

# THE MILITANT

**SPECIAL FROM NEW BOOK**  
**Excerpt from *Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record* by Jack Barnes**  
 — PAGES 8-10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 80/NO. 43 NOVEMBER 14, 2016

## US shifts UN vote on Cuba, still targets revolution

BY SETH GALINSKY

UNITED NATIONS — For the first time in 25 years, the U.S. government abstained on the annual U.N. General Assembly resolution calling on Washington to end “the economic, commercial and financial embargo” against Cuba. But U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power made it clear that U.S. imperialism has not changed its stripes, nor its hostility and hatred for the Cuban Revolution.

The Oct. 26 vote was 191 in favor of the resolution and two abstentions: the U.S. and Israeli delegates.

Power defended Washington’s 55-year economic war against Cuba, claiming that “all actions of the United States with regard to Cuba have been and are fully in conformity with the U.N. Charter and international law.” The only reason that the Barack Obama administration has “adopted a new approach,” she said, was because “the U.S. policy of isolation toward Cuba was not working — or worse,”

Continued on page 6

## Oregon land protesters’ acquittal is gain for workers

BY EDWIN FRUIT

SEATTLE — In a victory for the rights of all those standing up to abuses by the U.S. government, a jury Oct. 27 found brothers Ammon and Ryan Bundy and five others not guilty of conspiracy and other frame-up charges. They were on trial for their participation in the pro-rancher protest occupation of the Malheur National

**END THE FRAME-UPS OF HAMMONDS, BUNDYS**

— SWP statement, p. 10

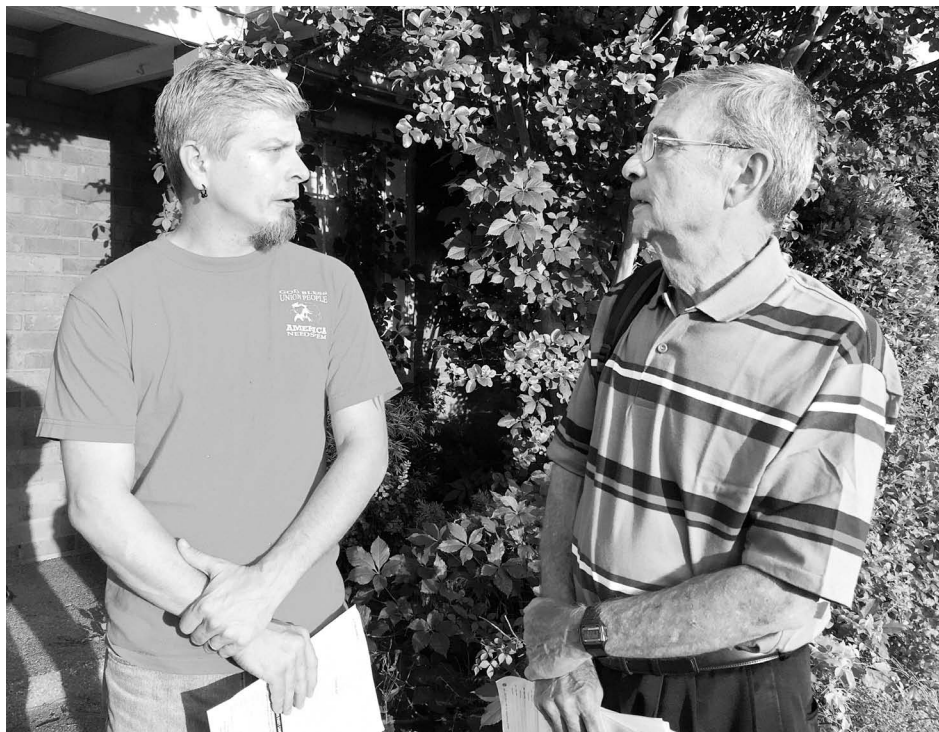
Wildlife Refuge in Oregon last winter.

But the Bundys were not released from prison. Instead, they are being sent to Nevada to stand trial on more frame-up charges for resisting federal attempts to confiscate their father’s cattle in 2014. When defense attorney Marcus Mumford demanded to see an official detainer ordering his clients

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## ‘The Socialist Workers Party is your party!’

SWP launches 10-day effort to broaden reach



Militant/Maggie Trowe

Socialist Workers Party member John Benson, right, talks with welder Denny Chaney, member of Boilermakers union, in front of Chaney’s home in Memphis, Tennessee, June 4. SWP is putting discussing revolutionary politics with workers at center of its political activity.

BY MAGGIE TROWE

As the Nov. 8 U.S. presidential election comes to a close, the crisis of both capitalist parties is deepening. Whether Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Donald Trump is elected, the new president will be the first in U.S. history starting their term distrusted by the majority of the population.

The election won’t end the widespread discussion and debate among working people about how to deal

with the impact on them of the grinding economic contraction and financial crisis of capitalism that continues to unfold.

As this unfolds the Socialist Workers Party is expanding its political activity in the working class centered on discussion with workers at their doorsteps about the crisis of the capitalist system, and what working people can do to fight in their own class interests.

Party members are organizing a

Continued on page 3

## Striking Phila. transit workers insist: ‘No contract, no work!’



Militant/Janet Post

“Our fight is for the whole working class,” said Chris Conly, second from right, picketing SEPTA bus depot Nov. 1. Strike is for job safety, against attempt to gut medical insurance.

BY CHRIS HOEPPNER

PHILADELPHIA — “No Contract, No Work!” chanted striking bus drivers and maintenance workers outside the Midvale Bus Depot here just after midnight Nov. 1. Some 4,700 members of Transport Workers Union Local 234 at the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) walked out, halting buses, trains and trolleys across the city. Bus drivers, mechanics and trolley drivers

picketed the bus depots. Union members had voted two weeks ago not to extend the contract if no contract was negotiated by the midnight deadline.

**SUPPORT SEPTA STRIKERS**

— SWP statement, p. 10

TWU members say the central issues are health care, retirement pay and safety for SEPTA workers and

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## Turkish gov’t vies for influence amid US-led assault on Mosul

BY MARK THOMPSON

Iraqi government troops entered the city of Mosul Oct. 31 in a U.S.-organized assault to wrest control from Islamic State. Over the previous two weeks they had captured the eastern outskirts of the city, together with peshmerga forces from the autonomous Iraqi Kurdish government.

Conflicts between capitalist rivals in the region have intensified, particularly as the governments of Turkey and Iran each seek to assert greater influence as regional powers. They were further exacerbated Oct. 26 when Defense Secretary Ashton Carter announced that Washington plans to open an offensive against Islamic State in its Syrian stronghold of Raqqa “in the next few weeks.”

Thousands of Shiite militias joined the battle in Mosul Oct. 30. They act under the auspices of the Iraqi government, but most are trained and organized by the Quds Brigade, the extraterritorial arm of Tehran’s Rev-

olutionary Guards. Its commander, Major Gen. Qassem Soleimani, was reported to be in Mosul in late October.

