

Response from workers keeps subscription drive on time

BY LOUIS MARTIN

At the end of the third week of a seven-week international campaign to win 2,800 new *Militant* subscribers and sell hundreds of books on revolutionary working-class politics, the drive stands at 1,261 — 2 percent above target.

Workers today face ongoing attacks from the bosses and their government. Under these conditions, many are increasingly interested in getting a paper that champions battles of workers around the world and promotes the need to build a revolutionary movement to fight for workers power.

Socialist Workers Party candidates in Seattle have been circulating the paper as part of their campaign.

“I can name five people among my family and friends affected by police brutality,” Queenie Bradfor told Mary Martin, SWP candidate for mayor, and John Naubert, running for

Continued on page 3

Spring ‘Militant’ subscription campaign May 4 - June 25 (week 3)

| Country | quota | sold | % | 2,800 < |
|---------|-------|------|---|--|
|---------|-------|------|---|--|

Obama says end ‘war on terror,’ backs secrecy, drones, press gags

BY JOHN STUDER

“This war, like all wars, must end,” President Barack Obama said of the so-called “war on terror” in a May 23 speech at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C. “That’s what history advises. That’s what our democracy demands.”

He said he will seek to end the Authorization to Use Military Force adopted by Congress after 9/11 and “determine how we can continue to fight terrorism without keeping America on a perpetual wartime footing.”

To many hearing the speech, the remarkable thing was how jarringly at odds it was with recent events — from the bombings of the Boston Marathon and hacking murder of a British soldier in London by al-Qaeda-inspired terrorists, to the entry of Hezbollah into the civil war raging in Syria on the side of the Assad regime.

Republican Sen. John McCain, who lost to Obama in the 2008 election, said the speech showed a “degree of unreality that to me is really incredible.”

To replace the “boundless ‘global war on terror,’” Obama called for a mix of “targeted action against terrorism, effective partnerships, diplomatic engagement and assistance” in Washington’s relations with “the

Continued on page 9

Bosses’ disregard for safety kills 28 miners in Indonesia

Hundreds in Papua province block roads in protest



Reuters

Workers from Freeport-McMoRan Grasberg copper and gold mine in Papua, Indonesia, block road leading to mine May 15 after bosses’ disregard for safety led to tunnel collapse killing 28.

BY LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY — Twenty-eight miners were killed by bosses’ disregard for safety following the collapse of a tunnel May 14 at the giant U.S.-based Freeport-McMoRan Grasberg copper and gold mine in Papua, the easternmost province of Indonesia. Ten miners survived.

Hundreds of miners blocked the road leading to the mine after the collapse, demanding safer working conditions. Freeport workers from seven Papuan tribes set up a tent outside the tunnel.

“We do not accept the owner and government’s speculation that the incident was a ‘natural disaster,’” union spokesperson Virgo Solossa said in a May 27

interview. “We think the collapse resulted from poor safety standards.”

The tunnel was part of the Big Gossan underground facility, where the 38 miners were training. The rescue operation being carried out by local police and the Indonesian military has been slow, hampered in part by the tight space. PT Freeport Indonesia, the local subsidiary that operates the mine, has suspended some operations.

“The mine owner and government

Continued on page 5

Decades of Cuban rightists’ attacks hit revolution’s backers in US, Puerto Rico

Fight continues to unearth truth about murder of Carlos Muñiz

BY SETH GALINSKY

The 1979 assassination in San Juan, Puerto Rico, of Carlos Muñiz Varela is one of many killings and other acts of terror carried out by armed counter-revolutionary Cuban exile groups over some five decades against Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the U.S., Puerto Rico and elsewhere. And like most such attacks, no one has ever been charged. But the fight by supporters and family of Muñiz to get out the truth about the U.S. government’s knowledge and complicity in the killing, and to bring known suspects to trial, is still very much alive.

Recently released and heavily redacted FBI documents provide more evidence that the U.S. government remains determined to conceal what it knows about the killing of Muñiz, a supporter of the Cuban Revolution and independence for Puerto Rico. Ricardo Alarcón, member of the Political Bureau of the

Communist Party of Cuba, drew attention to the ongoing fight at a youth conference in Havana in solidarity with the Cuban Five at the end of April, the 34th anniversary of Muñiz’s murder.

The Cuban Five are revolutionaries framed up and jailed in 1998 by Washington for gathering information on counterrevolutionary Cuban exile groups based in Florida — including some that belonged to the Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations, the umbrella group widely believed responsible for the assassination of Muñiz.

Since the 1960s Cuban exile paramilitary organizations have carried out scores of bombings, assassinations and other on U.S. soil — from Miami to Los Angeles to New York. And they have been able to function with virtual impunity and tacit backing of the U.S. government and its cop agencies.

The most recent FBI documents re-

Continued on page 7

UK rulers seize on Islamist jihadist killing to target rights of workers

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON — Capitalist politicians have seized on the widespread revulsion among working people and others to the May 22 Islamist jihadist murder here to push for increased government spying and attacks on free speech. Ultrarightist forces have

Continued on page 9

Also Inside:

Titles on working-class politics spark interest at Iran book fair 2

How Militant Fighting Fund got its name 4

W. Virginia: Miners protest Patriot Coal union busting 5

Assata Shakur labeled ‘terrorist,’ part of campaign against Cuba 6

The Militant June 10, 2013

Subscription campaign

Continued from front page

port commissioner in Central Seattle, May 26. She got a subscription after looking at the front page article in the June 3 issue on a protest in New York against the police killing of Ramarley Graham last year.

“My cousin was shot in the back — 11 shots — by police in San Diego,” Bradfor, a temp worker, added. “His body was held for two weeks before they reported it to us. I’ve spoken at a few protest activities. I protested when Trayvon Martin was executed. You cannot accept this.”

Two teams of *Militant* supporters from Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., fanned out in the coalfields of West Virginia May 23-26, selling at the portal of Patriot Coal Corp.’s Hobet Mine No. 45 in Madison, joining a May 23 United Mine Workers of America-organized vigil in Charleston and going door to door in surrounding mining towns. The vigil was part of ongoing protests against Patriot’s attempt to use its bankruptcy filing to tear up union contracts and gut retirees’ pensions and health benefits.

Twenty-four subscriptions and 36 single copies were sold over the four-day effort.

“Don’t underestimate people here,” retired oil worker Elvin Gore told *Militant* supporters when they knocked on his door in Madison. “I worked for many years in Illinois and I know how they call us hillbillies. But I always figured any real fight will begin here.

“I’m against the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. I changed at Heartbreak Ridge where I was during the Korean War,” Gore said as he got a subscription. “Some guys I know didn’t come back, others were shot up. For what? What’s going on is too deep. It will

take a revolution.”

During the May 25-26 weekend, *Militant* supporters from Montreal joined forces with two readers from Toronto and attended a Saturday solidarity rally and barbecue with close to 1,000 locked-out Steelworkers in Nanticoke, Ontario. After the barbecue, they took the paper door to door in nearby Port Dover.

“If you’d asked me before, I’d have said no, this is a small town. People will say, ‘What are you doing here?’ But people listened. One retired man bought a subscription and another woman bought a copy,” Hugo Esteban said about the response to the paper. A metal polish worker from Toronto, he has read the *Militant* and revolutionary books by Pathfinder Press for years.

Altogether that team of *Militant* supporters sold five subscriptions and three books on special.

“I like reading stories about working people,” said Cecelia Laborde, a domestic worker in Montreal, when asked why she renewed her *Militant* subscription for the second time. She also purchased



Militant/Janet Post

Militant supporter Omari Musa sells subscription to Donna Moore in Racine, W.Va., May 24.

The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free, one of nine books offered at reduced prices with a subscription. (See ad below.)

