

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Che: Build socialism through consciousness and discipline**  
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 78/NO. 5 FEBRUARY 10, 2014

## Join effort to sign up 'Militant' subscribers

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Supporters of the *Militant* are campaigning to expand the paper's readership, taking it, along with books on working-class politics published by Pathfinder Press, door to door in working-class neighborhoods. They bring it with them as they join strikers' picket lines, social protests and political events.

They are also making a special effort to get back to the nearly 3,000 who signed up in the fall subscription campaign to discuss the importance of renewing and continuing to get the working-class news and revolutionary socialist viewpoint the newsweekly provides.

"I like the coverage the *Militant* brings us on people fighting for their rights around the world, we especially  
**Continued on page 3**

## Production, jobs stagnate as capitalists sit on cash

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Every day the big-business papers bring us commentary pointing to one trend or another as evidence of economic recovery. But more than five years after the 2007-2009 recession there is yet to be any indication of expanded productive capacity or employment, the only basis on which the worldwide crisis of capitalism could begin to be reversed.

Despite headline unemployment rate of 6.7 percent, the percentage of the population without a job has hovered around the same low level of 58.5 percent for the last four years.

Manufacturing production has only recently reached 2007 levels, while the U.S. population has increased by 5 percent. Even more striking is the fact that today the same amount of  
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## Books on working-class revolution spark interest at book fair in Cairo



Militant/Paul Davies

Student Sara Aly, far right, buys *Militant* subscription from Pat Nixon, left, at Pathfinder booth at Cairo International Book Fair Jan. 25. In first five days, participants snatched up 128 books.

BY PAUL DAVIES AND JANICE LYNN

CAIRO — Thousands of Egyptians are daily attending the 45th Cairo International Book Fair despite four re-

**EGYPT GOV'T SEEKS 'STABILITY'; WORKERS PRESS DEMANDS**

— See page 4

cent bombings in the city. The largest cultural event in the region has drawn more than 500 Egyptian booksellers and 200 from other countries. Path-

finder Press, a U.S.-based publishing house that produces books on revolutionary working-class politics, is participating in the fair for the first time.

The book fair, which runs this year from Jan. 22 through Feb. 6, was canceled in 2011 following the uprising that overthrew President Hosni Mubarak. The following year the fair closed on the uprising's first anniversary amidst renewed protests. The fair went ahead as scheduled in 2013 under the Muslim Brotherhood government of President Mohammed  
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## Ukraine protests spread, demand gov't step down

Moscow makes threats, seeks continued domination



Associated press

Government repression has galvanized opposition to President Viktor Yanukovich and Russian domination as actions spread across Ukraine. Above, protesters at barricades in Kiev, Jan. 26.

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Protests in Ukraine demanding the government of President Viktor Yanukovich resign and call immediate elections have spread across the country — including into the east and south near the Russian border, Yanukovich's strongest base of support. The government has started to offer concessions in an attempt to stem the rising tide.

The motor force behind the protests is the national aspirations of the

Ukrainian people, who — with the exception of the early years of the Russian Revolution under the Bolshevik leadership of V.I. Lenin — have lived under Russian domination for centuries.

In the east and south, thousands have joined actions in Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and Luhansk. In Zaporizhyya, 5,000 laid siege to the regional government administration building.

President Yanukovich has begun  
**Continued on page 9**

## SAfrica platinum miners strike, demand double minimum wage

BY SETH GALINSKY

More than 70,000 miners in South Africa went on strike against the three largest platinum companies in the world Jan. 23, demanding that the

starting monthly wage be doubled to 12,500 rand (\$1,120).

On the eve of the strike by the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), the three mining companies — Anglo American Platinum, Impala Platinum and Lonmin — issued a statement calling

**Continued on page 5**

## 26-minute-long Ohio execution fuels opposition to death penalty

BY JOHN STUDER

"He began struggling. His body strained against the restraints around his body, and he repeatedly gasped for air, making snorting and choking sounds," Alan Johnson, a reporter for the *Columbus Dispatch*, wrote Jan. 17, describing the execution of Dennis McGuire by the state of Ohio the day before in a 26-minute-long ordeal utilizing a new and untested drug "cocktail."

The family of McGuire, who was convicted of rape and murder in 1989,  
**Continued on page 5**

**Special feature**

**'I Will Die the Way I've Lived'**

A new book for fighters to free Cuban 5

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**Also Inside**

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# Iowa cop Taser use was '100% police brutality'

Two shocked to death by officers in state last year

BY MAGGIE TROWE

NEW HAMPTON, Iowa — "It made me feel like I was drowning. I couldn't breathe. It paralyzes your body and tightens up every muscle," Justin Shekleton, 34, told the *Militant* Jan. 15. "It was complete 100 percent police brutality, and it was a life-altering event."

Shekleton was recounting his experience of being shocked with a cop Taser, a torturous and sometimes deadly practice. Police across the U.S. have killed more than 540 people with the weapon since 2001, according to Amnesty International.

In September 2008, deputy sheriff Ryan Eichenberger accused Shekleton of being in an argument outside a bar. When Shekleton said he hadn't been in an argument, Eichenberger and other cops ordered him to put his hands behind his back. Shekleton, who is disabled and has limited use of his left arm, was unable to comply. Cops said he was resisting arrest and shocked him with a Taser.

Shekleton, a used car dealer, fell to the ground, injuring his head and neck. As he was being handcuffed, people who knew him told the police about his bad arm. Charges against Shekleton were dropped a few weeks later for lack of evidence.

Some 265 police agencies in Iowa deploy Tasers. According to the *Des Moines Register* at least eight lawsuits accusing cops of excessive or unnecessary force involving the stun guns have

been filed since 2007, including one by Shekleton. The paper has run a series of articles exposing the widespread Taser use.

According to the world's leading stun gun manufacturer, Taser International, the devices "carry fine wires that connect to the target and deliver the TASER into his neural network. These pulses ... overwhelm the normal nerve traffic, causing involuntary muscle contractions and impairment of motor skills."

In the last six months of 2013, two Iowa men — Michael Zubrod, 39, in Worth County and Thomas Martinez, 40, in Coralville — died after receiving Taser shocks.

Zubrod's September death was ruled a homicide, but none of the cops are being charged. In July Martinez was having seizures in a restaurant when police said he had become combative to medical personnel, and used the Taser on him. His mother, Martha McKee, is seeking to obtain the police records. "They're just trying to cover their butts, that's what I think is going on," she told the *Register* in December. "My god, it's been since July and they're still waiting



Above, *Militant*/Maggie Trowe  
Two men — Michael Zubrod and Thomas Martinez — were killed by cops using Tasers last year in Iowa. Above, Justin Shekleton, who was shot with stun gun by New Hampton, Iowa, deputy sheriff in 2008. Left, common Taser model used by police.

for the examiner's report?"

On Oct. 7, a Muscatine County jailer used a Taser four times on Marie Franks, 58, a mentally disabled inmate. The following day jail nurse Ashley Smith sent in a report on what she had witnessed. For months jail officials and County Attorney Alan Ostergren said there was no such report. On Jan. 10, however, Ostergren notified the *Register* that the report does exist. But county officials have since refused to release it on the

grounds that it's confidential.

At least three of the cases reviewed by the *Register* involved people with mental disabilities and two others had seizures just before they were shocked. In four of those incidents, cops were aware of this before they used the stun gun.