Posing as the protector of Sunni

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Rallies oppose cop attack on Standing Rock Sioux protest 7

—On the picket line, p. 5—

Peeps candy workers fight post-strike replacement of unionists

Illinois egg workers strike for union, equal pay for women



# Oregon protesters acquitted

**Continued from front page**  
to remain in prison, federal marshals threw him to the ground, used a Taser on him, handcuffed and arrested him. The verdict shocked big-business news media and politicians. “‘Off the Charts Unbelievable’: Will Acquittal of Oregon Refuge Occupiers Embolden Extremists, Militias?” read a headline in the Oct. 28 *Washington Post*. Oregon Gov. Kate Brown issued a statement saying she was “disappointed.”

“The acquittal is good for working people and all those fighting the government’s spying and trampling of democratic rights,” said Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Washington. “And it strengthens the fight to free the Hammonds.”

Ammon Bundy initiated the civil disobedience occupation to protest the jailing of father and son Dwight and Steven Hammond, cattle ranchers near the Malheur refuge. The two had been convicted on frame-up arson charges for setting controlled burns to protect their land from wildfires and invasive species. They were sent to prison a second time after an appeals court ruled that the judge in their trial had erred by giving them a sentence less than the minimum set under the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act.

The occupation also protested what many ranchers call “federal overreach” — government policies that limit ranchers’ and farmers’ access to federal land, increase grazing fees and restrict watering rights for livestock. More than 50 percent of the land west of the Mississippi is owned

by the U.S. government. The government’s admission that they had 15 paid FBI informants operating in the protest occupation or in the nearby town of Burns, Oregon, undermined the prosecution’s case. The only violence that occurred during the refuge occupation was the Jan. 26 police killing of protest leader Robert “LaVoy” Finicum, who along with the Bundys and other protesters was ambushed on his way to a community meeting. U.S. District Judge Anna Brown refused to allow most mention of the killing of Finicum. The government’s use of the charge of “conspiracy to impede” federal employees as the heart of their case backfired. U.S. prosecutors often use conspiracy charges to frame up union and other political activists to get stiffer sentences and avoid having to prove that any crime was committed.

The *Oregonian* newspaper quoted an email statement from “Juror 4,” who said the prosecution failed “to prove ‘conspiracy.’” He said when jurors asked why conspiracy charges were being used, they were told other charges such as criminal trespass didn’t carry as stiff a penalty — up to six years for conspiracy. “The air of triumphalism that the prosecution brought was not lost on any of us, nor was it warranted,” Juror 4 wrote. The paper said another juror “was especially disturbed when the defense unmasked” one of the informers sent in by the FBI as the person who began and organized firearms training.

A discussion broke out immediately outside the courthouse in Portland and in the press about whether or not the participants in the occupa-

## NZ: Indian students protest deportation threat



Militant/Felicity Coggan

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Some 150 students from India have been issued deportation orders by Immigration New Zealand, starting mid-June. Since July they have not been allowed to attend class or work. About 50 people protested during the Diwali celebration here Oct. 15, demanding to be allowed to finish their courses and receive work permits. This was the latest of several actions, including the Sept. 26 rally above. Immigration lawyer Alastair McClymont said the students got their visas through an education agent based in India, who submitted fraudulent documents on their behalf without their knowledge and that deporting them for something that was not their fault is wrong.

— BASKARAN APPU

tion, most of whom are Caucasian, got more lenient treatment than Black Lives Matter protesters or those defending Native American rights.

John Lamb, a chicken farmer from Montana who maintained a daily support vigil for those on trial, told the *Militant* that “Portland Don’t Shoot” activists were marching near the courthouse after the verdict to protest police brutality. “We joined in with their march. Some objected at first because they thought we were racists or white supremacists. When they saw who we were, and that wasn’t the case, that our group included people who are Native and Black and Asian and opposed what the government is doing, some of them came back and apologized. We are going to talk again. We are fighting the same monster.”

In Burns, former logger Dave Smer-ski said by phone that he and many others in the region “responded happily” to the verdict. A sign he erected

last year that reads “Stand with the Hammonds” remains visible in town. He said there are now “more FBI and state police in town, more street lights with rotating cameras to monitor people.” He noted that 40 Native Americans held a protest in town recently in solidarity with the fight of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe in North Dakota.

Ruth Danielson, a neighbor of the Hammonds who supports their fight to get out of prison, told the *Militant*, “I didn’t agree with the refuge takeover but to use conspiracy charges against them was wrong and nefarious and I’m glad the jury didn’t agree with this.”

Eleven participants in the occupation previously took plea bargains and have been sentenced. Ammon Bundy called on the prosecution to drop charges against seven others scheduled for trial in February.

Joel Britton contributed to this article.

## THE MILITANT

### Protest police killings!

*Widespread protests and mobilizations around the country, led by family members who refuse to give up, have put a spotlight on police killings and brutality, pushing the ruling class to rein in their cops.*

*The ‘Militant’ covers and backs these struggles.*



Scott Heins for Gothamist  
Protest in Bronx, New York, Oct. 19 against cop killing of Deborah Danner.

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The SWP is your party

Continued from front page  
special 10-day effort Nov. 3-12 in cities, towns and rural areas, where they will engage in the widespread political debate going on among workers. They are explaining how the crisis facing working people is rooted in the dictatorship of capital and the need for the working class to fight to take political power.

Party branches nationwide have cancelled Militant Labor Forums for the weekend before the election to put more time into these door-to-door discussions with workers.

Interest in a working-class party

The 10-day effort will serve to further place these discussions in the working class at the center of the ongoing activity of SWP members. Leaders of the party will travel to cities where there are branches to help lead in taking advantage of the broad openings among working people for this kind of discussion, today and in the years to come, about working-class politics and the fight for socialism.

*The Clintons’ Anti-Working-Class Record: Why Washington Fears Working People* by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes is now available (see excerpt, pages 8-10). It will be an invaluable tool in advancing this discussion and drawing workers toward the party.

As they knock on workers’ doors, Socialist Workers Party members find more and more interest in finding an alternative to the bosses’ parties. “Is that against Clinton?” Jim Kusek asked SWP presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy when he overheard her explaining *The Clintons’ Anti-Working-*

*Class Record* in Lomita, California, Oct. 29.

“Yes, both the Democratic and Republican parties are against the interests of working people,” Kennedy said. “Workers are facing the effects of the deepening economic crisis. The reason we are having these problems is because of capitalism. We need to look to our class to chart a way forward.”

Kusek agreed.

“The working class is the issue in this election,” SWP vice-presidential candidate Osborne Hart told students at a Vanderbilt University campaign debate in Nashville, Tennessee, Oct. 24. Others on the panel included Mary Mancini, chair of the Tennessee Democratic Party; Heather Scott for the Libertarian Party; and Howard Switzer of the Green Party.