“We have sold 69 books during the campaign — 45 of *The Cuban Five*,” wrote *Militant* supporter Bev Bernardo

from Montreal. “Without a doubt, having the book in French has been a tremendous asset.”

You can help circulate the *Militant*. Show it to friends, relatives and coworkers. Call distributors listed on page 8 or contact us at themilitant@mac.com or (212) 244-4899.

Hundreds to attend active workers conference in July

BY LOUIS MARTIN

“I have been participating in weekly classes on *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* along with members of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles. Studying together makes a big difference,” said Kevin Cole, a postal worker and member of the American Postal Workers Union in Anaheim, Calif., explaining why he was looking forward to an active workers conference organized by the SWP July 19-20 in Oberlin, Ohio.

The book was written by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, who

will be giving the main political presentation at the conference.

“The reports and discussions at the conference will deepen our understanding of what the working class faces,” Cole said, “and how we can organize to defend ourselves and resist the bosses’ attacks.”

Cole has been selling the *Militant* door to door and at workers protests for almost a year. He traveled to St. Louis April 29 to march with United Mine Workers of America members in their fight against Patriot Coal’s union-busting effort. “The fact that an industrial

union is involved in a real struggle is significant for all workers,” he said.

The conference will draw together workers and others involved in labor battles or solidarity with them, actions to free the Cuban Five, protests against police brutality and other political activity. The presentations and classes will focus on lessons of previous working-class struggles for political power and the involvement of millions of working people as they organize to maintain that power through the rapid and decisive transformation of social relations inherited from capitalism — transforming themselves in the process.

Along with workers who have recently started reading the *Militant*, participants will include members of the SWP and Communist Leagues from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom and supporters of the communist movement who organize the production of books by Pathfinder Press and play a big role in financing the work of the Socialist Workers Party.

The conference will discuss increasing the readership of the *Militant*, as well as the leverage of books distributed by Pathfinder Press in nearly a dozen languages in expanding the reach of revolutionary working-class politics — from the U.S. to Greece, from Burkina Faso to Afghanistan, from Indonesia to China.

To learn more, call *Militant* distributors in your area (see page 8) or contact us at (212) 244-4899 or themilitant@mac.com.

Special offers with ‘Militant’ subscription

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

by Jack Barnes

\$10 with subscription (regular \$24)

The Cuban Five

Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free

from pages of the ‘Militant’

\$3 with subscription (regular \$5)

The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism

by Jack Barnes

\$2 with subscription (regular \$3)

We Are Heirs of the World’s Revolutions

by Thomas Sankara

Speeches from the Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87

\$5 with subscription (regular \$10)

Thomas Sankara Speaks

The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-1987

\$10 with subscription (regular \$24)

See distributors
on page 8

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

by Jack Barnes

\$10 with subscription (regular \$20)

Cuba and Angola

Fighting for Africa’s Freedom and Our Own

by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro; Cuban generals and combatants; Gabriel García Márquez

\$6 with subscription (regular \$12)

Women in Cuba

The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution

by Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, Yolanda Ferrer

\$10 with subscription (regular \$20)

Women and Revolution

The Living Example of the Cuban Revolution

by Asela de los Santos, Mary-Alice Waters and others

\$3 with subscription (regular \$7)

Taking the stage for the Cuban Five

Musicians, poets, writers and a dancer share their work to support fight to free the Five.

Speakers: Cuban Ambassador Maria del Carmen Herrera and others

Sat. June 15 7 p.m.

**Maritime Club,
68 Anzac Ave.,
Auckland, New Zealand**

Cuban supper \$8 and cash bar

For more info: Cuba Friendship Society
Tel: (09) 303-1755

Militant Fighting Fund grew out of involvement in Utah miners’ battle

BY LEA SHERMAN

The Militant Fighting Fund takes its name from a hard-fought battle to turn back a punitive assault by the bosses and their courts against this socialist news-weekly because of our accurate coverage of workers struggles and our editorial support for them.

The defense effort was part of a fight around the three-year union-organizing effort by coal miners at the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, which began in 2003. At stake was how to strengthen the United Mine Workers of America and use union power to fight for better wages, for dignity, and to ensure no miner is killed, maimed, or loses their lungs due to the coal bosses’ profit drive.

These are the same kinds of issues being fought out today by UMWA-organized miners who work for Patriot Coal Corp. in West Virginia, Kentucky and elsewhere; by miners employed at the Deer Creek Mine in Utah not far from where the Co-Op fight took place; and that confront hundreds of millions of workers, organized and unorganized, around the world.

Other central questions for the working class were also posed by the struggle that gave birth to the first Militant Fighting Fund:

How can working people unite against the superexploitation of immigrant labor used by the bosses to drive down wages and conditions of all?

How can workers defend political rights, including freedom of speech and the press, that we need to organize and act in our class interests?

How can we effectively fight back when bosses use the courts to tie up our struggles in red tape?

Ten years ago 75 coal miners began a fight to win UMWA representation at Co-Op, known as the lowest-paying mine in a region where union mines were few and far between. Most of the workers were originally from the state of Sinaloa in Mexico.

In September 2003, the company fired 74 miners for halting work to protest suspension of a fellow worker, Bill Estrada, a leader of the union drive. When the bosses locked the workers out, they struck and set up a round-the-clock picket line. For the next 10 months they reached out for solidarity from UMWA locals and other unions in Utah, the Pacific Northwest, San Francisco Bay Area and around the country.

At the UMWA convention Sept. 29-30, 2003, more than 500 delegates gave seven Co-Op miners a standing ovation. Strike leader Jesus Salazar Jr. told delegates that the Utah miners were paid

between \$5.25 and \$7 an hour, with “no health insurance and no benefits in an unsafe, underground mine.” As new UMWA members, Salazar said, the miners were asking other unionists “to help us defend our dignity and our families.” UMWA President Cecil Roberts urged delegates to back their fight.

Growing support in the unions and beyond put pressure on the National Labor Relations Board to reinstate the miners and to set a representation election. On July 6, 2004, the victorious Co-Op miners, joined by more than 100 supporters, marched to the mine to reclaim their jobs.

“We are letting the mine owners know we are coming back to work stronger than we were last September,” said Juan Salazar. “They can’t interfere with our efforts to join the United Mine Workers of America, to put union stickers on our hardhats, to join together.”

In a counterattack, in September 2004, C.W. Mining and its company “union” filed a retaliatory lawsuit. The more than 100 defendants included 16 miners, the UMWA and its officers, the Salt Lake City Catholic diocese, the Socialist Workers Party, the *Militant*, and Utah’s two main dailies, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Morning News*. The coal bosses charged that miners who spoke out about the fight, as well as those who backed them or reported what they said, were “defaming” the company.

‘Militant’ special target

As the only paper that reported the facts of the miners’ struggle week after week, the *Militant* was a special target. In July 2005 C.W. Mining dropped many initial defendants and focused its fire against the Co-Op miners, the UMWA and the *Militant*.

The Militant Fighting Fund was launched soon after the lawsuit was filed to raise funds for the defense and explain the stakes for workers in beating back this effort to shut up unionists and newspapers that accurately report and champion workers struggles.

Just days before the union representation vote, set for December 2004, the company fired the big majority of miners. The coal bosses said they had “discovered” that the workers — many of them employed at Co-Op for years — lacked proper papers proving they were eligible to work.

The fired miners got other jobs and continued to fight these attacks and organize union activities. In December 2005 the NLRB ruled that C.W. Mining had fired the miners illegally. Later in 2006 the agency ruled that six Co-Op miners were entitled to back pay and reinstatement, but the rest weren’t because they hadn’t shown proper work documents.

This is one among many examples of how the bosses and their government use the second-class status imposed on immigrants to weaken struggles by fighting workers.