Of the eight lawsuits, five were settled before going to a jury. Two are ongoing and one was dropped. Shekleton received \$150,000 in damages in a settlement in 2013.

## Speakout protests death of woman in Brooklyn jail

BY DAN FEIN

NEW YORK — "We want the names of the police officers on duty and the videotapes!" said Anita Neal Jan. 21, referring to the refusal of New York City police officials to release in-

formation on her daughter's death in Brooklyn Central Booking jail.

Kyam Livingston, 37, was arrested July 20, 2013, for allegedly violating a protection order. She died in police custody the next day.

Neal was addressing a speakout on conditions in the jail and Livingston's death, attended by 35 people at the Flatbush Reform Church in Brooklyn.

"My daughter experienced stomach pains and asked for help. The officers ignored her plea for seven hours. The girls in the cell helped her," Neal said. "The officers killed my daughter. She would be alive today if she'd received medical attention."

Among other speakers were Ashanta Livingston, Kyam's sister; Dayann

McDonough, Kyam's god-sister and an organizer of the Justice for Kyam Livingston committee; and Djibrill Toure from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement.

"Kyam begged for help for a whole shift. No one lifted up the phone," McDonough said. "Mayor Bill de Blasio is unresponsive to the case. We're supposed to have a justice system, but instead we have a punishment system."

The Justice for Kyam Livingston committee is holding monthly protests. The next one will take place Feb. 21 at 6 p.m. at Brooklyn Central Booking, 120 Schermerhorn Street.

"This struggle is for everyone," Neal said. "My daughter did not die in vain."

# THE MILITANT

**Capitalism threatens life, limb and soil**

*Capitalism's profit motive endangers workers' lives, as well as the air, soil and food we depend on. The 'Militant' covers the fight for job safety and against ecological ruin from the standpoint of how to advance protection of the working class and extend that protection to all.*

Militant/Jacquie Henderson  
International Nutrition plant in Omaha after explosion killed two workers Jan. 20.

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

# Sign up 'Militant' readers

Continued from front page

appreciate the articles on Cambodia and Bangladesh," Gilbert Walker, a house contractor, told supporters in Seattle when they visited him Jan. 25. Walker and Sinath Yin, who works in a plant manufacturing air conditioners, are both originally from Cambodia and subscribed in the fall drive. They signed up for a three-month renewal. "Cambodian workers only make \$60 a month and want raises and for that the government has killed some protesters," Walker said.

Two subscribers renewed when supporters attended a meeting of El Comité Pro Reforma Migratoria y Justicia Social (Immigration Reform and Social Justice Committee) that discussed plans for protesting discrimination against immigrant workers.

"Our aim was to combine going door to door in a couple of working-class buildings we hadn't visited, before calling back to see subscribers in apartment blocks nearby," Pamela Holmes reported from London Jan. 25. The team sold six introductory subscriptions, one to Mehmet Sucu at a local café. He was interested in the paper's coverage of the struggle of the Kurdish people for

independence in Syria, Iran, Iraq and Turkey.

"We also visited four subscribers," Holmes said. "One asked us back the following weekend when he would have money to renew, and another invited us to come back in a couple weeks for more political discussion."

Four participants in a Jan. 25 action of 300 in defense of abortion rights in Austin, Texas, decided to take advantage of the offer to try out the *Militant*, reported Cindy Jaquith from Houston. Eight participants got single issues. "Many were struck by the article in the Feb. 3 issue on 'Women's Rights Supporters in Malaysia Defend Abortion,'" she wrote. "They were also attracted by the breadth of the international coverage, such as the article on the Chilean port workers and the firsthand coverage of the explosion in the animal feed plant in Omaha."

On Jan. 26 seven *Militant* supporters traveled from Montreal to Ottawa, Ontario, on buses organized by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, reported John Steele from Montreal. "Two are relatively new supporters who have not previously participated in demonstrations. We joined postal workers and supporters to protest projected layoffs of 6,000 to 8,000 postal workers and end the abolition of door-to-door delivery."

Twenty participants bought copies of the *Militant*, one renewed his subscription for a year. His friend, who is an artist, bought a copy of *The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free*. He promised to attend and build the Feb. 6 showing at the University of Montreal of the watercolor paintings by Antonio Guerrero, one of the Five.

*The Cuban Five* is one of nine Path-

## 'Militant coverage totally different from local papers'



Militant/Gerardo Sánchez

DALY CITY, Calif. — "I noticed the name of the paper, the *Militant*," said Nakia Caston (right), a 36-year-old hospital worker, when she bought an introductory subscription from Carole Lesnick, who knocked on her door here Jan. 25. "People confront real problems with the economic crisis. You can see that the *Militant's* news coverage is totally different than what is presented in the local papers," Caston said. "People need to be aware and also get involved."

— GERARDO SÁNCHEZ

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Thousands Demonstrate in the Ukraine: Protests Reflect the National Aspirations of the Ukrainian People.** Speaker: Eric Simpson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 8. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Profits Before Life and Limb: The Working Class and the Fight for Safety on the Job.** Speaker: Tom Baumann, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 7100 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 306A. Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Voices From Prison: Join the Fight to Free the Cuban Five!** Speaker: Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 806 W. Washington Blvd., Room 202. (312) 455-0111.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**The International Fight to Defend a Woman's Right to Abortion.** Speaker: Ellen Brickley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3707 Douglas Ave. Tel.: (515) 707-1779.

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**Cuba and the Coming American Revolution.** Speaker: Tom Fiske, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 416 E. Hennepin Ave., Room 214. Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Women in the Cuban Revolution: A documentary film.** Fri., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3302 Q St., 2nd floor. Tel.: (402) 779-7697.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Auckland

**Workers and the Fight for Safety on the Job.** Speaker: Baskaran Appu, Communist League. Fri., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged, \$2 unwaged. 4/125 Grafton Road. Tel.: (09) 369-1223.

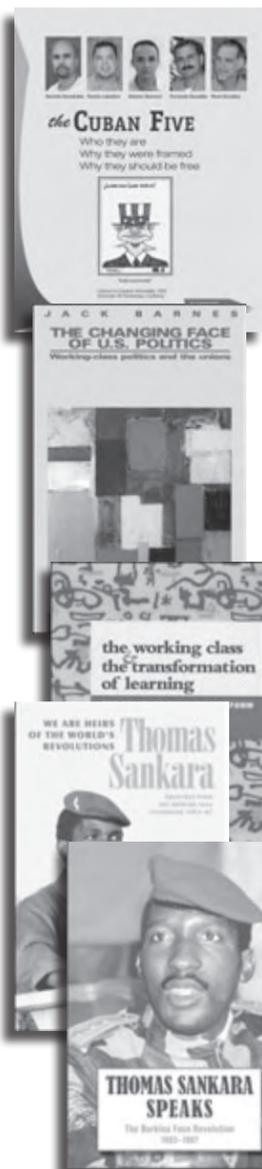
finder titles on special offer with a subscription. (See ad below.) More than 750 of these books were purchased by working people during the fall drive. The offer is still available for those who take out a new subscription or renew.

Supporters of the *Militant* translate articles into French every week and post them on [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com). A worker originally from the Congo living in Montreal signed up to receive these articles and asked supporters to

come back so he could buy books on special. When they visited Jan. 25, he wasn't home, but his wife got him on the phone. After some discussion, they got the French editions of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation*, and *the Road to Workers Power* and *The Cuban Five*.