“The capitalist rulers and their representatives like Clinton and Trump fear us. That’s why Clinton describes us as ‘deplorable’ and ‘irredeemable,’ it’s why Trump seeks to scapegoat and divide us,” he said. “The system of capitalism which they defend is in a historic crisis for which they have no solutions.”

Deepening crisis in capitalist parties

When revelations showed Trump joking about groping women and getting away with it, and when he responded to a firestorm of criticism by attacking women as “nasty,” his poll numbers fell. Numerous Republican elected officials said they couldn’t support him. Their party was fraying at the edges.

The main liberal capitalist media outlets — from the *Washington Post* to the *New York Daily News* — have carried out a relentless hysterical attack on Trump. But this week their spotlight was on Clinton when FBI Director James Comey announced the agency would resume a review of the former secretary of state’s email practices after thousands of emails were discovered in a separate inquiry into former Democratic Congressman Anthony Weiner, estranged husband of top Clinton aide Huma Abedin.

The Clinton campaign responded by sharp accusations at Comey for trying to influence the election and having a “blatant double standard” in investigating Clinton’s emails while refusing to look into alleged Trump ties with Russia. Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid sent a letter to Comey Oct. 30 accusing him of criminally covering



Militant/Laura Anderson  
Dan Fein, left, member of party’s branch in Chicago and candidate for U.S. Senate, with Rosario Rose Oct. 27 at Michael Foods in Lansing, Illinois, where workers walked out the week before.

up “explosive information” about ties between Trump and Moscow.

But the next day President Barack Obama defended Comey as “a man of integrity.” And Attorney General Loretta Lynch said she continued to have confidence in him.

This comes on top of continuing evidence that the Clintons — Bill and Hillary — used public office to increase their wealth and enrich their family foundation.

The “Occupy Wall Street” wing of the party — led by Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, who had his campaign for the Democratic nomination scuttled by a dirty campaign led by party leaders, and liberal Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren — has moved to increase its influence.

In an Oct. 27 *Boston Globe* op-ed, Sanders said a new Democratic administration had to have a treasury secretary “prepared to take on the greed and illegal behavior of Wall Street, not someone who comes from Wall Street or will leave office to go to Wall Street.”

Warren sent Obama a letter accusing Securities and Exchange Commission Chair Mary Jo White of being too close to big business and called for her ouster.

The divisions in the Democratic Party, and the fights that are coming, are clear.

With the race tightening, Clinton backers are now saying it really doesn’t matter if Trump wins the popular vote, because he can never win in the Electoral College.

Trump has said the election is “rigged.” And it does happen. Study the history of how then Mayor Richard Daley’s Democratic machine in Chicago found enough votes in city cemeteries to give John F. Kennedy Illinois — and the presidency — in 1960.

But whoever wins, the ruling capitalist families will control the White House. The economic, political and moral crisis of capitalist rule will deepen. And the burgeoning discussion in the working class about how to stop the attacks of the bosses and their government, and their expanding wars abroad, will continue and deepen.

The 2016 election will be history, but the SWP will keep on expanding the party’s reach, knocking on doors, joining the discussion and showing by its actions that the SWP is the party the working class needs.

Sam Manuel in Atlanta and Deborah Liatos in Los Angeles contributed to this article.



Militant/Deborah Liatos  
Alyson Kennedy, SWP candidate for president, talks with Jim Kusek on his porch in Lomita, California, Oct. 29.

Join SWP campaigning!  
Make a donation!

Campaigners for the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Alyson Kennedy and Osborne Hart are discussing with workers door to door the world crisis of capitalist production and trade, joining protests against cop brutality and against boss attacks, and asking people to join the SWP.

You can join in these efforts — just get in touch with the party in your area, listed on page 4.

You can also contribute to the \$40,000 Campaign Fund that makes this work possible. Contributions can be made out to Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee and sent to 227 W. 29th St., 6th Floor, New York, NY 10001.

\$40,000 needed

\$38, 618 raised to date

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by Jack Barnes

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Help finance SWP

The annual SWP Party-Building Fund based on contributions from workers is essential to finance the SWP. All are encouraged to contribute. Halfway through the drive more than \$31,000 has been collected toward the goal of \$100,000 by Dec. 7. To make a contribution, contact the SWP in your area, listed on page 4.

Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund

Sept. 24 - Dec. 7 - Week 5

Area	Quota	Collected	%
Atlanta	\$11,000	\$5,856	53%
Chicago	\$11,500	\$3,788	33%
Lincoln	\$300		0%
Los Angeles	\$9,000	\$1,804	20%
Miami	\$3,500	\$675	19%
New York	\$22,500	\$7,880	35%
Oakland	\$15,000	\$5,285	35%
Philadelphia	\$4,500	\$600	13%
Seattle	\$8,000	\$4,174	52%
Twin Cities	\$4,500	\$1,050	23%
Wash., DC	\$8,500	\$450	5%
Other			
Total	\$98,300	\$31,562	32%
Should be	\$100,000	\$50,000	50%



# French gov't closes camp, leaves refugees in limbo

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The French government deployed some 1,200 riot police, armed with tear gas, batons and rubber bullets, to begin forcing refugees out of the camp known as the Jungle Oct. 24. They were followed by bulldozers that within a week had leveled most of the makeshift camp in Calais near the entrance to the Channel Tunnel to the U.K.

French officials have begun to bus thousands of Jungle residents who they deem eligible to seek asylum to “welcome centers” across the country. But many others are now living on the streets in Calais and Paris.

“I’m not getting on any bus tomorrow,” Salman Afridi, a 22-year-old Pakistani, told the *Telegraph* Oct. 24. “They can arrest me but whatever happens I am coming back here. I will get to England.” That has been the goal of up to 10,000 refugees and other immigrants who have been living in the Calais camp.

Each night, a number attempt to cross into the U.K., stowing away on trucks passing through the Eurotunnel or on ferries. The U.K. government declares such entrants “illegal” and fines truckers up to £2,000 (\$2,440) for every stow-away caught. Eurotunnel officials and

some truckers had called for the Jungle to be closed.

An estimated 1,000 to 1,500 unaccompanied minors are still at the camp, stuck in a legal limbo as British and French authorities debate whether they will be allowed to pursue asylum claims inside the U.K.

The Jungle dwellers constitute a small portion of nearly 2 million refugees who have fled the Middle East, North Africa and Asia for Europe in the last couple of years, fueled especially by the wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. The largest number of these head for Germany, encouraged by the government of Angela Merkel. Some 475,000 sought asylum there in 2015.

Many perish en route. According to the International Organization for Migration, more than 3,770 drowned in the Mediterranean Sea last year.

The huge wave of refugees and immigrants is exacerbating conflicts among the capitalist rulers across Europe. Governments have responded by strengthening borders, erecting razor wire fences policed by armed cops, soldiers and goons. The U.K. government is funding the building of a wall in Calais to add to the razor wire security fencing around the Eurotunnel entrance.