On May 1, 2006, Federal Judge Dee Benson in Salt Lake City dismissed C.W. Mining’s lawsuit against most defendants. That same day



Militant photos by Terri Moss

Co-Op strikers and supporters march to mine in Huntington, Utah, July 6, 2004, to return to work with a union. Inset: from left, are UMWA Local 1332 representative Sandy Jesus, and strikers Bill Estrada, Jesus Salazar and Berthila Leon.



millions of immigrant workers downed their tools and marched in cities and towns across the U.S. demanding a halt to deportations and the criminalization of the foreign-born. Shortly afterwards, the owners of C.W. Mining agreed to a settlement ending the lawsuit against all defendants.

The miners had stood off the bosses on the picket line, in court, and before the NLRB.

The story is recounted much more fully in articles and reports that can be found on the left-hand panel of the *Militant* website (“Record of Militant Fighting Fund”). Check them out.

Toward the opening of the struggle, in a December 2003 introduction to *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, had the following to say about the fighting Sinaloa miners at the Utah mine:

“It is possible that among the striking Minneapolis Teamsters who laid the foundations for the transformation of the labor movement throughout the entire Midwest in the 1930s there was not a single worker who had been born in Mexico. (What a change a few decades have wrought!)

“But across the span of years, nationalities, languages, and lifetime experiences, the story told in *Teamster Rebellion* also belongs to the growing ranks of Spanish-speaking workers in the United States today as they enter into struggle. They can see themselves in those earlier generations of work-

—**MILITANT
LABOR
FORUMS**—

FLORIDA
Miami
Coal Miners Fight Union Busting.
Speaker: Anthony Dutrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 8, 7 p.m. 7100 Biscayne Blvd., suite 306A. Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

MINNESOTA
Minneapolis
From Bangladesh to U.S. Coal Mines: Fight for Safety on the Job Strengthens Working Class. Speaker: Tony Lane, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 416 E. Hennepin Ave., suite 214. Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

CANADA
Montreal
Hear the Communist League Candidates: Joe Young for Mayor of Montreal and Katy LeRougetel for Mayor of Verdun. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 7107 St-Denis, room 204. Tel.: (514) 272-5840.



Militant/Jose Aravena

Members of ILWU drill team demonstrate their support for striking Co-Op miners in Huntington, Utah, Feb. 7, 2004.

| <i>Militant Fighting Fund</i> | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----|
| May 4 - June 25 (week 2) | | | |
| Country | Quota | Paid | % |
| UNITED STATES | | | |
| Lincoln | \$200 | \$75 | 38% |
| New York | \$20,000 | \$6,791 | 34% |
| Boston | \$3,500 | \$1,025 | 29% |
| San Francisco | \$13,500 | \$3,151 | 23% |
| Atlanta | \$9,000 | \$1,686 | 19% |
| Des Moines | \$2,600 | \$367 | 14% |
| Chicago | \$9,500 | \$800 | 8% |
| Los Angeles | \$8,500 | \$420 | 5% |
| Philadelphia | \$4,300 | \$115 | 3% |
| Washington | \$7,800 | \$4 | 0% |
| Houston | \$4,000 | \$0 | 0% |
| Miami | \$3,000 | \$0 | 0% |
| Omaha | \$600 | \$0 | 0% |
| Seattle | \$8,500 | \$0 | 0% |
| Twin Cities | \$5,500 | \$0 | 0% |
| Total U.S. | \$100,500 | \$14,434 | 14% |
| CANADA | \$7,000 | \$1,101 | 16% |
| NEW ZEALAND | \$5,500 | \$3,075 | 56% |
| AUSTRALIA | \$1,500 | \$0 | 0% |
| UNITED KINGDOM | | | |
| London | \$2,000 | \$0 | 0% |
| Manchester | \$600 | \$0 | 0% |
| Total UK | \$2,600 | \$0 | 0% |
| FRANCE | \$350 | \$143 | 41% |
| Total | \$117,100 | \$18,753 | 16% |
| Should be | \$118,000 | \$33,714 | 29% |

ON THE PICKET LINE

UK airport cleaners protest pay cuts

MANCHESTER, England — Airport cleaners set up picket lines at three terminals here May 24, in the second one-day strike action by some 100 UNITE members to protest the elimination of a half hour paid break and the monthly attendance allowance by contractor Mitie.

“We’re striking against a wage cut,” said Karen Whittle, who has worked at the airport for 13 years. “We’re having to work harder since the company cut 11, then 27 jobs.”

The cleaners, whose wages average £6.95 (\$10.50) an hour, have lost up to £90 (\$136) a month, UNITE regional officer Dave Kennedy said in a union press release.

“More workers have joined the union since the dispute started,” said Bernard Williams, a driver at terminal three who has worked at the airport for 21 years.

—Paul Davies and Oliver Jones

Quebec unionists strike ceramics factory to defend seniority

LAVAL, Quebec — Dozens of members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) on strike against international ceramic products manufacturer Mapei rallied May 8 in front of the plant here. May 4 marked the one-year anniversary of the strike by 115 workers to defend seniority and other union gains.

In April workers rejected Mapei’s latest contract offer by 99 percent.

“We’ve offered 20 days flexibility,” local union President Eric Caron said in a phone interview. “But we have to keep seniority. There’s a line we can’t cross.”

“This plant is not efficient,” Mapei Canada Human Resources Director Lysanne Bruneau told the *Militant*. She said only one other plant in their North American operations is unionized.

Strikers have been picketing hardware outlets with Mapei products.

“We help customers with their parcels and talk to them about the conflict and they’re very receptive,” said striker Jacques Ferland.

A recent court injunction stipulates that pickets must stay 100 meters (290 feet) from store entrances.

“We’ll return and make even more noise than before. They’ll hear us anyway,” said Jean-Marc Tetrault, who has worked in the plant for 24 years.

—Katy LeRougetel

Quebec hotel workers fight to retain union

SAINT-HYACINTHE, Quebec — Some 180 workers have been on strike since Oct. 28 at the Hôtel des Seigneurs here to defend their union and demand wage raises.

On the picket line May 20 strikers said they would not return to work until they have assurances the hotel and nearby convention center will remain union if SilverBirch Hotels and Resorts sells off the complex and regardless of what the facilities are used for.

“We’re set to stay here till next winter if necessary. We’re ready to go all the way through,” said Mélanie Prud’homme, who had just trained for chambermaid when the strike began.

The 180 workers at Hôtel des Seigneurs are the last remaining hotel workers on strike. Some 35 Quebec hotels with 5,500 workers organized by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) began contract renewal negotia-

tions with the union in the summer of 2012. To date, 27 hotels have signed union contracts.

Montreal’s Maritime Hotel closed March 31. The 60 employees there had been locked out since the end of August 2012, picketing throughout the winter and into the spring.

“You feel better knowing you stood up for yourself,” ex-Maritime worker Carla Romain told the *Militant* May 21, in reference to their struggle.

—Katy LeRougetel

W. Virginia: Miners protest Patriot Coal union busting

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — Some 150 coal miners, supporters and clergy gathered here May 23 to protest Patriot Coal’s campaign to use its bankruptcy filing to tear up union contracts for 2,000 working miners and cancel pensions and health benefits for thousands of retirees and their spouses. A ruling is set for May 29.

The vigil was organized by the Unit-



Militant/Paul Davies

Airport cleaners, members of UNITE, picket terminal in Manchester, England, May 24.

ed Mine Workers, Religious Leaders for Coalfield Justice and Interfaith Worker Justice. “Many of us left our health buried in the coal mines,” UMW Secretary-Treasurer Daniel Kane told protesters. “We will not stop this fight until we have won. And we need to stand up for all workers across this country and across the world.”