To renew or get a trial subscription, mail in the coupon on page 2, or contact a distributor listed on page 8 or the *Militant* at (212) 244-4899.

## Special offers with 'Militant' subscription



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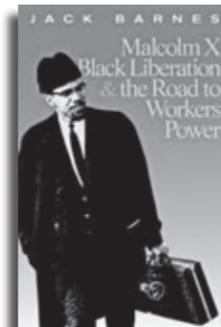
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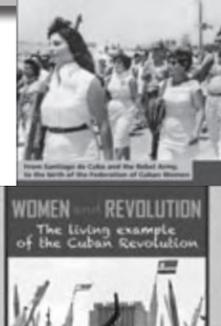
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**by Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, Yolanda Ferrer**  
\$10 with subscription (regular \$20)



**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)

# Egyptian gov't seeks 'stability,' workers, youth press demands

BY PAUL MAILHOT

CAIRO — Tens of thousands gathered in Tahrir Square and adjoining streets here Jan. 25 to mark the third anniversary of the overthrow of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who headed a brutal military regime for three decades. The Ministry of the Interior and the armed forces set up heavy security around the perimeter of the square, placing metal detectors and bomb-sniffing dogs at all entrances.

Organizers of the demonstration used the occasion to rally support for the current government and the military that stands behind it, as well promote the election of Gen. Abdel-Fatah el-Sissi in a presidential vote planned for the coming months.

The day before the Jan. 25 rallies, which took place in many cities throughout the country, there were four terrorist bombings in the Cairo area. Four people were killed in the most deadly attack, which targeted a police facility. Ansar Beit al-Maqdis, an al-Qaeda-affiliated group based in the Sinai Peninsula, claimed responsibility. The Egyptian government, which was installed by the military following the ouster of the discredited Muslim Brotherhood regime of President Mohammed Morsi last June, has seized on such attacks as a pretext to curb political rights and garner support for the military's moves to reassert its dominant political role and the el-Sissi candidacy.

"Seventy percent of Egyptians support el-Sissi," said a hotel worker who also works for the government and asked that his name not be used. "We are against these bombings and disruptions. We need stability." He said that he sees the military leader as the best hope to bring order and employment, given the increasingly dire economic circumstances facing workers throughout the country. "There is no tourism in Egypt since 2011 and many factories have closed down. It is very difficult."

While most participants at the Jan. 25 rally held signs in support of el-Sissi, many of their concerns were similar to those who marched in smaller demonstrations against military authority and the Muslim Brotherhood.

"We need jobs and financial security, but we also need freedoms," said Mona Sadek, a young woman who has been unemployed since graduating from school a year ago. "That is what we fought for beginning Jan. 25, 2011, and we are sticking to our demands."

Sadek joined about 1,000 protesters, who met in front of the Journalists Union headquarters to demand an end to military tribunals and for a government without military or Islamist rule. The military broke up the demonstration as it began marching toward Tahrir Square, firing tear gas canisters at protesters and bystanders along the busy Ramses Street shopping area.

The Egyptian government health ministry issued a statement Jan. 26 saying 49 people were killed during clashes the previous day.

"The police out in force on Jan. 25 were not there for the protection of citizens," said Mahmud Salama, a construction worker from Ismailiya, in a phone interview. "They were there to protect the interests of others. The current government has not implemented a

single demand that has been fought for by the working class and the unions over the last three years.

"Yesterday, at the protests many youth were killed. These were not Muslim Brotherhood activists or terrorists. I think that it was an error for them to protest that day and I tried to convince those I knew not to go because of the dangers. I did not join the celebrations or the protests.

"Even if you have legitimate demands, like trade union demands, you will be painted with the brush of being part of the Muslim Brotherhood. That is why people are worried about protesting for their rights at this time," said Salama.

The Egyptian government has placed a high priority on creating an impression of stability and order. This is evident in the attention being given to organizing a successful 45th Cairo International Book Fair, which has been canceled or curtailed each year since the fall of Mubarak in 2011. The fair, which runs this year from Jan. 22 through Feb. 6, is the largest annual cultural gathering in the Middle East, attracting authors, publishers and booksellers from throughout Egypt and the region. Some 500 booksellers from Egypt and 200 from the Middle East are taking part and tight security has been set up against any disruption.

Georges Mehrabian contributed to this article.



Militant photos by Betsy Farley

Above, military band leads demonstrators into Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt, Jan. 25 commemorating third anniversary of overthrow of brutal military regime of former President Hosni Mubarak. Rally organizers aimed to garner support for military and campaign of Gen. Abdel-Fatah el-Sissi for president in coming elections. Below, smaller action same day at Journalists Union headquarters in Cairo calling for government without military or Islamist rule.

## Pathfinder books spark interest at Cairo fair

Continued from front page

Morsi, but with a limited schedule of cultural activities and many fewer exhibitors and attendees.

The fair has often been a center of political discussion and debate in Egypt. The military regime of Hosni Mubarak banned a book by Libyan author Idriss Ali at the 2010 book fair that poked fun at Mohammar Gaddafi, who at the time was a close ally of the U.S.-backed Egyptian tyrant. In 2013 the traditional meeting held at the book fair between the country's president and intellectuals — used by previous regimes to cultivate public support and by writers as an opportunity to criticize government policies — was canceled by President Morsi so as not to embarrass the regime. Morsi was overthrown in a second uprising in June of the same year.

## Production, jobs stagnate

Continued from front page

production is being done by many fewer workers. Capitalists call this "productivity" and consider it a positive trend. Workers know it as speed-up, increasing disregard for job safety and a "there's the door" approach to any complaints. There are 12.5 percent fewer manufacturing jobs today than when the recession began in December 2007, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"The United States has gained just 568,000 manufacturing positions since January 2010 — a small fraction of the nearly six million lost between 2000 and 2009," said a Jan. 26 *New York Times* article titled, "The Myth of Industrial Rebound."

The current interim president, Adly Mansour, who is backed by top military officials, opened the fair amidst high security. Most exhibitors and fairgoers were not allowed onto the fairgrounds during the opening ceremony.

Participants from Iraq, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Malaysia, Singapore and across Egypt have been visiting the Pathfinder stand, which sold 128 books in the first five days. Best sellers have included the Arabic and English editions of *The Communist Manifesto* and *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, as well as titles on women's liberation and the Cuban and Russian revolutions. More than two dozen single copies and five subscriptions to the *Militant* have been sold.

"Women are playing such an important part in political developments in

Egypt today, they are leading actions against military tribunals and supporting political prisoners," said Sara Samir, a computer programmer who took part in the January 2011 and June 2013 uprisings that brought down the Mubarak and Morsi governments. She picked up a copy of *Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution* from the Pathfinder stand. "I want to learn about how women participated in the Cuban Revolution."

A young teacher from Saudi Arabia picked up the four Pathfinder titles in Arabic: *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*; *The First and Second Declarations of Havana*; *Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun*; and *The Communist Manifesto*. "These kinds of books are beginning to be seen in Saudi Arabia also," he said. "Pathfinder should consider having a booth at the book fair there next year."