Reuters/Philippe Wojazer

Refugees prepare to leave “Jungle” camp in Calais, France, Oct. 27, as bulldozers tear down shelters and tents. Some have been bused to other camps, others are now living on streets.

London and Paris agreed in 2003 to set up immigration controls at each others Channel ports. Now many French politicians are calling for scrapping the treaty, to push London to process asylum-seekers on its own territory.

In a visit to the camp in August 2015, this reporter noted in the *Militant* that the squalid Jungle was taking on a semipermanent character, mirroring on a small scale the vast camps of Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq.

The French government denies the refugees the right to work, until after nine months, and the U.K. government

generally denies asylum-seekers the right to work while their requests are being considered.

Going door to door in Harlow, outside London, Oct. 29, Communist League members found a wide-ranging debate about what was happening in Calais. “These migrants are in France and France should take responsibility,” said a young hairdresser who didn’t want to give her name.

“The source of the problem lies in the Middle East which was devastated by two wars against Iraq involving thousands of British troops,” said Kay McGinley, a college teacher. “ISIS came out of that. Britain and other countries should get out.”

“As someone from an Irish Traveler background I can identify with the refugees in Calais,” Anne Dundon, 30, told Paul Davies and Debra Jacobs, from the Communist League. “If they close the camp, what are they going to do with the people?”

“The way the refugees are portrayed separates them from other working people,” Jacobs replied. “It’s part of their divide-and-rule strategy. The unions need to organize all working people, regardless of where they come from, whether they have papers or not.”

“In the U.K. those who apply for asylum don’t get paid benefits — they just get tokens so when they are shopping others can see that they are asylum-seekers,” Davies added.

“Yes,” responded Dundon, “that’s wrong. And the government is trying to extend that system of tokens rather than cash payments to other benefit recipients, not just asylum-seekers.”

## Ankara vies for influence amid US-led offensive

Continued from front page

Muslims and ethnic Turkmen, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan denounced the involvement of the Shiite militia. The Turkish military began moving tanks and armored vehicles to the Turkish-Iraqi border Nov. 1. Ankara already has 2,000 troops in northern Iraq, including 800 at a base near Mosul, despite the opposition of the Iraqi government.

Recent speeches by Erdogan have asserted that Turkey has an historic claim to territory in northern Iraq and Syria, including Mosul, and regards this as part of Ankara’s sphere of influence. Maps published by Turkish media have begun showing these regions as part of Turkey. In an Oct. 19 speech that criticized Washington’s collaboration with Kurdish forces in Syria, Erdogan said, “We are not obliged to abide by the role anyone has set for us.”

Turkish troops and tanks, and a Turkish-backed Arab militia, have been advancing in northern Syria since late August in an operation Ankara calls “Euphrates Shield.” Both Turkish forces and the Syrian Democratic Forces, led by the Kurdish People’s Protection Units (YPG), are capturing territory from Islamic State and advancing towards the city of al-Bab.

In a televised speech Oct. 27, Erdogan said Turkish forces would prevent the SDF from entering al-Bab and then drive it from the city of Manbij and back east across the Euphrates River. Then “we will go toward Raqqa,” he proclaimed.

But Washington is depending on the SDF as the main force for a U.S.-led assault against Islamic State in Raqqa. “We are afraid to be hit from the back if we move to Raqqa,” Saleh Muslim, a Syrian Kurdish leader, told the *Seattle Times* by phone Oct. 29. U.S. special operations forces and airstrikes have

been supporting both the Turkish and Kurdish-led forces in Syria.

Erdogan said he urged President Barack Obama in a phone call Oct. 26 to exclude the SDF from the offensive on Raqqa and collaborate instead with a Turkish-led military assault. White House officials said Obama asked Erdogan to hold back from attacking the SDF while the Raqqa assault is underway, and that Washington would help control the Kurds. “We’re not in perfect control,” the Oct. 31 *Washington Post* quoted an anonymous White House official as commenting.

The Turkish forces advancing on al-Bab are not far from the city of Aleppo, where the regime of Bashar al-Assad and its backers, including Russian planes and Iranian troops and militias, are carrying out a murderous assault on opposition insurgents for control of the city. A commander of the pro-Assad

forces issued a warning Oct. 26 that any Turkish advance towards their positions north and east of Aleppo would be met “decisively and with force.”

Teheran, which backs the governments in both Iraq and Syria, has repeatedly warned Ankara against intervention in either country.

In Turkey, Erdogan is continuing to arrest Kurdish politicians, close newspapers, and fire thousands of teachers, health workers and others deemed disloyal to the government, using emergency powers adopted following the failed July military coup. Dozens of officials of the pro-Kurdish Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP) and Democratic Regions Party (DBP) were arrested in southeastern Turkey in October, including the two co-mayors of Diyarbakir, the largest Kurdish city. They are accused of supporting the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

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# —ON THE PICKET LINE—

MAGGIE TROWE, EDITOR

## Help the *Militant* cover labor struggles around the world!

This column gives a voice to those engaged in battle and building solidarity today — including workers locked out by Honeywell, California port truckers fighting to be classified as workers, not owners, and construction workers demanding safe conditions. I invite those involved in workers' battles to contact me at 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018; or (212) 244-4899; or themilitant@mac.com. We'll work together to ensure your story is told.

—Maggie Trowe

### Peeps candy workers fight post-strike 'replacement' of unionists

BETHLEHEM, Pa. — More than 50 members and supporters of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco and Grain Millers Local 6 held an informational picket line across from the Just Born candy plant here Oct. 22 to protest the company permanently replacing 50 unionists after a strike that ended Sept. 30. The plant produces marshmallow Peeps.

Carpenters and BCTGM unionists from Hershey joined the picket, as did Katie McGinty, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate, and her opponent, Socialist Workers Party candidate John Staggs.

During the strike the company hired 56 replacement workers, and 70 of the 400 members of the local crossed the picket line.

"The owners act like pillars of the community," BCTGM organizer John Price said, but leave experienced workers out on the street. "It's vindictive."

Debbie Harden, who was called back to work, said the unionists have organized a fund and food drive.

"The replacement workers are permitted to harass union members, but if we talk to them we're called instigators and threatened with the loss of our jobs," she said, describing the atmosphere in the plant.

Jose Santiago came out to the picket line after his shift. "I spend my lunch breaks with my people," he said.

—George Chalmers

### Illinois egg workers strike for union, equal pay for women

LANSING, Ill. — Seventy workers walked out of Michael Foods in this suburb south of Chicago Oct. 17, protesting lower pay for women, poor working conditions and lack of safety. They want a union to represent the 120 workers at this egg pasteurization plant. The workers, majority Mexican-born, linked up with the United Food and Commercial



Jorge Mújica

Egg processing workers picket Michael Foods in Lansing, Illinois, Oct. 20 demanding union representation, better and safer working conditions and an end to lower pay for women.

