor power.

### Rulers react, debate crisis

Meanwhile, the ruling class and its press debate among themselves the policy course of their government in relation to taxes, budgets, financial regulations and monetary adjustments.

For example, the *New York Times*, one of the main liberal papers, is pressing Obama’s plan of more government spending and what is essentially money printing to ostensibly spur “growth” and create jobs. “Without further government help—especially more aggressive spending to boost demand—the economy simply does not have the momentum to heal itself any time soon,” it says in an editorial May 4. Above all, this approach temporarily buoys certain profits and further inflates stock market prices and other financial bubbles to increasingly unsustainable levels.

The *Wall Street Journal* is among those polemizing against this course. “The Federal Reserve has maintained a super-easy monetary policy in the name of reducing the jobless rate and to reflate the housing market,” the *Journal* stated, “but this has contributed to higher food and energy prices and thus reduced real income gains. This too is a disincentive to work.”

But the debate is over how the profits capitalists make from the labor of workers is circulated and divided up, not how it’s produced. Some of their measures are designed to buy some time, to postpone some of the consequences of the crisis, as they organize to crank up the rate of exploitation of the working class.

The inevitable result of these assaults over time is a rise of the class struggle, the initial stirrings of which can already be seen.

## Crisis in Europe

**Continued from front page**

alition of leftist groups, has pledged to pull Greece out of the EU-imposed austerity, place banks under state control, call a moratorium on paying the country’s debt, and hire thousands of new public sector workers.

Since the election Syriza has refused to join a “unity” government, and its public support has grown, including from many who had voted for the Communist Party and for Golden Dawn. A new poll for Alpha TV predicts that Syriza would come in first in the new election projected for June 17, polling 23 percent of the vote and winning 120 of the 300 seats in parliament.

While losing some support to Syriza, the Golden Dawn continues to poll nearly 6 percent. “We will not quit until we free Greece from the bankers’ occupation,” party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos told the *American Free Press*. “Greece belongs to the Greek people, not to the globalists.”

The group has also won support for anti-immigrant scapegoating and for projecting a “get things done” image with bands of young toughs that mobilize to “fight crime.”

There is no Marxist communist party in Greece—or anywhere else in Europe—that projects and organizes along a working class road to political power.

On May 11 German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle stated that Greece must proceed with the cuts agreed upon by the previous government, a sweeping 5 percent of the country’s gross domestic product, or face the prospect of not getting any more bailout money.

According to the *New York Times*, “Greece has about 2 billion euros [\$2.5 billion] in cash left, which should allow the government to function until late July or August. Without the next bailout tranche of about 31 billion euros [\$39.4 billion], the country would quickly default and eventually be forced out of the currency union.”

“Greek depositors withdrew \$898 million from the country’s banks on Monday,” the *Wall Street Journal* reported May 15, “fueling fears of a bank run amid the growing political disarray.”

### Spreading depression conditions

“Industrial production in the 17 countries that use the euro fell unexpectedly in March, leaving little doubt the region contracted for a second straight quarter in the first three months of the year and returned to recession,” the *Journal* reported May 14 from figures released by Eurostat, a European Union agency.

The contraction hit France and Spain among other countries, “highlighting that weakness has spread across the larger economies,” added the *Journal*.

Currently, Spain is the country most immediately hit by European, U.S. and other capitalists’ concerns over a disorderly Greek exit from the eurozone.

Last week, in an effort to reassure Spain’s lenders, the conservative government of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy announced the partial nationalization of Bankia, the country’s fourth largest lender, hit by a real estate bubble that burst four years ago. Two days later it forced Spanish banks to take on an extra \$38.1 billion of capital as a cushion against loans going bad.

Tens of thousands demonstrated May 12 across Spain against the austerity policies of Rajoy’s government. Unemployment stands at almost 25 percent, the highest among the eurozone countries, and at 50 percent for those under the age of 25.

These figures would be worse without hundreds of thousands of Latin American workers lured to Spain during the last decade by the then booming construction industry now going back home, and without many Spanish-born youth heading north in search of jobs in stronger economies like Germany.

The growing European crisis is hitting France as well, following the May 6 election of a new Socialist government headed by François Hollande.

Many large French companies, like the automaker PSA Peugeot-Citroën and the airline Air France-KLM, are reportedly preparing to announce large layoffs in the coming weeks and months.

On May 12 Crédit Agricole, France’s third-largest bank by market value, announced it had lost almost \$1.3 billion through its Greek unit Emporiki. French banks are among the most exposed to the Greek crisis. Last year France’s main banks lost close to \$16.5 billion through massive lending in Greece.