Some of the many students and youth who visited the booth were surprised and excited that revolutionaries from the United States, United Kingdom and Canada were part of the fair. They were interested in learning about the struggles of workers abroad and meeting socialist workers staffing the booth.

## — CALENDAR —

### GEORGIA Hapeville

The Socialist Workers Party invites you to a Super Bowl Party. Lots of food and refreshments. Sun., Feb. 2, 5 p.m. Donation \$5. Funds raised will finance team staffing Pathfinder booth at the Cairo International Book Fair in Egypt. 3370 Lavista Drive.

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# South Africa miners strike

**Continued from front page**  
the wage demand “unaffordable and unrealistic.”

The companies offered an 8 to 8.5 percent wage increase for the lowest paid workers and 7.5 percent for the rest, just a little over the official inflation rate of 5.3 percent.

“What they are offering isn’t even enough to buy another two loaves of bread for the whole month,” AMCU President Joseph Mathunjwa told the *Militant* by phone Jan. 24.

The fight for a 12,500 rand minimum wage was a central part of a strike wave by platinum, gold, chrome and other miners that swept the country at the end of 2012.

The government-allied National Union of Mineworkers, which had been the main union in the mines, opposed those strikes. Today AMCU is the majority union in the platinum belt and also has a majority at several gold mines.

AMCU refused to sign a two-tier wage agreement in September and announced its intention to strike

Sibanye Gold’s Dreifontein Mine, Harmony Gold’s Kusaalethu and Masimong mines, and AngloGold’s Ashanti operation. But the union has held off in face of a labor court order while judges consider a request for an injunction from the gold mining companies.

Bosses in South Africa are worried that the strike over wages could inspire other workers. “Strikes beget strikes,” Andrew Levy, who advises businesses on union busting, told South Africa’s *Mail & Guardian* Jan. 19. The paper seemed surprised that the 25 percent unemployment rate has “not deterred the demands” of the miners.

“If you look around the mines, you will find those who work underground living in corrugated tin shacks,” Mathunjwa said. “You’ll see wasted areas where the mines have destroyed nature, the environmental laws have been breached and the companies face no consequences. Look at what the workers produce for the mines and at the end of the day the miners have nothing in their hands.”



Reuters/Siphiwe Sibeko

Miners on strike for doubling their minimum wage gather at stadium near Lonmin platinum mine, northwest of Johannesburg, Jan 27. Some 70,000 miners walked out across the country.

## 26-minute execution in Ohio

**Continued from front page**  
filed a lawsuit in federal court Jan. 24 seeking to bar Ohio’s death “cocktail” as unconstitutional. “I can’t think of any other way to describe it than torture,” McGuire’s daughter Amber, who witnessed the execution, said in a statement.

Opposition to the death penalty, which is on the books in 32 states, is widespread and growing. Six states outlawed the practice over the last six years.

According to a Gallup poll, the proportion of people in the U.S. who oppose use of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder has risen from 16 percent in the mid-1990s to 35 percent today. One factor has been a growing number of frame-up cases in which DNA evidence has exonerated those sentenced to death. A recent report by the Death Penalty Information Center documents 143 death penalty convictions overturned in 26 states.

Facing growing opposition, pharmaceutical companies in both Europe and the U.S. stopped selling the three-drug mix used for injections last year. State officials have since been searching for alternative killing techniques.

The history of death penalty methods in the U.S. is as twisted as the moral values of the capitalist rulers who wield it as a weapon of terror against working people.

The electric chair, which became the most common technique after 1890, was

promoted by Thomas Edison as part of the “war of currents” over which patented electrical current systems would dominate the market — Edison’s direct current (DC) or George Westinghouse’s alternating current (AC).

Edison employee Harold Brown convinced New York State Prison authorities to adopt electrocution as a “humane” alternative to hanging and to use Westinghouse’s AC system. Brown tried to get them to call it “The Westinghouse Chair,” convinced it would not work properly and embarrass his rival.

William Kemmler, the first person executed by the new device, was not killed by the initial jolts and caught fire after the current was ramped up.

In later decades, the “chair” became the most common method in the East, while the gas chamber was the choice in the West. In the 1980s the supposedly more “humane” method of lethal injection became the dominant technique.

The attempt by state officials in Ohio to cobble together a new chemical blend, leading to McGuire’s torturous death, has spurred an open debate on alternative methods among proponents of the death penalty, a ghastly discussion not likely to win much public traction or support.

On Jan. 17 state Rep. Rick Brattin introduced a bill in the Missouri legislature to add the firing squad to the menu. “A lot of folks may picture the 1850s and everyone lining up to shoot,” Brattin said, “but the reality is that people suffer with every type of death.”

“One of the reasons I chose firing squad as opposed to any other form of execution is because frankly it’s one of the cheapest,” Wyoming state Sen. Bruce Burns said when he introduced a similar bill there in January.

The last execution by firing squad took place in Utah in 2013, when Ronnie Lee Gardner was gunned down. “It has been done with absolute dignity and reverence for human life,” Utah Department of Corrections Director Thomas Patterson told reporters.

“It was anti-climactic,” one participant in Utah’s previous firing squad execution told CNN. “I’ve shot squirrels I’ve felt worse about.”

According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, 3,261 people are on death row in the U.S., which executed the fifth largest number of people in 2012, after China, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Eric Holder has until Jan. 31 to announce whether he will seek the federal death sentence against Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the accused Boston Marathon bomber.

### Kellogg workers win support at King Day parade



BCTGM Local 252G

Hundreds of locked-out Kellogg Company cereal plant workers and supporters marched in the Memphis Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade Jan. 20.

Kellogg locked out 226 members of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union Local 252G Oct. 22. The company is pressing to introduce temporary, part-time work at \$6 less per hour.

After the march, BCTGM International President David Durkee spoke about the fight at a King commemoration sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at the Cane Creek Baptist Church.

— SUSAN LAMONT

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



February 10, 1989

MINNEAPOLIS — Antiracist demonstrators marched here January 15 to protest the highly publicized activities of racist skinheads in the city.

The 100 marchers gathered in front of the University of Minnesota’s Dight Institute, a laboratory named after a Nazi sympathizer. They condemned the university’s slow pace of divestment from South Africa and the arrest of students for trying to paint over racist graffiti.

Proceeding to a bridge near the campus, protesters covered up racist slogans with “Fight racism” and “Abolish apartheid.”

The evening before, 70 people participated in a discussion in St. Paul on strategies for fighting racist violence. The meeting was sponsored by the Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.



February 10, 1964

For years the British imperialists waged a war of atrocities to keep Cyprus despite the desire of the people there, who are overwhelmingly Greek, to unite with Greece. A Cypriote victory was in sight when the imperialists played their famous divide-and-rule card.

As if at a pre-arranged signal clashes suddenly broke out between Cypriote Greeks and the Turkish minority on the island. The British had held secret negotiations with the Turkish government and both of them undoubtedly supplied agents provocateurs to spark clashes on Cyprus.

The ordinary people of the U.S. have nothing to gain in Cyprus. They have no desire to deprive the Cypriotes of their right of self-determination. They should tell Johnson now in unmistakable terms: No GIs to Cyprus!



February 10, 1939

Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow-compromisers with British imperialism have been sharply defeated.

At the recently held convention of the All-India National Congress the rising power of India’s workers and peasants was felt when Gandhi’s candidate for Presidency of the Congress was defeated.