Workers and Arise Chicago after contacting Univision Spanish-language television for help.

"The bosses threatened to fire us and intimidated some of the workers who came out and talked to us later that day," Nadia Mellin told the *Militant*.

As some 60 workers and family members held a cookout and played loud music in front of the plant Oct. 22, strike leaders announced workers would begin returning to work that night.

"All the workers returned, and none were fired," Jorge Mújica of Arise Chicago told the *Militant* Oct. 26 "But then the company posted a notice that on

Nov. 4 they will require workers to comply with E-Verify," the federal program that checks immigration status. "UFCW Local 881 has filed for a union representation election and is negotiating a date."

"Women get \$8.45 an hour, while men get \$10," Mellin said. "We may do different jobs, but they're as hard as the men's jobs."

"When men call off, women do their jobs," said Carlos Ortiz, who loads eggs on the line, "and women relieve men for breaks. They should get equal pay."

Several workers said the pasteurization equipment creates a very hot work environment. "And there's no air conditioning at all," said Ortiz.

Jorge Pineda said he had been badly cut when a machine came down on his fingers. He had to call a relative to take him to the hospital to get them stitched.

"They don't call an ambulance," he said. "You have to get a friend or family member to take you to the hospital. Then the company doesn't pay anything." He pulled out a bill for \$1,286.37 for the treatment.

"When you get hurt, you don't get paid for time missed, or the company uses your vacation pay if you have any," said Mellin. "This is why we need a union. None of us has ever been in a union, and none has ever been on strike before, but we had to do something."

—Ilona Gersh

## Washington steps up military intervention in Somalia

BY MARK THOMPSON

Over the past year Washington has been quietly escalating its military intervention in the civil war in Somalia, targeting the Islamist group al-Shabab, which controls large areas of the countryside.

Some 300 U.S. special operations troops along with 100 personnel from Washington-based private military contractor Bancroft Global Development are working with the Somali army and an African Union "peacekeeping" force of some 22,000 soldiers from Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and other countries. They are backed by air and drone strikes from the U.S. military base in neighboring Djibouti, Washington's only permanent base on the African continent.

Over 3,000 U.S. military forces are stationed at the Djibouti base, which is the hub for U.S. drone strikes in Yemen and across the region. The French government has a base in Djibouti as well, with about 1,900 troops, and both China and Japan are building bases there.

U.S. forces in Somalia are involved in more than half a dozen ground raids and drone strikes a month, and help interrogate prisoners afterward, the *New York Times* reported Oct. 16. "The Pentagon has acknowledged only a small fraction of these operations," it said. "But even the information released publicly shows a marked increase this year."

The Barack Obama administration's course in Somalia, as elsewhere, is to rely on special operations forces and airstrikes in coalition with local allies, rather than large ground forces — a registration of U.S. imperialism's relative weakening. It contrasts with Washington's last major intervention in Somalia in 1992, when President George H.W. Bush sent 28,000 troops to occupy the country. That came to a humiliating end the following year after 18 U.S. soldiers

were killed in the highly publicized "Black Hawk Down" battle in the capital, Mogadishu.

Somalia has been wracked by war and without a centralized government since the overthrow of the regime of Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991. After years of fighting between rival clans that devastated the country, the Union of Islamic Courts in 2006 took control of Mogadishu and much of the southern part of the country. Ethiopian troops, backed by Washington, then invaded and installed an alternative government, but it has never succeeded in bringing

the country under its control. Al-Shabab emerged from a split in the Union of Islamic Courts as the strongest force fighting against the invasion and the new government. It has links with al-Qaeda and has also carried out terrorist attacks in neighboring Kenya.

A million people have left Somalia as refugees from the war and another million are internally displaced, out of a population of about 11 million. The northern territories of Somaliland and Puntland have functioned under their own governments since 1991 and are not part of the civil war.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

November 15, 1991

HAMLET, North Carolina — More than 500 people marched and rallied here October 18 to protest working conditions that caused 25 deaths in a fire at Imperial Food Products September 3.

Participants were mostly Black workers from the area. Several union officials from the recently adjourned state AFL-CIO convention in Charlotte and other activists attended.

The rally was sponsored by a coalition of local groups together with NAACP, the United Food and Commercial Workers, the National Rainbow Coalition, and the Charlotte Labor Council.

The rally showed the potential for organizing working people to fight for safe working conditions. Nevertheless in the two months since the fire at the poultry plant politicians and union officials continue to orient toward relying on government officials and employer benevolence.

**THE MILITANT**  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1966

November 14, 1966

NOV. 8 — Lt. General William Train, commanding officer of the U.S. First Army, affirmed the convictions and sentences of the Fort Hood Three. Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas will serve five years at hard labor. Pvt. Dennis Mora will serve three years. Stanley Faulkner, attorney for the GIs, said there will be "a vigorous appeal."

The three servicemen had been illegally arrested by the Army after they told a news conference last June that they would seek a court injunction against being sent to fight in "an illegal, immoral and unjust war" being waged by the U.S. in Vietnam.

While their civil-court action was pending, they were ordered aboard a special plane for Vietnam. When they refused they were immediately arrested. The Pentagon was determined to make an example for the many other servicemen who want no part of this war.

**THE MILITANT**  
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

November 15, 1941

The bureaucratic AFL tops are experiencing increasing difficulty in their attempts to impose a "no strike" policy on the AFL rank-and-file. AFL workers in virtually every trade and craft continue to go out on strike in defiance of the strikebreaking edicts of the top leadership.

A succession of strikes involving thousands of AFL workers employed on government war projects are demonstrating that the AFL workers, like their brothers of the CIO, do not intend to submit without a struggle to the program of speed-up, rising living costs, etc., which the war bosses have drafted for them.

In San Diego, building trades workers employed on three navy construction projects have courageously faced the opposition of the government and the Navy Department's threats of armed violence in a strike for increased wages.



# UN vote on embargo of Cuba

Continued from front page

it was actually “undermining the very goals it set out to achieve.” And instead of isolating Cuba “our policy isolated the United States.”

The U.S. ambassador made it sound as if Washington had eased the embargo. She pointed to the December 2014 announcement that led to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, the opening of embassies in both countries, the resumption of commercial flights between the U.S. and Cuba, and the end to limits on how often Cuban Americans can visit relatives on the island.

Power highlighted measures the Treasury Department announced Oct. 14. These include allowing Cuban pharmaceuticals to be sold in the U.S. if they get approval from the Food and Drug Administration, removing limits on how much rum and cigars authorized U.S. travelers can bring back into the U.S., granting more scholarships to Cubans and other measures aimed at “private sector growth.”

While there have been some positive steps, “the majority of the executive regulations and laws that establish the blockade are still in effect and are rigorously applied by U.S. government agencies,” Cuban Ambassador Bruno Rodríguez said. This includes the pressure Washington applies to other nations to adhere to U.S. dictates on trade with Cuba.