“People need to remember where the

unions came from, workers were dying in these mines,” Charlotte Kinser, the wife of a Patriot Coal miner at Hobet Mine No. 45 in Madison, W.Va., told the *Militant*. “The economy’s bad today, but workers didn’t have anything then back when the unions were first formed, either. It’s not just about our conditions, but what we’re willing to stand up for.”

—Janet Post

Bosses’ profit drive kills 28 miners in Indonesia

Continued from front page

say areas not affected by the collapse can resume,” Solossa said. “We are very angry because we think production will hamper the investigation and we — the workers at the mine and the family of the lost miners — need an explanation.”

The Grasberg mine, which employs 24,000 workers, is the second-largest

copper mine in the world and has the world’s largest reserves of gold. Eleven workers have been killed in landslides at the open-cut mine since 2003.

The Indonesian government has a 9 percent stake in Freeport Indonesia, which expects a major increase in sales this year. Mining accounts for 12 percent of the economy in Indonesia, but

little of the wealth created by workers at the Grasberg mine stays in Papua.

The mine has been a target of protest in this province, where the Papuan people have a long history of struggle for self-determination against oppressive rule by the Indonesian government.

Eleven people were killed in clashes with the police during a three-month strike at the mine in 2011. The strike by 8,000 union workers crippled production and ended in a victory when management agreed to a 37 percent wage increase over two years.

Workers who joined the strike last year still face harassment and discrimination, Solossa told Reuters April 17, explaining that the company and its contractors are trying to weaken the union.

Some 1,130 workers employed by three contracting companies at Freeport ended a three-day strike at the beginning of May this year, after winning an agreement for a pay raise.

Baskaran Appu from Auckland, New Zealand, contributed to this article.



Miners on strike against Grasberg mine in Timika, West Papua, October 2011.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



June 10, 1988

A national rally in support of striking paperworkers has been set for Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, on June 18. United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 has been on strike against International Paper Co. for a year. UPIU members in Jay, Maine; Mobile, Alabama; and De Pere, Wisconsin, are also fighting the paper company’s attempts to squeeze more productivity out of workers.

Only a small percentage of the union members have crossed the picket lines since the strike began. About 450 scabs are working in the plant.

The last company offer, which was defeated by a resounding majority of the workers, provided jobs for only 20 of the workers who stayed out on strike.

In recent months striking paperworkers from Lock Haven and Jay have been traveling around the country telling their story and winning support.



June 10, 1963

A law aimed at screening mail Americans get from abroad has been challenged as unconstitutional in a suit brought before a federal district court in Los Angeles.

The law requires recipients of “Communist propaganda” to apply to the post office in writing before such mail, addressed to them, will be delivered. Otherwise the mail is destroyed. The thought-control measure was recently passed by Congress.

The suit was filed by Charles Amlin, a 65-year-old truckdriver, with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union. Amlin said in the complaint that he was anti-Communist but liked to get his mail without interference.

The suit says the law violates the First Amendment, which guarantees free speech and press, and the Fifth Amendment.



June 11, 1938

The somber plight of the unemployed is again headline news. Chicago, second largest city in the country, has closed its relief bureaus. Drives against the workers’ living standards and very lives are being conducted all over the country.

Capitalism is in a *new period, the period of its dotage, of its decline, of its bankruptcy*. It cannot profitably give more wages and a better life. The unemployed need help now. We must demand of the government: Jobs at trade union wages — or relief — for all the unemployed.

The unemployed can never get relief by keeping quiet. Militant action — nationwide sit-ins, mass picket lines, and vast marches on the center of government — is needed. Actions such as these will show the bosses and their government that the unemployed victims of their system mean business.

FBI labels Assata Shakur ‘terrorist,’ part of US campaign against Cuba

BY SETH GALINSKY

The FBI placed former Black Panther Assata Shakur on its “Most Wanted Terrorists” list May 2 — 40 years after she was jailed for allegedly shooting and killing a New Jersey state trooper and 29 years after she was granted political asylum in Cuba.

Washington’s move is aimed at bolstering its ongoing political smear of the Cuban government as a “state sponsor of terrorism.” This is a central pretext for the U.S. rulers’ ceaseless efforts to undermine and overthrow Cuba’s socialist revolution. They will never forgive the workers and farmers 90 miles to their south for taking power from the capitalists, including propertied U.S. families who owned much of the island’s agricultural, mining, industrial, “tourist” and other businesses and grew wealthy off exploiting Cuban labor.

The “Most Wanted Terrorists” list was created by President George W. Bush after al-Qaeda’s Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. Shakur is the second U.S. citizen to be added.

Shakur, formerly Joanne Chesimard, was active in the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and later in the Black Liberation Army. On May 2, 1973, the car she was traveling in was stopped by cops on the New Jersey Turnpike and a shootout ensued. Assata Shakur was gravely wounded. The FBI claimed Shakur shot and wounded trooper James Harper and killed trooper Werner Foerster. Her comrade Zayd Shakur was shot and killed by Harper.

At the trial Shakur’s lawyers presented physical evidence that she hadn’t fired a weapon and was shot with her hands in the air. The jury, which didn’t include a single African-American, was instructed that Shakur could be found guilty as a principal based, among other things, on her presence at the scene. In March 1977 she was convicted on eight counts, including first- and second-degree murder for the deaths of Foerster and Zayd Shakur and sentenced to life plus 33 years.

In 1979 Shakur escaped and was granted asylum in Cuba in 1984.

In 1982 Cuba had been added to the U.S. State Department’s “State Sponsors of Terrorism” list, which at the time also included Iraq, Libya, South Yemen and Syria.

Cuba on U.S. ‘terrorist state’ list

The list was established in 1979 by the U.S. administration of James Carter. From the outset it has been nothing more than a tool used by Washington as a pretext for hostile acts against governments that clash with U.S. imperialist interests. The rulers have adjusted its composition accordingly over the years. Such governments are subject to economic sanctions and other punitive measures.

Of the original four “state sponsors of terrorism,” only Syria remains. It is the only country that has spent more time on the list than Cuba.

The People’s Republic of South Yemen was removed in 1990 when it unified with the Yemen Arab Republic, a regime more to the U.S. rulers’ liking.

Iraq was removed in 1982 when Washington aided Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Iran aimed at overturning the Iranian Revolution. Iraq was placed back on the list in 1990 when the regime invaded Kuwait, a U.S. ally, and again removed in 2004, after Washington overthrew Hussein.

Libya was removed in 2006 after the Moammar Gadafi government dismantled its nuclear weapons program and began sharing intelligence to aid Washington’s “global war against terrorism,” including against al-Qaeda.

The Reagan administration gave no public reason when it designated Cuba a state sponsor of terrorism in 1982. Various government reports at that time and since point to the Cuban government’s support to the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua — which in 1979 overthrew the U.S.-backed military dictatorship there — and to Cuba’s aid to other groups fighting tyrannies in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The State Department has come up with new pretexts over the years, including two it has consistently cited in its annual “Country reports on terrorism.”

Who are the Cuban Five?

Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González and René González are Cuban revolutionaries who during the 1990s accepted assignments from the Cuban government to gather information on the activities of Cuban-American counterrevolutionary groups operating in southern Florida. These paramilitary outfits, organizing on U.S. soil with virtual impunity, have a long record of carrying out bombings, assassinations and other deadly attacks, both against targets in Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

On Sept. 12, 1998, the five were arrested by the FBI. They were framed up and convicted on a variety of charges, which included acting as unregistered agents of the Cuban government and possession of false identity documents. Without a shred of evidence, three were charged with “conspiracy to gather and transmit national defense information.”

Hernández was also convicted of conspiracy to commit murder based on the pretext that he bore responsibility for the Cuban government’s 1996 shoot-down of two aircraft flown by the counterrevolutionary group Brothers to the Rescue that had invaded Cuban airspace in disregard of Havana’s repeated warnings. He is serving two life terms plus 15 years. His wife, Adriana Pérez, is barred from entering the United States.