The conflict between the two wings of the Congress is extremely bitter as is shown by the fact that for the first time in many years no compromise was reached as to who was able to be the new president.

India today is one of the few countries in which the workers and peasants are making great forward strides towards their emancipation. The struggles of India’s masses will assume greater and greater importance in the near future.

# 'I Will Die the Way I've Lived': A new book

*I will die the way I've lived.* That is the name Antonio Guerrero gave to the 15 watercolors at the center of the new book featured here. The way Guerrero and each of his four Cuban comrades have lived is as combatants of the revolution they are imprisoned in the U.S. for fighting to defend. Each of the Cuban Five is an exemplary product of that revolution's working-class internationalism, its human solidarity, its dignity and courage in the face of oppression and exploitation worldwide.

And that's how each of them has conducted himself behind prison walls over the past 15 years.

"The moments of prison life recorded — and transformed — by [Guerrero's] art will touch a deep chord with millions of working people in the US who have themselves lived similar experiences, or know them through the ordeals of their loved ones, friends, and neighbors," Mary-Alice Waters writes in "The Cuban Five: Who They Are," the introductory note to *I Will Die the Way I've Lived*.

Waters is editor of the new book. Accompanying Guerrero's artwork are accounts by him and by Gerardo Hernández and Ramón Labañino of experiences from their first 17 months in a federal detention center in Miami.

This week the *Militant* is running Guerrero's description of how he came to create the watercolors as well as the introduction by Waters.

We're also reprinting a translation by the *Militant* of an article from *La Prensa*, a Spanish-language newspaper in Minneapolis, about the exhibit of the paintings at the Regla De Oro art gallery there. From the United States to Canada and the United Kingdom, "I Will Die the Way I've Lived" is being used to get out the truth about the frame-up of the Five and to win new support for their fight for freedom from workers, farmers, young people and others.

Supporters of the Five can set up exhibits from art galleries to union halls. (See ad on upcoming exhibits on page 9.)

## The Cuban 5: Who they are

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The fifteen striking watercolors reproduced in these pages are not the work of a painter who attended art school or studied at the side of a renowned artist. Antonio Guerrero first learned to draw and paint while incarcerated at the US penitentiary in Florence, Colorado. He was tutored by fellow prisoners and coached himself with books.

The moments of prison life recorded—and transformed—by his art will touch a deep chord with millions of working people in the US who have themselves lived similar experiences, or known them through the ordeals of their loved ones, friends, and neighbors. The United States, with more than 2.2 million men and women behind bars today, has the highest incarceration rate of any state in the world. That system of capitalist "justice," organized to dehuman-

ize and break both inmates and their families, is portrayed in these works.

Above all, however, what comes through in these paintings by Antonio Guerrero and the accompanying commentary of his brothers-in-struggle, Gerardo Hernández and Ramón Labañino, is the creativity and humor with which they and others resist.

Antonio, Gerardo, and Ramón, together with Fernando González and René González, are known to millions worldwide as The Cuban Five. In 1998, when each of them was arrested by US federal police in coordinated predawn raids, they were living and working in southern Florida.

What were their allegedly criminal activities?

They were gathering information on the plans and actions of counterrevolutionary Cuban-American organizations, including paramilitary outfits that operate with impunity on US soil. These groups and the individuals who belong to them have a half-century-long record of carrying out bombings, assassinations, and other assaults on Cubans and other supporters of the Cuban Revolution—on the island, in the United States, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Panama, and elsewhere. Since 1959, nearly 3,500 Cubans have been killed in such attacks, most originating in the United States. The task of the Five was to keep the Cuban government informed of deadly operations being prepared in order to prevent as many as possible from coming to fruition.

The Five were brought



"The 'Rec.' That's what the 'recreation' cubicle was called," Guerrero writes. "In the foreground a sheet of paper with a poem. A fence for ventilation turns the cubicle into a cage. The shadow of a bird in flight crosses the wall and the paper. ..."

## 15 watercolors for

"You have to try to do something from the inside out, rather than keep painting from the outside in," insisted Arthur, my brother-in-arms and fellow artist. A photographer and art critic, he told me this after seeing and photographing many of my works.

I spent several weeks repeating his words to myself and making them mine. Then one day images began to take shape in my mind. I made

### ANTONIO GUERRERO

sketches and then painted them on watercolor paper as colors started to appear.

All these images had one thing in common. They recalled the unjust, cruel treatment we received from the very first day of our detention. They portrayed moments during the seventeen months of isolation we survived in the punishment cells of the Federal Detention Center in Miami—the "hole." After I finished painting fifteen, I decided to stop. That number coincides with the number of years of captivity we will complete on September 12, 2013.

Like the environment they depict, gray tones predominate in each painting. They were obtained by mixing the three primary colors—yellow, blue, and red.

The fragments in orange represent the prison uniforms we all had to wear in that place. They represent us.

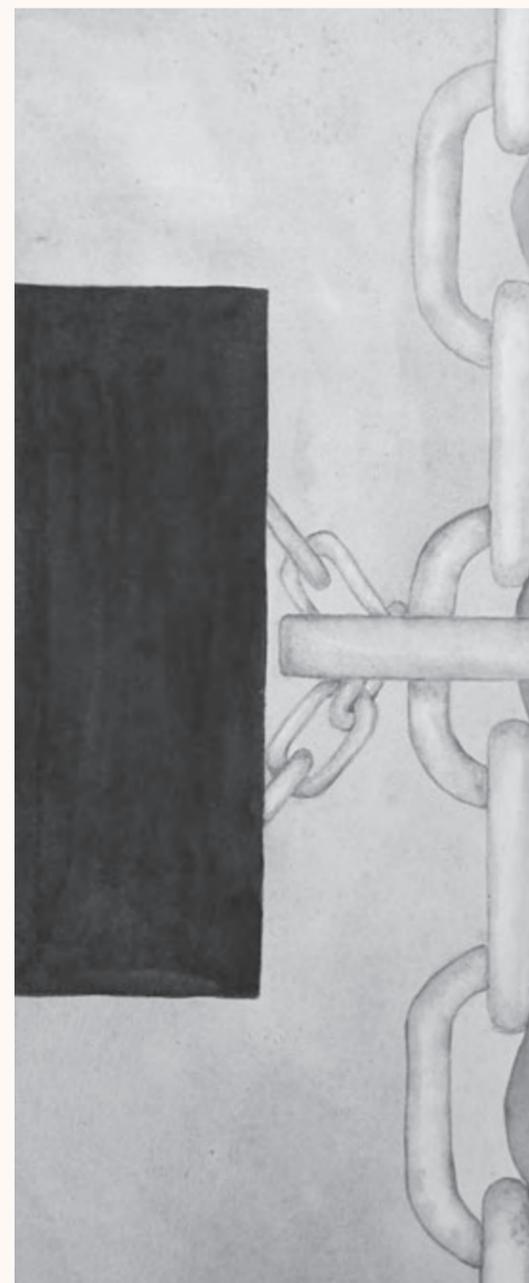
At first I thought of the watercolors as studies for works I would then do in larger format using oil. As I went along, however, I realized that in the simplicity of the watercolors there was beauty and, above all, harmony. As usual, once I started with the first sketch and the first painting, I could not stop until I reached the total of fifteen.