The Oct. 14 measures Power referred to have “a very limited scope,” he said and “rather than benefiting Cuba and the Cuban people, they favor the United States.”

Rodríguez gave numerous examples of actions by the U.S. government over the last year, including blocking the sale of medical devices to Cuba and preventing Cubans from opening bank accounts that handle U.S. dollars. In September, banks in Pakistan refused to handle a credit for buying 100,000 doses of a vaccine against Hepatitis B that is manufactured in Cuba.

Obama has the power to lift many parts of the embargo, Rodríguez said, “That’s why it’s necessary to judge by the facts.”

The Cuban ambassador noted that from the start of the revolution Washington’s goal has been the overthrow of the revolutionary government. Obama’s Oct. 14 directive, issued simultaneously with the new regulations, claims that Washington does not seek to impose “regime change on Cuba,” Rodríguez noted. But its “deceitful language” does not hide “the intention to continue to implement interventionist programs that serve U.S. interests,” including funding opponents of the revolution, broadcasting programs aimed at “advocating for reforms” and refusing to return Guantánamo Naval Base to Cuba.

Delegates from more than a dozen countries took the floor to speak in favor of ending the embargo. Some lauded unselfish aid from Cuba in the face of the aftermath of hurricanes and earthquakes. Others denounced the impact of the embargo on their own countries. The representative from Tonga noted that the “hardships and challenges upon the Cuban people” also affect students from his country living there.

Unlike in previous years, Israeli Am-



UN photos/Amanda Voisard

Above, Cuban delegation to U.N. including Ambassador Bruno Rodríguez, front right, Oct. 26. U.N. vote condemning U.S. embargo was nearly unanimous. Left, U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power defended 55-year U.S. economic war against Cuba, but said it failed, leaving Washington isolated instead. While abstaining on vote, Washington is still trying to undermine Cuban Revolution, Rodríguez said.

bassador Danny Danon briefly took the floor. “Israel welcomes the progress in relations between the United States and Cuba and hopes this progress will lead to a new era in the region,” he said.

Despite U.S. claims to be working to

advance “democracy” in Cuba, “we are already free, precisely because in 1959 we rid ourselves of U.S. imperialism and the dictatorship it imposed on us,” Rodríguez reminded Power. “We will never go back to capitalism.”

## Caracas, pro-imperialist parties start talks amid crisis

BY MAGGIE TROWE

As rampant inflation and shortages of food, medicine and other necessities ravage working people in Venezuela, a less-than-united coalition of pro-imperialist opposition parties organized large protests against President Nicolás Maduro and the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) government Oct. 26. But a strike they called for Oct. 28 fizzled.

Seeking to avert violent clashes, the government has held negotiations with some opposition parties in recent months, the latest session initiated by the Vatican and the Union of South American Nations (Unasur). The talks have been encouraged by the Barack Obama administration, which prefers a transition to a more pro-Washington government without the breakdown of stability.

Protests organized by the Democracy

Unity Roundtable (MUD) coalition, the latest drawing several hundred thousand people Oct. 26, have demanded the government allow a presidential recall referendum this year. Venezuela’s electoral authority Oct. 20 suspended opposition efforts to put the recall on the ballot, after courts declared large numbers of signatures fraudulent.

MUD also called for workers to stay home two days later for a general strike, but support for the stoppage was “patchy,” according to press reports. Many workers expressed frustration with the shortages and economic crisis, and think that “something must be done.” At the same time, they distrust the bosses’ aims and fear the confrontational course pressed by sections of the opposition could spiral into economic and political chaos.

Concerned that MUD’s “general strike” would recall the failed 2002 bosses’ “strike” that attempted to oust the late President Hugo Chávez, Fedecamaras, the country’s main employers’ association, didn’t call on factory and business owners to shut down operations as they did in 2002. The association’s vice president, Carlos Larrazabal, told Reuters that companies were staying open and letting workers decide whether to come in or not.

Thousands of supporters of the ruling United Socialist Party of Venezuela rallied outside the presidential palace that day to declare the stoppage a failure.

### Divisions among opposition parties

Representatives of some MUD affiliates, including the social democratic Democratic Action, A New Era, and Justice First led by Henrique Capriles, attended Oct. 30 negotiations with government officials. The Popular Will party, whose leader Leopoldo López is in prison, did not participate.

Former presidents Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Republic, Martín Torrijos of Panama and Luis Rodríguez Zapatero of Spain have promoted the Unasur-sponsored talks. “We need to prevent this politically and economically important ally from plunging into conflict and make sure there is a process of dialog and stability,” said Zapatero

Oct. 28.

After discussion with U.S. Undersecretary of State Thomas Shannon Nov. 1, the opposition called off a Nov. 3 protest at the presidential palace and put proceedings in congress to remove Maduro on hold until Nov. 12.

The dire economic situation faced by Venezuelan toilers is the product of the world contraction of capitalist production and trade and related decline of the price of oil, the country’s main export and source of revenue. While the government of Maduro and his predecessor Chávez have used oil revenues to fund expanded access to education, health and housing, boost employment and raise living standards for many workers and peasants, the predominance of capitalist property relations guarantees the weight of the economic and social crisis is shifted onto the backs of workers and poor farmers.

The day before the stoppage, the government raised the minimum wage and food subsidy by 40 percent, the fourth such increase this year.

Scarcity of basic food products at government-subsidized stores has forced workers to spend long hours in line. Government troops policing the lines have at times clashed with workers.

In July the president placed distribution of food basics in the hands of Defense Minister Gen. Vladimir Padrino López. Many government measures have given the military greater control of economic activity. The Maduro government has also created neighborhood Committees for Supply and Production, led by PSUV supporters, to distribute subsidized food products — with limited results due to the government’s failure to mobilize working people in city and countryside to confront the consequences of the capitalist crisis.

Meanwhile, imperialist banks and investors have continued their plunder of the wealth produced by the Venezuelan people. The government oil company Petróleos de Venezuela, hard hit by low prices, recently negotiated a bond swap to postpone debt repayment until 2020, increasing its debt but buying time to try to increase production, while hoping for an upturn in prices.

### ‘End Washington’s economic war against Cuba!’

*The Union of Young Communists of Cuba (UJC) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth have called for an “International Campaign in Opposition to the Blockade Against Cuba.” The Young Socialists in the United States issued the following statement of support Oct. 31.*

We join with the UJC of Cuba and the World Federation of Democratic Youth in calling for an international campaign against the economic war waged by Washington against Cuba for the last 55 years. With the stated aim of creating economic hardships that would cause the Cuban people to turn against their own government, we can see that it did indeed fail to achieve its objective, as U.S. President Barack Obama stated in December of 2014.