All but René González remain in prison. In October 2011 he began serving a three-year “supervised release.” On the pretext of his dual citizenship, his request to return to Cuba had been denied until May 3, when Judge Joan Lenard finally agreed that if González renounced his U.S. citizenship, he could stay in Cuba.

‘Every worker should support the Cuban Five’

The following statement in support of the Cuban Five is by Sydney Coe, a forklift operator at Davis Wire in Kent, Wash., and member of Teamsters Local 117. Coe is holding sign at right during three month strike at Davis Wire in 2012.

It’s great news and about time René González got out of jail after 14 and half years. It was a torture sentence — way too long and for trumped-up charges against him and the rest of the Cuban 5. His wife was deported and they wouldn’t let her back in the country to visit him.

As for the others, like Gerardo Hernández, how do you get two life sentences plus 15 years, meaning about 175 years, when the average life expectancy for men in this country is 75 years?

I myself was in jail for 40 days. They try to make you die a little at a time. They take away your rights. I could really relate to the story of Roddy Rodríguez. It’s like the proverb “Iron sharpens iron. Men sharpen men.” That was great. Roddy’s life was changed by meeting René and by never giving up. They shared their lives and ideas. [See May 27 issue for interview with Rodríguez.]

The fact that René got out of prison means the day is closer when the other four will be free. He broke the cycle. The government will have to let the others out. Every working class person should support the Cuban Five because we are all the Cuban Five. We are all labeled and paying for something we didn’t do.

May 21 was the one-year anniversary of our strike against Davis Wire. It changed all of us to some degree. I feel like a changed agent and because of the experiences of the strike I will continue to fight for justice, including for the Cuban Five.



Militant/John Naubert

One is Havana’s relations with other governments on the list, in particular Iran and North Korea (which was removed amid talks with Washington in 2008).

The second is allowing U.S. fugitives and members of three armed groups designated as terrorist by Washington to live on the island. The groups include the Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA), a Basque independence organization in Spain, as well as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN), organizations that for decades have engaged in armed conflict with the Colombian government. (The truth is that Cuba is currently hosting and assisting talks in Havana between the FARC and Bogotá seeking to end the conflict.)

While the State Department reports never mention Shakur by name, the 2008 report cited U.S. fugitives who were “members of U.S. militant groups such as the Boricua Popular, or Macheteros, and the Black Liberation Army.”

In more recent years, the “Country reports on terrorism” has pointed to the Cuban government’s refusal to extradite U.S. fugitives, while having the temerity to demand Washington release the Cuban Five and stop harboring Cuban exiles guilty of bombings and other murderous attacks on civilians. This includes, the State Department points out, Cuba’s demand that Washington extradite Luis Posada Carriles. Posada Carriles is wanted in Venezuela and Cuba for the bombing of a Cuban airliner over Barbados in 1976 that killed 73 people, many of them teenage members of the Cuban Olympic fencing team.

In 2005 the State Department criticized Cuba for having “taken no action against al-Qaida.” A subsequent report gave a slightly different twist: “The Cuban government and official media publicly condemned acts of terrorism by al-Qaida and affiliates, while at the same time remaining critical of the U.S. approach to combating international terrorism.”

And at several points between 2002 and 2005, Washington even suggested that Cuba’s renowned biotechnology institute — with more than 100 patents, including the world’s first meningitis B vaccine and pioneering cancer drugs — is actually a cover for the production of biological weapons.

This February the *Boston Globe* floated a story that there is “a growing consensus in policy and intelligence circles” that Cuba be removed from the terrorism list. Not only did the State Department rapidly squash such speculation, but three months later the FBI added Shakur to the FBI’s most wanted terrorist list and doubled the reward for her capture to \$2 million.

‘Free the Cuban Five’ R Saturday, June 1

Join protest and other ‘5 Days of Politics’ in Washington, D.C.

Saturday, June 1

6 p.m. **Ecumenical-Cultural Event.** Special Guests: A Cruz, Presbyterian Reformed Church of Cuba; Yeidckol P. León, member of Venezuelan National Assembly. Saint Stephen’s Episcopal Church, 1000 14th St. NW.

Sunday, June 2

1 p.m. **Chilean Music Event.** Casa Rutilio, 102 Park Ave., Takoma Park, MD. 2:30 p.m. **Hip Hop Cultural Event** with Head Roc and N. of Christ, 5301 North Capitol St., NE.

Monday, June 3

11 a.m. **Meeting of Attorneys and Jurists.** Convened by the Cuban Five. Georgetown Legal Center, 600 New Jersey Ave. NW. 6 p.m. **Meeting of Union Members from U.S. and Canada.** Denis Lemelin, national president of Canadian Union of Public Employees, 372, NYC Board of Education Employees. Postal Workers Union, 1100 14th St. NW. 7 p.m. **Opening of Exhibit of 15 New Watercolor Paintings.** Spanish writer Ignacio Ramonet; Jane Franklin, author and National Union of Artists and Writers of Cuba (UNEAC). B. B. King Club, 1100 14th St. NW.

Tuesday, June 4

6 p.m. **Book Presentations about Democracy in Cuba.** *The Last Soldiers of the Cold War*; Stephen Kimber, *What We Did: Neighbours: Democracy in Motion*. Busboys and Poets, 2000 14th St. NW.

Wednesday, June 5

5 p.m. **Closing event:** Actor Danny Glover and ambassador to Cuba, 2443 Massachusetts Ave. NW.

For complete schedule and more information, visit www.cubanfive.org

Murder of Carlos Muñiz

Continued from front page
lated to the Muñiz assassination were released in February and March this year. Along with others previously released since October 2011, they provide evidence that “the FBI might have known about the plans to kill Carlos and did nothing to stop it,” Raúl Alzaga Manresa, a close collaborator of Muñiz and leader of the committee, said in a phone interview from San Juan May 25. “The new documents indicate the FBI has a whole file on the case they have still not released.”

One of the documents, a 1980 FBI memorandum obtained under the Freedom of Information Act at the request of the Committee of Friends and Family of Carlos Muñiz Varela, reveals that the cop agency had “informants and an asset” inside the Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations.

From Cuba to Puerto Rico

Muñiz’s story is an important part of the history of the movement in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.
In 1961 Muñiz’s mother sent 8-year-old Carlos and his sister Miriam to the U.S., believing false rumors spread by the CIA and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church that Cuba’s revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro was going to forcibly separate children from their parents. They joined some 14,000 children enticed to leave Cuba as part of the CIA-orchestrated Operation Peter Pan. She soon reunited with her children and moved to Puerto Rico.

As a university student Carlos joined the fight for independence for Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony, and participated in the labor movement there. In 1974 Muñiz was part of a group of young Cubans in Puerto Rico and the U.S. who questioned their parents’ hostility to the revolution. They founded *Arelto* magazine, which promoted normalizing relations with Cuba.

In December 1977 Muñiz and Alzaga helped organize a group of 55 young

Cubans who grew up outside the island to visit Cuba. The trip led to the creation of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, which organized young Cubans in the U.S. and Puerto Rico to demand Washington normalize relations with Cuba.

The trip opened the door for other Cubans who had left after the revolution to visit the island. In 1978 the Committee of 75, a group that advocated a dialogue with the Cuban government, was formed and held discussions with Havana. Muñiz helped organize another large group that visited Cuba at the end of the year and along with Alzaga set up Viajes Varadero, a travel agency to facilitate the trips.

This infuriated the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. “Dynamite: the only language of dialogue” were typical of headlines in their publications.

On April 28, 1979, Muñiz was ambushed while driving in San Juan and shot several times.