Our goal, in the near future, is to enrich this work with writings, poems, and other works by the five of us. In this way, we will make known that first period of our imprisonment,

to trial and convicted by a federal court in Miami on frame-up charges that included conspiracy to commit espionage and, in the case of Gerardo Hernández, conspiracy to commit murder. Each proudly acknowledged before the court and to the world that they were working for the Cuban government to prevent future murderous acts from taking place—and they would gladly do so again if asked.

On their unbowed heads, the judge imposed maximum sentences, ranging from fifteen years for René González, to life without parole for Guerrero and Labañino, and a double life sentence for Hernández, who led the effort. A federal appeals court overturned the convictions in 2005, then reinstated them a year later.

Following a 2008 ruling that the sen-



### The Chains

"Whenever they took you from you for a court appearance, for whatever your wrists and chained your ankles

which was the harshest and cruelest.

It was then that those of us who did not already know them learned the words to Silvio's emblematic song, *El necio*—"The stubborn fool." Each day, deprived of communication with all others, facing conditions of bru-

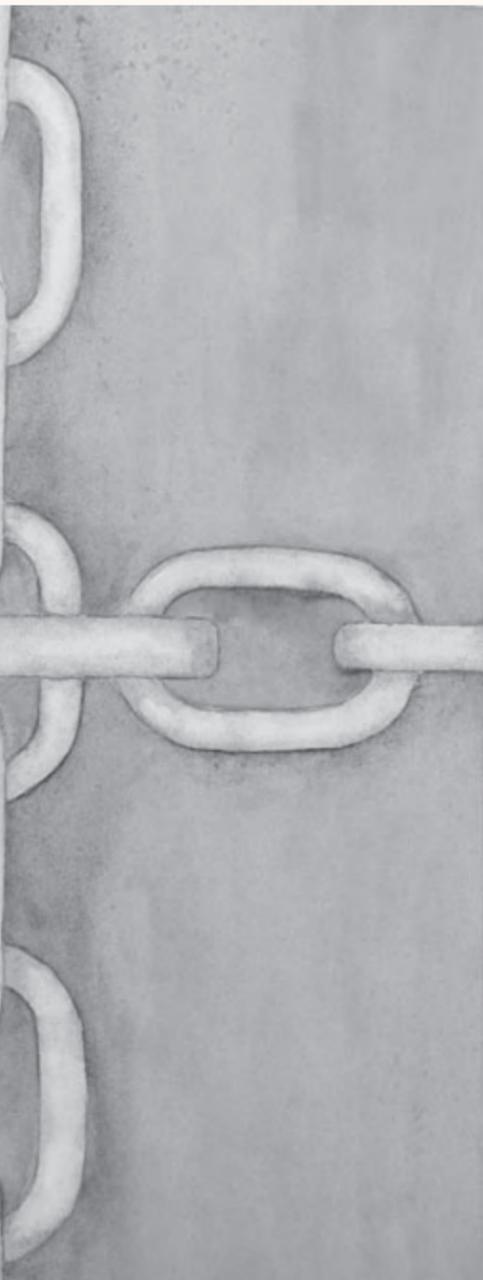
tences imposed on three of the five—Guerrero, Labañino, and Fernando González—exceeded federal guidelines, Guerrero's time was reduced from life without parole to twenty-one years and ten months. Were he to serve his full sentence, he would not be released until September 2017.

The sentence reductions registered the pressure on the US government from growing international condemnation of the trial and the unconscionable length of the prison terms imposed on the Cuban Five. At the 2009 court hearing where Guerrero was resentenced, federal prosecutors acknowledged they were seeking to "quiet the waters of contentiousness" and "noise" swirling around the case worldwide.

In May 2013 René González was the first of the Five to return to Cuba, after

# new book for fighters to free Cuban 5

## 15 years



our cell — to see your lawyer,  
over reason — they handcuffed  
kles for the entire trip...”

tal punishment and cruelty, we used  
to say with conviction—from our  
hearts, *from the inside out*—“I will  
die the way I’ve lived.”

April 25, 2013  
Marianna Federal Correctional  
Institution, Florida

serving his entire sentence—more than  
fourteen and a half years in US custo-  
dy. Fernando González will complete  
his prison sentence in February 2014.  
As long as even one of their brothers  
remains behind bars, however, none of  
them is “free.”

Why are the Cuban Five in prison for  
even a day? Because they are exemplary  
sons of the Cuban Revolution, of the  
men and women who brought into be-  
ing and defend “the first free territory of  
the Americas.” They are held hostage as  
punishment for the audacity of the Cu-  
ban toilers who dared to make a socialist  
revolution in what was once a virtual US  
colonial protectorate—men and women  
who to this day refuse to bow to the dic-  
tates of Washington.

The unbending integrity, dignity,  
Continued on page 9

## Monthlong exhibit of paintings opens in Minnesota

BY RIGOBERTO CASTRO

The Minnesota Cuba Committee and Regla De Oro are sponsoring a monthlong exhibit of the paintings of Antonio Guerrero, one of five Cuban revolutionaries locked up in U.S. prisons on trumped-up charges. The opening reception will take place on February 7, from 6-8 p.m., at Regla De Oro in Minneapolis.

The art show, “I will die the way I lived,” features 15 watercolor paintings by Guerrero, who learned to paint and draw from fellow inmates. The exhibit was shown last year by Obsidian Arts and the Minnesota Cuba Committee during the month of September at the Pillsbury House in south Minneapolis. September 12 marked 15 years of their arrest and imprisonment.

“After I finished painting fifteen, I decided to stop. That number coincides with the number of years of captivity we will complete on September 12, 2013,” writes Guerrero in his introductory note to the exhibit. The watercolors give a sense of the routine harassment faced from prison guards and officials, the lack of privacy, the searches of cells, the shackling of prisoners every time they are taken to court, the brutality of solitary confinement.

At the same time, the paintings show the resilience and creativity of the Cuban Five during their first 17 months of imprisonment awaiting trial in Miami, Florida, including six months of solitary confinement.

Guerrero, along with four other Cubans — Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González and René González — were convicted on frame-up charges, including “conspiracy to commit espionage” and, in the case of Hernández, “conspiracy to commit murder,” and received long prison sentences. René González was released in 2011 after serving more than 13 years in prison. Gerardo



Militant/Joanne Murphy

Supporters of Five are organizing showings of “I Will Die the Way I’ve Lived” in art galleries, union halls and other venues. Above, exhibit opens at Pillsbury House in Minneapolis, Sept. 12.

Hernández faces a prison sentence of double life plus 15 years.

Known internationally as the Cuban Five, these revolutionaries were arrested in September 1998 in Miami by the FBI. The Five had been gathering information on ultrarightist Cuban exile groups in Florida that have a long history of carrying out violent acts against the Cuban Revolution, with the complicity of the U.S. government. Their assignment was to keep the Cuban government informed of these deadly operations in order to prevent as many as possible from coming to fruition.

Over more than five decades, 3,500 Cubans have been killed and 2,100 injured in attacks, most originating from U.S. soil.

Guerrero was sentenced to life in prison plus 10 years. On October 13, 2009, his sentence was reduced to 21 years and 10 months, after an appeals court ruled that the sentences

of three of the Five — Guerrero, Labañino, and Fernando González — were excessive. The reduction in the draconian sentences was an acknowledgement of the pressure put on the U.S. government from the worldwide campaign demanding freedom for the Cuban Five.