However, we must be alert, as Gerardo Hernández said earlier this year, “The goal has always been to destroy the revolution. Now they are wagering they can do it with a bear hug.” U.S. imperialism aims to return to the days when U.S. capitalists and others could hire and fire Cubans directly and reap superprofits from the exploitation of Cuban workers.

Despite the decision by the Obama administration to abstain from the U.N. vote Oct. 26, it is necessary to “judge by the facts,” as Bruno Rodríguez stated to the U.N. General Assembly. Washington continues to use every tool at its disposal to promote the growth of private property and market relations while handicapping the revolutionary government in its efforts to respond to the needs and interests of Cuban workers and farmers.

Regardless of which party of imperialism, the Democrats or Republicans, wins the November election, the objective of the U.S. rulers will remain unchanged. We will continue to join others in the United States in campaigning to end the economic war on Cuba and demand, “U.S. out of Guantánamo!”



# Rallies oppose cop attack on Standing Rock Sioux protest

BY HELEN MEYERS  
AND TONY LANE

MINNEAPOLIS — Hundreds of cops used pepper spray, rubber bullets, bean bag projectiles, Tasers and smoke grenades to assault Native Americans and others standing for the sovereignty of the Standing Rock Sioux and opposing the construction of an oil pipeline in North Dakota Oct. 27. Police arrested 141 protesters in the largest attack yet on the monthslong effort by the tribe and supporters to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline from crossing under the Missouri River near their reservation, threatening the water supply.

The attack has spurred solidarity actions here and elsewhere, including protests against sending cops from other states to reinforce North Dakota police agencies.

Since April thousands of people across the country and beyond have come to Standing Rock, including many from other tribes across North America who face similar government indifference and abuse. They've organized several encampments on or near the reservation. Protesters set up a new camp Oct. 23 directly in the path of the proposed pipeline. It was on land that pipeline owner Energy Transfer Partners bought recently — land that protest leaders say the Sioux never agreed to relinquish and still consider theirs.

Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chief Dave Archambault II and Harold Frazier, chairman of the adjacent Cheyenne River Sioux, held a press conference Oct. 29 to denounce the assault. "It's just wrong to use that type of force on innocent people," Archambault said, speaking in front of the Morton County Sheriff's Department in Mandan, North Dakota, where those arrested had been processed.

He also called for the pipeline to be rerouted. "Keep it away from water; get it out of our land," he said. "If the state can spend \$7 million to \$9 million to fight peaceful, innocent people, then the resources are there."

Workers on the reservation face dire economic straits, with an official unemployment rate of 86 percent. Of those who do have a job 43 percent live below

the federal poverty level.

At the request of North Dakota officials, state troopers from Nebraska and scores of other cops from Wisconsin, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wyoming and Indiana have reinforced the Morton County Sheriff's Department.

They were mobilized under the federal Emergency Management Assistance Compact, a 1995 law authorizing state officials to call for help in case of natural disaster, from hurricanes to forest fires. But the Bill Clinton-era bill also allowed for mobilization of out-of-state cops in case of "community disorders, insurgency or enemy attack."

It has been used only twice on these grounds — in Baltimore, when cops from throughout the region were called in after the police killing of Freddie Gray, and in Standing Rock today.

Hundreds of people rallied here Oct. 25 and again three days later to protest the involvement of Hennepin County sheriff's deputies. Dozens of students walked out of South High School to join the Oct. 28 actions. "I'm kind of angry that they are arresting us and shooting



Soline Van de Moortele, courtesy of the Southerner

Students from South High in Minneapolis walked out of class Oct. 28 to join rally downtown in solidarity with Standing Rock Sioux fight for sovereignty, against cop assault on protesters.

rubber bullets at us for just trying to protect our water," South High student Edward Roberts told the local CBS station.

These cops have now been recalled.

Some 200 people rallied in Lincoln, Nebraska, at the state Capitol Oct. 29, supporting the Standing Rock protests and demanding Nebraska state troopers sent to join the cop mobilization to confront protesters be sent home. The rally was organized by Kara Knutson,

a 17-year-old high school student who had traveled to the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in support of their fight.

In Madison, Wisconsin, the Dane County Sheriff's Office withdrew its deputies after a week, saying in a statement that the decision was made after talking with a "wide cross-section of the community who all share the opinion that our deputies should not be involved in this situation."

## SWP: Defend sovereign rights of Dakota Sioux

*The following solidarity letter to Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chief Dave Archambault II and other tribal elders in the Dakotas was sent by Osborne Hart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice president, Nov. 2.*

On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I join you in protesting the Oct. 27 brutal cop assault on members

and supporters of the Standing Rock Sioux defending their sovereignty. It was an honor to sit down with you when I visited Standing Rock two weeks earlier.

The Dakota Sioux's struggle to defend land and water rights at Standing Rock against government assault and the intrusion of profit-hungry Dakota Access Pipeline bosses deserves the

solidarity of workers and farmers everywhere.

Socialist Workers Party members explain and champion your fight as we talk with workers on their doorsteps, at strike picket lines and protest actions. We all face growing attacks from the bosses and the government as they try to make us pay for the deepening crisis of their dog-eat-dog capitalist system. Our answer must be growing solidarity against their attacks.

Instead of using the federal Emergency Management Assistance Compact to mobilize armed police power against you, we demand a federally funded public works program to provide jobs at union wages, building schools, medical facilities, child care centers and other necessities — something sorely needed at Standing Rock where unemployment approaches 90 percent.

The SWP backs your fight to defend your sovereignty and treaty rights. We demand immediate withdrawal of all the cops arrayed against you. We call for all the charges brought against protesters there to be dropped. And we demand an immediate halt to efforts to push the pipeline over your sacred ground and threaten your drinking water.

## Phila. transit workers strike

**Continued from front page**  
their passengers.

"We must help people understand why we're on strike," said Tanya Greer, a bus driver. "I took this job 22 and a half years ago because it had decent pay and benefits. Now they want to strip all that away from us, and we work so very hard. All we ask for is support as we fight for what we deserve."

The TWU is fighting for work rule changes to protect drivers and passengers. The union wants a mandatory 14-hour period between shifts, rather than the current nine-hour down time, and to increase the contractually required five-minute breaks between routes to 10 minutes.

"SEPTA has had plenty of time to negotiate if they wanted to. The root of it all is lack of respect," said Pete McElleney, a TWU member who works on the overhead lines. "The company thinks they can ignore the contract on working conditions and do as they please."

"Health care is very important to us in this fight. SEPTA is pushing

deep health care concessions," said 33-year-old electrician Chris Conly, who works on 700-volt trolley lines. He and his wife have a newborn who is very sick. "Our fight is for the whole working class."

Workers also want no cap on pensions, the same as management has.

SEPTA managers have tried to turn working-class sentiment against the strikers, saying the timing of the strike can keep people from getting to vote in the Nov. 8 presidential election. They say they will seek an injunction against the strike for Election Day.