Julio Labatut, a key figure in the rightist Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations with close ties to police officials in Puerto Rico, was asked during a 2001 TV interview if he had ordered the assassination of Muñiz. “Don’t call it an assassination,” Labatut told journalist Luis Francisco Ojeda. “It was an execution and it should have been carried out before he was born.”

* * *

On Dec. 11, 1964, in a sign of things to come, a bazooka was fired at the United Nations Headquarters from across the East River while revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara was speaking to the General Assembly. The shell fell harmlessly 200 yards from shore.

Andrés Gómez, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, told the *Militant* from Miami May 25 that the attacks outside the island really began after the revolutionary government of Cuba decisively defeated U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary bandits in the Escambray mountains of Cuba in 1965.

“Between 1968 and 1969 there were 50 terrorist actions in the U.S., many of them carried out by Cuban Power, headed by Orlando Bosch,” Gómez said. “In the 1970s they carried out 270 attacks of different types in the U.S. and other countries, none of them in Cuba. There were around 90 attacks in Miami alone.”

Among the most well known attacks was the Oct. 6, 1976, bombing of a Cubana airline flight that killed all 73 people on board. That attack was masterminded by Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles. That same year former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier was killed in Washington, D.C., by colleagues of Posada, and Santiago Mari Pesquera, son of Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader Juan Mari Bras, was assassinated in San Juan. On Sept. 11, 1980, Cuban diplomat Felix García Rodríguez was shot and killed when his car was stopped at a traffic light in Queens, N.Y.

The Cuban counterrevolutionaries also targeted socialist political parties, groups that opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam, and other organizations that took positions opposing the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

In October 1968 alone Cuban counterrevolutionaries bombed the Los Angeles offices of the *Free Press* newspaper, the Malcolm X Foundation, the



Courtesy Raúl Alzaga Manresa

Left to right: Raúl Alzaga, Ricardo Fraga, Cuban revolutionary leader Raúl Castro and Carlos Muñiz during Antonio Maceo Brigade’s first visit to Cuba in 1977-78. Alzaga, Fraga and Muñiz were founders of brigade. Second from the right is Vilma Espín, president of Federation of Cuban Women. Muñiz was killed in Puerto Rico by Cuban counterrevolutionaries in 1979.

Long Beach Students for a Democratic Society, the Peace and Freedom Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Cuban rightists target SWP

The Socialist Workers Party was among the frequent targets. SWP candidates called for an end to the U.S. embargo and championed the Cuban Revolution as an example to be emulated by working people in the U.S. and around the world. The party’s headquarters in Los Angeles were attacked at least six times by right-wing Cuban exile groups from 1968 to 1970, as well as its offices in New York City.

A dozen Cuban rightists, carrying submachine guns and other weapons attacked the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in Los Angeles in May 1970, threatening to kill four campaign volunteers and forcing them to lie on the floor. The counterrevolutionaries set fire to the building, but campaign volunteers escaped.

On Feb. 4, 1975, a pipe bomb exploded at the Central-East Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. At the time of the attack there were 25 people in the offices. Immediate evacuation got everyone out safely seconds before the explosion, which sent debris as far as a block away.

The rightists also attacked businesses that maintained commerce with Cuba and even opponents of the revolution who proposed a dialogue or an end to assassinations and bombings.

Luciano Nieves, who had spent time in prison in Cuba for counterrevolutionary activities, was shot and killed Feb. 21, 1975, in Miami after publishing an article in *Réplica* announcing that he was willing to return to Cuba to vote in elections there. Between 1981 and 1984 five bombs were placed in the *Réplica* offices in Miami because of articles by its editor Max Lesnik advocating negotiations with the Cuban government.

Emilio Milián, an anti-communist news commentator at WQBA radio, lost his legs when a bomb exploded in his car April 30, 1976, after he criticized rightist groups for a wave of bombings and assassinations in Miami.

While in a handful of the attacks a few individuals were arrested and served time in prison,

in the overwhelming majority no one was ever detained.

“Orlando Bosch, a terrorist and a murderer not just of Cubans but of people from the United States freely walks the streets of Miami,” Ramón Labañino, one of the Cuban Five, noted at his sentencing in December 2001. Bosch died in 2011, but the same is true of Luis Posada Carriles today.

By the 1990s the number of attacks inside the U.S. had fallen off, including in Miami, where growing numbers of Cuban workers and others opposed the violent attacks and favored improved U.S.-Cuba relations.

On Feb. 24, 1996, Cuban pilots shot down two planes flown by Brothers to the Rescue — one of the organizations the Cuban Five had been monitoring — after the group had ignored repeated warnings to stop its provocative flights into Cuban airspace.

While the attacks dropped off in the 1990s they did not end, including in Cuba. A string of six bombings on the island killed Italian tourist Fabio di Celmo and wounded 11 people in 1997. The most recent attack in the U.S., in April 2012, was arson that destroyed the offices of Airline Brokers in Miami, an agency that arranges travel to Cuba. The agency had recently arranged travel for a delegation from the Miami Archdiocese to be part of the pope’s visit to Cuba.



Entrance to Socialist Workers Party hall in Los Angeles, Oct. 16, 1968, after bombing by United Cuban Power.

ally at the White House ine 1, 1 p.m.

ys for the Cuban 5’ activities , May 30-June 5

ngela Davis, former political prisoner; Nacyra Gómez
olevnsky, former vice president of Mexican Senate; María
ephen Church, 1525 Newton St.

koma Park, Md. Ismael “Bandolero” Duran, Patricio Zamorano.
Mighty Gabby. Plymouth Congregational United Church

l by Martin Garbus, attorney for legal team for Cuban

Abroad. Dena Briscoe, president of APWU Local 140;
ostal Workers; Santos Crespo, president AFSCME Local
Union Hall, 6139 Chillum Pl. NE.

eces by Antonio Guerrero. Followed by panel with
d historian; Miguel Barnet, novelist, poet, president of
usboys and Poets, 2021 14th St. NW.

ba and Case of Cuban Five. Fernando Morais,
Lies Across the Water; Arnold August, *Cuba and Its*
021 14th St. NW.

adors from ALBA countries. Venezuelan Embassy,

formation visit www.thecuban5.org

In coming class battles, ‘keep eyes on the ranks of labor’

Below is an excerpt from Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium, one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for June. The book is based on a series of talks by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The opening chapter, “A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics,” excerpted below, was presented in Los Angeles in December 1998. Copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY JACK BARNES

From the origins of the modern communist workers movement 150 years ago, we have measured the success of any struggle by working people by whether or not we emerge more united, more confident of our collective strength, and more powerfully organized to advance the interests of our class and its toiling allies. “Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time,” wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the Communist Manifesto, the founding program of our movement. “The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place workers of different localities in contact with one another.”



“Real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers,” wrote Karl Marx in 1848. Above, members of Bakery Workers union in Los Angeles on strike last November against concessions demanded by Hostess. Workers stayed out despite bosses’ threats to close its plants if they didn’t end strike.

There is a hunger among working people that is greater than in any other section of society, a political hunger among workers and farmers—the fighting coalition that will make up the government that will carry humanity into a new world. It’s a hunger for solidarity, for struggle; it’s a hunger to learn from each other. A refusal to accept that the pattern of struggles today is decided by past defeats. It’s like watching someone weaving something. We can’t yet tell what it’s going to be. We don’t know the details of the pattern; it’s too early. We don’t know what the ups and downs will be. We can’t foresee the specific defeats and victories.

But we know a new pattern is being woven in struggle as working people emerge from a period of retreat, resisting the consequences of the rulers’ final blow-off boom, of “globalization”—their grandiloquent term that displays imperial arrogance while it masks brutal assaults on human dignity the world over. The emerging pattern is taking shape, defined by the actions of a vanguard resisting indignity and isolation, whose ranks increase with every single worker or farmer who reaches out to others with the hand of solidarity and offers to fight together. ...