On February 28, the final day of the exhibit, Regla De Oro will be holding a “celebration” — from 6-8 p.m. — of the release of Fernando González, who will be released on February 27 from a federal prison in Safford, Arizona, after completing his sentence. His release will be a boost to the international campaign to free Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, and Gerardo Hernández.

Fernando González was part of the massive effort by the men and women of Cuba to help defend Angola’s independence and sovereignty against South Africa’s apartheid regime. Be-

Continued on page 9

## New from Pathfinder

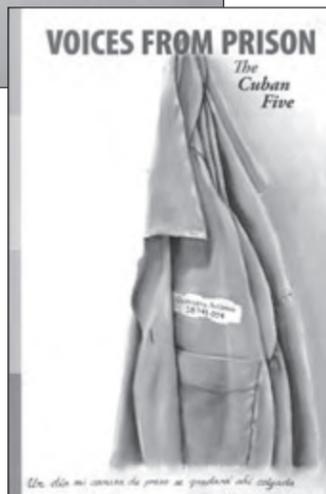


### ‘I Will Die The Way I’ve Lived’

Fifteen watercolors by Antonio Guerrero for the 15th anniversary of the imprisonment of the Cuban Five. With text by Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino. Also in Spanish. \$7

### Voices From Prison: The Cuban Five

The unbending dignity and integrity of the Cuban Five has won them the respect of thousands around the world as well as fellow prisoners. Here three who have known them behind bars speak out. Also accounts of prison life and resistance by Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Elizabeth Palmeiro and Puerto Rican independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda. Also in Spanish. \$7



### The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free

Articles from the *Militant* with the truth about the worldwide fight to win freedom for the Cuban Five. Now with a supplement on René González’s return to Cuba. Also in Spanish and French. \$5

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# Che: Build socialism through consciousness and discipline

Below is an excerpt from Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism by Carlos Tablada. It is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for February. Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, helped lead working people to take growing control over production and decisions affecting their daily lives, building socialist consciousness and transforming society on socialist foundations. The piece reprinted is from the chapter titled "Problems of Leadership, Organization and Management of Social Production under the Budgetary Finance System." Guevara, who served as minister of industry from 1961 to 1964, fought against a tendency toward capitalist methods employed in the Soviet Union at the time. Copyright © 1989 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Ernesto Che Guevara, center, visits factory in Pinar del Río province, Cuba, 1962. Socialist production, Guevara explained, is above all political task aimed at creation of new human beings.

Prensa Latina

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY CARLOS TABLADA

Che's theoretical and practical work from 1959 through 1967 in the process of eliminating capitalism and creating a socialist system in Cuba led him to conceive and develop the budgetary finance system. The budgetary finance system in turn was made up of subsystems that included economic planning, organizing and setting production norms, accounting and costs, finances, prices, controls and supervision, incen-

tive mechanisms, administrative and technical personnel policies, skill training, scientific and technical development, information, statistics, and workers' participation in management.

After he became involved in organizing and managing the economy, Che took up other questions as well. These included the struggle against bureaucracy, the establishment of socialist economic institutions and the relations among them, relations between the party and the state, relations between management and the unions, use of the principle of democratic centralism, social-psychological studies of organization and management, and the use of computers and mathematical-economic methods in socialist enterprises.

In this section the sole aim is to briefly indicate the importance Che assigned to establishing controls and supervision.

Beginning in October 1959, when he was named head of the Department of Industrialization of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, and later, when he took charge of the National Bank and the Ministry of Industry, Che took on the task of developing a subsystem that would subject all levels of management and administration to strict controls. It can safely be said that he was the first to establish a system of rigorous controls and supervision in the tumultuous first five years of our revolution. In one sense, the technical side of the bud-

getary finance system emerged from, was shaped by, and owes its establishment to this subsystem of controls and supervision.

Che conscientiously studied, among other materials, the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the science of organizing, supervising, and managing social production. In Marx and Engels he found the main laws that govern the transition from capitalism to communism, the general characteristics of socialism and communism, as well as certain fundamental principles, some of which have been noted.

Che made a detailed study of Lenin's works. The leader of the October revolution was the first Marxist to take up in practice the question of organizing and managing a socialist society. In addition to learning the Leninist principles of organization and management, Che studied and adopted the best of the techniques that the capitalist monopolies had instituted in their Cuban subsidiaries.

The subsystem created by Che stretched from the national level to the smallest establishment. The way in which he implemented it in the Ministry of Industry is worthy of study. "Without controls, we cannot build socialism," Che said. . . .

The great importance accorded by Che to accounting and cost analysis led him to pay attention to the details necessary to guarantee the accuracy of the

data recorded and collected. He took an interest not only in technical matters, but also in the personnel who worked in the economic apparatus. He thought those responsible for keeping financial records in a factory or any state-managed enterprise should be compañeros of absolute discipline. They are the steadfast guardians of the nation's property, including against the directors of enterprises.

The problem is that people are not perfect, far from it. We have to improve systems of controls to detect the very first infraction, because the first one leads to all the others. People might be very good the first time. But when, through indiscipline, they commit the error of taking something for personal use, intending to replace it in two or three days, this can then spread to the point of their becoming thieves, becoming traitors, falling increasingly into crime. . . .

Stressing the importance of employing accurate financial data in implementing controls, Che stated:

Financial discipline is one of the most important aspects of managing an enterprise or a factory. . . . The books must be kept up to date. This includes expenditures and income, all questions relating to contracts—for example, a negotiated adjustment concerning the delivery of a defective product. All these things are part of financial discipline, of financial controls.

Che did not view the task of implementing controls as limited solely to various administrative bodies. He believed it should be accompanied by careful efforts by the workers, the unions, and the party. Che believed building socialism and communism involved production, organization, and consciousness. It is not just an administrative, technical, and economic task. It is also an ideological and political task.

Che believed, like Fidel, that we must try to produce more goods, more efficiently, with better quality and — at the same time — to produce the new man who will build the new socialist society, the man who produces, leads, checks, and supervises. To do that, controls are necessary to produce with efficiency and prevent man from being corrupted.

### February BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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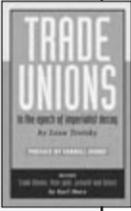
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# Ukraine protests spread, Putin responds with threats

Continued from front page

offering government posts and political concessions to leaders of the opposition, who themselves appear to have less and less control over the spreading protests. Justice Minister Olena Lukash hinted Jan. 26 at declaring a state of emergency, but there has been no attempt to impose one.

Protests began in November when Yanukovich, faced with threats and substantial economic incentives from Russian President Vladimir Putin, backed off from signing an “association” agreement with the European Union. The biggest actions have been in Kiev, the capital, several numbering more than 100,000.

On Jan. 16 the government responded to mounting protests by passing new repressive laws and deploying cops and security forces. At least three people were killed and hundreds injured in the ensuing clashes in the capital.

Government repression has only strengthened protesters’ determination to bring down the regime. For weeks Kiev’s Independence Square has been occupied, protected by barricades of burnt-out police buses, tires and other debris.

As of Jan. 26, government buildings have been occupied in 10 of Ukraine’s 25 regions. Repressive legislation restricting protests was repealed in a Jan. 28 emergency Parliament meeting. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov and his ministers resigned.

The Putin government responded with threats Jan. 28 to renege on promises of \$15 billion in financial aid and gas at preferential prices.

Standard & Poor’s cut Ukraine’s credit ratings, calling the regime a “distressed civil society with weakened political institutions.”

The eastern and southern parts of Ukraine, where protests have spread over the past week, represent the industrial heartland of the country. The Donbass region in the southeast, for example, accounts for one-fifth of Ukraine’s industrial production and export revenues, concentrated in mining and steel. These regions near the Russian border have the closest economic and cultural ties to Russia. Speakers of the Russian language make up 24 percent of Ukraine’s population, in some areas in the east it’s as much as 40 percent.

Serhiy Nihoyan, 21, was one of the protesters killed in the clashes in Kiev. Some 1,000 people attended his funeral in a village outside the eastern city of Dnipropetrovsk Jan. 26. “My son died for Ukraine,” his father, an Armenian immigrant, was quoted as saying in the local media.

The national protest movement has drawn other oppressed nationalities into the streets with their own demands, including the Crimean Tatars of Ukraine’s southeastern peninsula, among others.

Among the heterogeneous anti-government demonstrators are several ultrarightist currents — some

fielding paramilitary groups — that seek to claim the mantle of the national struggle, including Svoboda, which has members in Parliament; Common Cause; and the Ukrainian National Assembly.

## Russian Revolution advance for oppressed nations

Among the central tasks of the 1917 Russian Revolution under the leadership of Lenin was the emancipation of oppressed peoples. In November 1919 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party stated that Bolsheviks in Ukraine “must put into practice the right of the working people to study in the Ukrainian language in all Soviet institutions; they must in every way counteract attempts at Russification that push the Ukrainian language into the background.” This policy was decisive in winning Ukrainian working people to the proletarian revolution and voluntary association of Soviet socialist republics.

This course was reversed when a growing privileged layer centered in the state bureaucracy headed by Josef Stalin rose to power after Lenin’s death in 1924. They resurrected the Great Russian chauvinism of the tsarist empire and through bloody counterrevolution trampled over rights and aspirations of oppressed peoples. Russification — a policy begun under the empire to resettle Russians in Ukraine — was resurrected.

Events today are a continuation of a deeply rooted struggle against the Russian boot.

# No expansion of production or jobs

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cording to the *Financial Times*. “Then, something happened. From 2000, it plummeted and currently rests at an all-time low of 57 percent.”

Bosses are not expanding productive capacity or hiring because they don’t think they can turn their greatest profit that way today. This is part of a long-term trend rooted in the lawful workings of capitalism, not bad government policies or behavior by capitalists that can be redirected with proper regulation.

“The capitalists are not refraining from major new capacity-expanding investment because they are choosing to divert too much capital into securities markets, real estate speculation, loan sharking, and speeding up production in outmoded factories,” said a resolution adopted by the 1988 Socialist Workers Party convention, titled “What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold,” which is available in *New Internationalist* no. 10. “The cause and effect are the other way around. The exploiters are sinking their capital into ‘labor-saving’ retooling and speculative paper claims on values because they can get a better rate of return there than from investments in building new factories, installing major new technologies, and hiring on large amounts of additional labor power.”

This is more true today than it was a quarter century ago. Government monetary and fiscal schemes that have maintained interest rates near 0 percent to make borrowing for capitalists as cheap as possible have made no difference. One symptom of the crisis is the massive hoarding of cash by large corporations and increasing concentration of capital among fewer and larger banks.

At the end of 2012, the 975 largest nonfinancial companies worldwide were holding onto \$3.2 trillion of cash, up 36 percent from four years earlier, reported the *Financial Times*. In the U.S., corporate cash hoarding is \$1.5 trillion. Combined profits at the six largest U.S. banks — Bank of America, Citigroup, Goldman Sachs, JP Morgan Chase, Morgan Stanley and Wells Fargo — jumped 21 percent in 2013 to \$74.1 billion, the highest level since 2006.

These banks also redistribute profits squeezed from the labor of working people through buying up commercial paper, from derivatives to credit default swaps and other financial “instruments.” In the second-quarter of 2013, such investments generated over 60 percent of Citigroup’s profits and 40 percent for JPMorgan Chase, according to *The New Yorker*.

# Guerrero exhibit opens in Minneapolis

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tween 1975 and 1991, more than 375,000 Cubans volunteered to fight alongside Angolans against repeated invasions by what was then still the white supremacist regime in South Africa.

The apartheid regime’s military forces were finally

## Cuban 5: Who they are

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courage, truthfulness—and humor—of each of the Five, and growing knowledge of the consistency of their revolutionary conduct from Cuba and Angola to US prison cells, is winning them ever-increasing support. It is winning them the admiration and backing of artists, parliamentary deputies, and religious leaders, of workers, farmers, and young people on every continent, and of fellow prisoners by the thousands.

For those who want to know “Who are the Cuban Five?” there is no better place to start than with the eloquent testimony of *I Will Die the Way I’ve Lived*. It is a short step from there to becoming part of what Gerardo Hernández has called the “jury of millions” that will set them free.

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dealt a decisive defeat in 1988 at the major battle of Cuito Cuanavale. That victory also assured the end of South Africa’s colonial domination of Namibia and accelerated the massive popular mobilizations inside South Africa that soon shattered the apartheid regime. González was stationed in southern Angola during the final stage of the protracted war against the U.S.-backed South African invaders.

South African leader Nelson Mandela eloquently described the historic contributions of the Cuban people during a 1991 visit to Cuba, where he thanked them for their unprecedented aid. “The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African independence, freedom and justice, unparalleled for its principled and selfless character,” Mandela told a crowd of tens of thousands in Cuba.

More than 350 committees in 114 countries, hundreds of political organizations, and thousands of individuals around the world are working hard to win the freedom of the Cuban Five. Support ranges from the National Conference of Black Lawyers to the National Council of Churches, actors Danny Glover and Harry Belafonte, 12 Nobel Prize laureates, to several trade unions, and many others.

For more information, contact [www.minnesotacubacommittee.org](http://www.minnesotacubacommittee.org) (612-367-6134).

## Showings of paintings by Antonio Guerrero, one of the Cuban Five

### *I Will Die the Way I’ve Lived*



## Exhibits

### Minneapolis, Minn. February 4-28

Reception: Fri., Feb. 7, 6 p.m. Regla de Oro — Art Gallery and Fair Trade Gifts, 2743 Lyndale Ave. S. Tel.: (612) 866-1247; (612) 378-7134. Exhibition schedule: Tues.-Fri., 12 p.m.-7 p.m.; Sat., 11 a.m.-7 p.m.; Sun., 11 a.m.-4 p.m.

### Montreal, Canada Thurs., Feb. 6, 5 p.m.

“Art and Liberation.” Université de Montréal, 3200, Jean-Brillant, Room B-3260. Speakers: Alain González González, Cuban consul general; Claude Morin, honorary professor; Félix Vincent Ardea, student; Catinca Adriana Stan, teaching assistant. Tel.: (438) 822-9500.

### Manchester, England Sat., Feb. 15

Exhibition of paintings 1 p.m.-5 p.m., part of meeting to support International Commission of Inquiry into the Case of Cuban Five. Central Hall, Oldham Street. Sponsored by Manchester Cuba Solidarity Campaign.