One of the great truths of our epoch will now become increasingly evident. There will be more and more state inter-

ference in the trade unions, because the employers and bureaucracy alone can’t always handle well-organized, intelligent militants. The same will be true for organizations of militant farmers, debt slaves.

The state—the government, cops, courts, National Guard, bourgeois parties, including, yes, the Democratic Party—all will come to be seen as the enemies they are, the bitter, brutal enemies of labor organizing to defend itself. Fighting along these lines leads vanguard layers of workers toward a program, a pattern of activity taking broader positions defending the interests of those who are fighting together with them. This leads them to further conflicts, and the necessity to fight to create democratic formations in the unions in order to expand solidarity. Political independence from the state and employers becomes a precondition to exercising simple solidarity.

We must keep our eyes on the ranks of labor while the institutions around us shatter. This is important. Under conditions of class polarization, Bonapartism, and economic catastrophe, the institutions within the working-class movement—like other popular institutions that have evolved in ways allowing them to function under “normal” conditions—will not be stable. They will tend to shatter.

As this happens the employers will be surprised. The labor bureaucracy will be surprised. But we must not be surprised. We must not depend on any of these institutions in their current form. These organizations as they exist today are *not* what they will inevitably become. Functioning as if this is not the class truth can only lead working people to unnecessary and sometimes devastating defeats. ...

When we say existing union structures will shatter, this is not simply a prediction. It is more and more a statement of fact today, and it indicates a course of struggle, a course of action, a line of march. We don’t start with the unions as they exist, but with those who are or should be the members of these unions. The ranks, that’s who our eyes are on. ...

The confidence of the bourgeoisie is starting to get shakier. Belief in the eternity of ever-inflating paper assets, of the great stock and bond financial bubbles, is crumbling. I don’t know how fast the changes will come. But I do know the key to the world capitalist economy is in this country right here. The United States of America, led by the most rapacious ruling class in history, was supposed to be able to police the world, to dominate the world, to be the only strategic pole in the world. It was supposed to purchase the goods of the world if necessary, to take over the banks and factories of the world when possible, to straighten out other countries, including other imperialist powers. You can say that no one ever really believed it was going to be like that, but I don’t think that’s decisive. The U.S. rulers *did* come to act as if they believed it.

When things happened that seemed to cut across their world dominance, the U.S. ruling class read them as contradictions that could be dealt with by changing presidents, or Congresses, or adjusting policies. This was their attitude, their tactical stance. It reflected their confidence. This flexibility gave solidity to their two-party system, to their social contract, to their more and more bipartisan domestic policy. That’s changing. And as the confidence and homogeneity start to disintegrate, we will see the beginning of the breakup of the two-party system.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

UNITED STATES

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 4025 S. Western Ave. Zip: 90062. Tel: (323) 295-2600. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net
San Francisco: 5482 Mission St. Zip: 94112-1015. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

FLORIDA: Miami: 7100 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 306A. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 777 Cleveland Ave. SW Suite 103. Zip: 30315. Tel: (678) 528-7828. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 806 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 202. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 455-0111. E-mail: Chicagoswp@att.net

IOWA: Des Moines: 3707 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 707-1779. E-mail: swpdesmoines@fastmail.fm

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 13 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: swpboston@verizon.net

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: 416 E. Hennepin Ave., Suite 214. Zip: 55414. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwestoffice.net

NEBRASKA, Lincoln: Tel: (402) 217-4906. E-mail: swplincn@windstream.net
Omaha: P.O. Box 7908. Zip: 68107. Tel.: (402) 779-7697. E-mail: swpomaha@fastmail.net

NEW YORK: Manhattan: 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: newyorkswp@mac.com

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 3701 Pulaski Ave. Zip: 19140. Tel: (215) 225-1270. E-mail: philaswp@verizon.net

TEXAS: Houston: 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-50L. Zip: 77092. Tel: (713) 476-0733. E-mail: houstonswp@att.net

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 143 Kennedy St. NW, Suite 15. Zip: 20011. Tel: (202) 536-5080. E-mail: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5418 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: seattleswp@qwestoffice.net

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718 9698. E-mail: cl_australia@optusnet.com.au

CANADA

QUEBEC: Montreal: 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: clc_can@bellnet.ca

FRANCE

Paris: P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 40-10-28-37. E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 4/125 Grafton Rd., Grafton. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140. Tel: (09) 369-1223. E-mail: clauack@xtra.co.nz

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND: London: First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane). Postal code: E2 6DG. Tel: (020) 7613-2466. E-mail: clondon@fastmail.fm
Manchester: Room 301, 3rd floor, Hilton House, 26–28 Hilton St. Postal code: M1 2EH. Tel: (016) 1478-2496. E-mail: clmanchr@gmail.com

June

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25% DISCOUNT

Capitalism’s World Disorder

Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

by Jack Barnes

The social devastation and financial panic, coarsening of politics, cop brutality and imperialist aggression are products not of something gone wrong with capitalism but of its lawful workings. The future can be changed by the united struggle of workers and farmers.

\$25. Special price: \$18.75

Leon Trotsky on China

by Leon Trotsky

\$35. Special price: \$26.25

Notebook of an Agitator

From the Wobblies to the Fight against the Korean War and McCarthyism

by James P. Cannon

\$26. Special price: \$19.50

Problems of Women’s Liberation

by Evelyn Reed

\$15. Special price: \$11.25

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

A Marxist Appreciation

by Joseph Hansen

\$25. Special price: \$18.75

Haciendo historia

(Making History)

by José Ramón Fernández, Enrique Carreras, Harry Villegas, Néstor López Cuba, Mary-Alice Waters

\$17. Special price: \$12.75

Join Pathfinder Readers Club

for \$10 and receive discounts all year long

ORDER ONLINE AT

WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

OFFER GOOD UNTIL JUNE 30

Join fight to free the Cuban Five!

Hundreds of workers, unionists, students, academics, artists and others are coming together to demonstrate in front of the White House June 1 and to take part in “5 days for the 5” events May 30-June 5 in Washington, D.C., to protest the U.S. government’s frame-up of the Cuban Five and build the growing movement pressing for their freedom.

The Five are Cuban revolutionaries who volunteered for an assignment to keep the Cuban government informed about the activities and plans of counterrevolutionary paramilitary groups based in the U.S. with a long record of murderous assaults on Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the U.S., Puerto Rico and elsewhere — groups that for decades have operated on U.S. soil with impunity and the tacit backing of Washington.

Among the targets have been Cubans in the U.S. and Puerto Rico who support the Cuban Revolution like Carlos Muñiz Varela, Cuban and Chilean diplomatic personnel, members of the Socialist Workers Party, and even opponents of the Cuban Revolution who dared criticize the assassinations and bombings.

The propertied rulers in the U.S. look for ways to smear the accomplishments of Cuban workers and farmers in power, hoping to place barriers in the way

of toilers here following their example. This is one of the reasons they maintain a list of so-called state sponsors of terrorism and keep Cuba on it. This list should be abolished.

The Five Heroes, as they are known in Cuba, are an example of dignity, integrity and steadfastness for the tens of millions of workers in the U.S. who are beginning to look for ways to fight effectively against growing attacks by the bosses and their government. And the fight to free them will be an integral part of sharpening class battles in the years to come.

The frame-up of the Five resonates with the experience of millions of workers with the U.S. “criminal justice” system. The Five have won the respect and admiration of fellow inmates as they fight side by side with other workers behind bars, some 2.3 million today. And their struggle is of increasing interest to millions more caught up in “stop and frisk” or the plea-bargain frame-up system, tossed into solitary confinement or otherwise “educated” in a prison setup designed to demoralize and degrade working people.

As Puerto Rican independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda said last year: The fight to free the Five “is a fight for ourselves. We are not doing them a favor, we are doing ourselves a favor.”

Obama says end ‘war on terror,’ backs drones

Continued from front page
Muslim world.”

The U.S. government, he said, must address the “underlying grievances and conflicts” there. It must tackle poverty, increase foreign aid, feed the hungry and create “reservoirs of goodwill.”

Alongside such sanctimonious verbiage, Obama said “targeted lethal action” — the drone assassinations he has authorized from Pakistan to Somalia — is far better than “putting boots on the ground.”

“Our efforts must be measured against the history of putting American troops in distant lands among hostile populations,” he said. From Vietnam to Iraq, “U.S. military action in foreign lands risks creating more enemies and impacts public opinion overseas.”

Obama rationalized the drone assaults and assassinations he has ordered — and the “collateral damage” to civilians in the wrong place at the wrong time — as “legal” and “effective” tactics. “We were attacked on 9/11,” he said. “So this is a just war.”

But U.S. military operations have entered a “new phase,” he said. Washington’s use of drones should be more limited. Maybe a secret “special court” should be established “to authorize lethal action,” or an “independent oversight board.” He urged Congress “to explore these and other options.”

Again and once again, Obama said the U.S. detention camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, should be closed — a pledge he made during his 2008 campaign and initial months in office. (More than 100 inmates at that barbaric prison camp are currently on hunger strike after being held for over 10 years without charges.)

But the president said he still has to grapple with “just how to deal with those GTMO detainees who we know have participated in dangerous plots or attacks but who cannot be prosecuted, for example, because the evidence against them has been compromised or is inadmissible in court of law.”

In many ways, Obama’s National Defense University talk was round two of the widely hyped speech he gave at Cairo University in June 2009, during a time — as he put it — of “great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world” that “violent extremists have exploited.”

There had to be a “new beginning,” Obama said then, a “partnership” to build schools and hospitals.

“Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype,” he said, “America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire.”

The U.S. president told the audience in Cairo that he had ordered the Guantánamo prison to be closed by 2010 — now more than three years ago — and that he planned to end the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Obama’s pitch, both in 2009 and today, is in keeping with the direction of his administration to pull

back from direct military deployments abroad. The last U.S. troop units left Iraq in December 2011. And, although soon after the Cairo speech U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan rose by some 30,000 (less than the 40,000 demanded by generals on the ground), they are being drawn down by the Pentagon this year and next.

At the same time, the White House is accelerating the concentration of executive power. Obama made clear in his talk he has no intention of halting drone assaults or Special Forces missions like the one in which an unarmed, pajama-clad Osama bin Laden was shot through the eyes in Pakistan. And he plans to limit how much the Associated Press, Fox News, and other media can report on U.S. actions, whether in North Africa, the Middle East or the Korean peninsula.

What’s more, when political forces in the world don’t react to “partnership” and “engagement” as dictated by Obama, his administration can lash out in dangerous ways.

This is the hallmark of the Obama White House — one that acts on the meritocratic class prejudice that an administration drawn from the bourgeois-minded professional, academic and foundation-based social layers Obama himself comes from are the only ones with “the smarts” to govern on behalf of U.S. capital’s ruling families. They believe they can ameliorate the world’s problems if only they can just get in a room to hash things out with like-minded diplomats, professors and NGO staffers around the globe.

They look to their fellow self-styled cosmopolitans abroad “as a counterweight to the ruling families at home who ultimately tell them what they will and will not do,” as Jack Barnes puts it in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*.

What Obama presented at the National Defense University, and earlier in Cairo, finds a foothold in bourgeois politics because there are sections of the U.S. rulers — with voices in both major capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans — who advocate cutting back military spending and wars abroad. Doing so, as they see it, is needed to reap the “peace dividend” and “rebalance” U.S. military forces to more effectively defend U.S. capital’s domination of global trade and markets, including in Asia and the Pacific.

Others among the capitalist rulers and their political spokespersons are convinced that U.S. imperialist interests are better served by stepping up direct military intervention, from Syria to Pakistan. “The president’s speech today will be viewed by terrorists as a victory,” Sen. Saxby Chambliss of Georgia, top Republican on the Senate Intelligence Committee, said the same day.

When the class interests of the U.S. propertied families are in danger anywhere in the world, however, the capitalist rulers close ranks. And whoever occupies the White House does what they’re told.

Killing in London

Continued from front page

also sought to exploit the killing to scapegoat Muslims and raise their own profile.

On a busy street in southeast London near the Woolwich army barracks, Michael Adebolajo, 28, and Michael Adebowale, 22, British citizens and converts to Islam, allegedly hit soldier Lee Rigby, who was on foot, with their car, then set upon him with knives and meat cleavers shouting “Allahu Akbar!” After hacking Rigby to death, Adebolajo and Adebowale waited for some 15 to 20 minutes for police to arrive.

One of the numerous witnesses filmed a blood-stained Adebolajo explaining the political motive for the barbarous killing: “We swear by almighty Allah, we will never stop fighting you. The only reason we have done this is because Muslims are dying every day. This British soldier is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.” The two were shot and arrested by police.

Adebolajo and Adebowale, both of whose parents are from Nigeria, were reportedly involved with al-Muhajiroun, a banned Islamist group in Britain that openly praised al-Qaeda’s Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon and the July 7, 2005, suicide bombings targeting civilians on public transportation in London. Al-Muhajiroun founder Omar Bakri, who was banned from Britain and now lives in Lebanon, praised the May 22 terrorist butchery and commended Adebolajo “as courageous, brave. Not running away,” reported Reuters.

“We wholeheartedly condemn all those who engage in acts of terror and fully reject any suggestion by them that religion or politics can justify this kind of violence,” said a statement by relatives of Adebolajo that expressed condolences to the Rigby family. “We believe that all right thinking members of society share this view, wherever they were born and whatever their religion and political beliefs.”

Speaking on BBC TV a few days after the killing, Home Secretary Theresa May urged boosting government power to ban political organizations and control access to media and online content. “One of the issues we need to look at is whether we have got the right processes, the right rules in place in relation to what is being beamed into people’s homes,” she said.

With former Labour Home Secretary Alan Johnson sitting alongside her in support, May also said she planned to revive the Communications Data Bill, referred to by the media as the “snoopers’ charter.”

The bill would give police access to anyone’s website activity, emails, mobile calls and social media messages, which Internet and phone providers would be compelled to maintain for a year. Current law provides cops and spy agencies access to details of message senders and recipients without content.

The snoopers’ charter has been blocked in Parliament by the Liberal Democrats. After the killing, one leading member of the Liberal Democrats, two former Labour ministers and London Mayor Boris Johnson led calls for its immediate introduction.

Members of the ultrarightist English Defence League clashed with riot cops at a protest of about 100 in the center of Woolwich May 22. Some 1,500 mobilized for an EDL march in Newcastle May 25 to protest the opening of an Islamic school. The following day, hundreds of EDL supporters marched through Woolwich, and about 1,000 marched through central London to the prime minister’s residence May 27.

The rightist British National Party announced an action in Woolwich June 1 under the banner “United against Muslim terror.”

The media has reported a spike in anti-Muslim actions, including nine attacks on mosques, assaults, racial abuse, graffiti and women having their headscarves pulled. On May 24, a petrol bomb was thrown during Friday prayers at a mosque near Milton Keynes. Two days later an Islamic center in Grimsby was firebombed.

Government officials have sought to counter the rightist backlash with talk of maintaining good “community relations.” Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg spoke in London May 24 alongside Muslim leaders and representatives of the British Army.

The killing has helped the British rulers whip up some patriotic fervor. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, thousands lined the streets of York in northern England two days after the killing to greet soldiers returning from Afghanistan where 9,000 British troops are stationed.