Democratic Party officials, including Mayor Jim Kenney and Gov. Tom Wolf, both elected as "friends of labor," urged the TWU not to strike, and have decried the disruption caused by the workers' fight to defend their working conditions and their union. Bob Brady, Democratic congressman in the 1st Congressional District and a former official in the Carpenters union, told the press that the party in Pennsylvania was concerned the strike would weaken turnout for Hillary Clinton.

Regional Rail train lines, which are organized by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the International Association of Machinists, are the only mass transit running during the strike.

Members of those unions honored a TWU picket at the Wayne Junction Regional Rail train yard during evening rush hour the first day of the strike, causing substantial delays.

### Join fight against censorship of 'Militant' at Attica prison

The *Militant* is appealing the impoundment of its Oct. 3 issue by New York State prison authorities at the Attica Correctional Facility who falsely claim that articles on the 1971 Attica rebellion and current actions by prisoners "incite rebellion against government authorities." You can help.

**Get statements of support** for the *Militant's* appeal from defenders of workers rights and free speech. Send to themilitant@mac.com

**Send a check** to the *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 13th floor, New York, NY 10018. Earmarked "Prisoners' Rights Fight" for fight against censorship or "Prisoners' Fund" to subsidize prisoner subscriptions.

**TWU Local 100**  
**Rally for a new contract**  
**Tues., Nov. 15, 5-7 p.m.**  
MTA headquarters, 2 Broadway  
**New York City**  
[www.twulocal100.org](http://www.twulocal100.org)

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### UNITED KINGDOM London

**The Assault on Mosul and Aleppo: U.K. and All Foreign Troops Out of the Middle East.** Speaker: Julie Crawford, Communist League. Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. Donation: £3. 2nd floor, 83 Kingsland High St., E8 2BP. Tel.: (020) 3583-3553.

### Manchester

**Outcome of the U.S. Elections: What It Means for Working People. Celebrate the Achievements of Socialist Workers Party/Communist League Campaigning Within the Working Class.** Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. Room 301, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St., M1 2EH. Tel.: (016) 1478-2496.



# Clintons’ ‘workfare reform’: rulers’ biggest blow yet to protections won as by-product of workers’ struggles

From new book by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes

The excerpt below from The Clintons’ Anti-Working-Class Record: Why Washington Fears Working People is based on a March 2001 talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Copyright © 2016 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

The Clintons are now, finally, out of the White House. From the outset of his 1992 presidential campaign, the Socialist Workers Party insisted that “Bill” Clinton would be a war president, a prison president, a death-penalty president. He would be a president, like those before him, whose course at home and abroad was aimed at serving the class interests of the US ruling families. Above all, we insisted that the Clintons had not been, and would not be, friends of the working class, in city or country.

The same we can say with confidence is true of Clinton’s successor, George W. Bush, and of the Congress, then and now.

The landmark of the Clinton administration’s anti-working-class assault, carried out in tandem with the Republican-controlled Congress, was contemptuously named the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. This brutal, anti-working-class legislation eliminated Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), put a federally dictated lifetime limit of five years on welfare payments to any family, and allowed state governments to cap the number of years at an even lower level than five. States receiving federal “block grants” under the new Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program are not required to spend those funds on cash payments to families — and more and more often they don’t.

The “reform” was an incarnation of Clinton’s reactionary 1992 campaign pledge to “end welfare as we know it,” but it was also more than that. It was the biggest single success of the rulers so far in beginning to erode the federal Social Security system — a concession forced from the employing class in the 1930s as a by-product of massive working-class struggles that built the industrial unions and advanced the integration of Blacks into industrial jobs. Those conquests were widely expanded in the 1960s and 1970s, as the powerful proletarian-based Black rights movement and its broad social extensions wrested further weighty gains from the ruling class: Medicare, Medicaid, “SSI” (Supplemental Security Income) disability benefits, and cost-of-living protections.

Under the Clintons’ “welfare reform,” immigrants without “papers” were explicitly denied not only TANF benefits but also food stamps, Medicaid, and SSI

- As a result of growing dissatisfaction with these provisions of the “reform,” federal legislation adopted in 2002 made immigrants under eighteen years of age with a Green Card eligible for food stamps, as it did adults who’ve had resident status for at least five years.



Reuters/Jason Redmond

“An act of unprecedented social vindictiveness” — that’s what Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan called “welfare reform” pushed by President Bill Clinton. During next deep recession, Moynihan warned, “we will say, ‘why are children sleeping on grates?’” Above, homeless families wait for Thanksgiving meal in Los Angeles, Nov. 21, 2012. The 1996 act, Barnes writes, was “first time an entire group of working people — single mothers and their children — has been eliminated from protections Social Security is supposed to offer.”

payments. Even immigrants with “legal” residency (that is, a “Green Card”) were barred from food stamps and federal disability protection. TANF and Medicaid “eligibility” was denied them for five years and then left up to state governments.<sup>1</sup>

Clinton’s welfare legislation — not just its basic provisions, but even its *name* — was taken over lock, stock, and barrel from a plank in the so-called Contract with America promised by the Newt Gingrich-led Republican majority that swept into Congress in 1994, two years after Clinton was elected.

The most vocal and historically clearest opponent in Congress of the anti-working-class destructiveness of the bipartisan “welfare reform” was Democratic senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. The legislation was “an act of unprecedented social vindictiveness,” Moynihan said. Its consequences for children, women, and others might initially be buffered by the paper-fueled

“tech-stock” bubble of the late 1990s, he said, but these effects would explode with a vengeance during the next inevitable deep recession — *like the one we’re entering right now in 2001.*

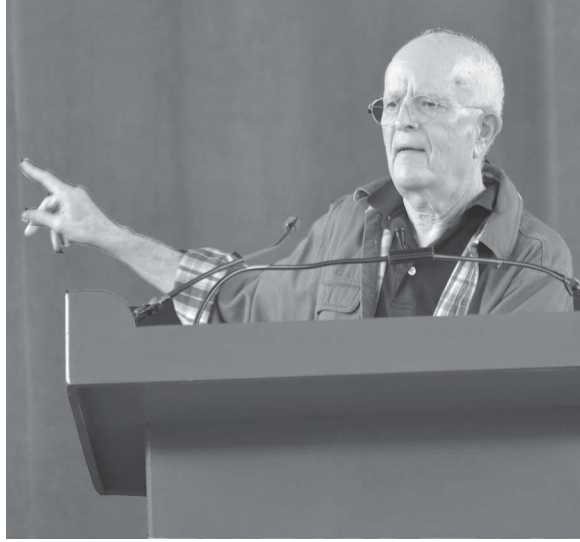
“In a very little while as the time lim-

“We said Clinton would be a war president, a prison president, a death-penalty president. That the Clintons, like those before them, would not be friends of the working class, in city or country . . .”

its come into effect,” Moynihan warned, “we will say, ‘why are these children sleeping on grates?’”

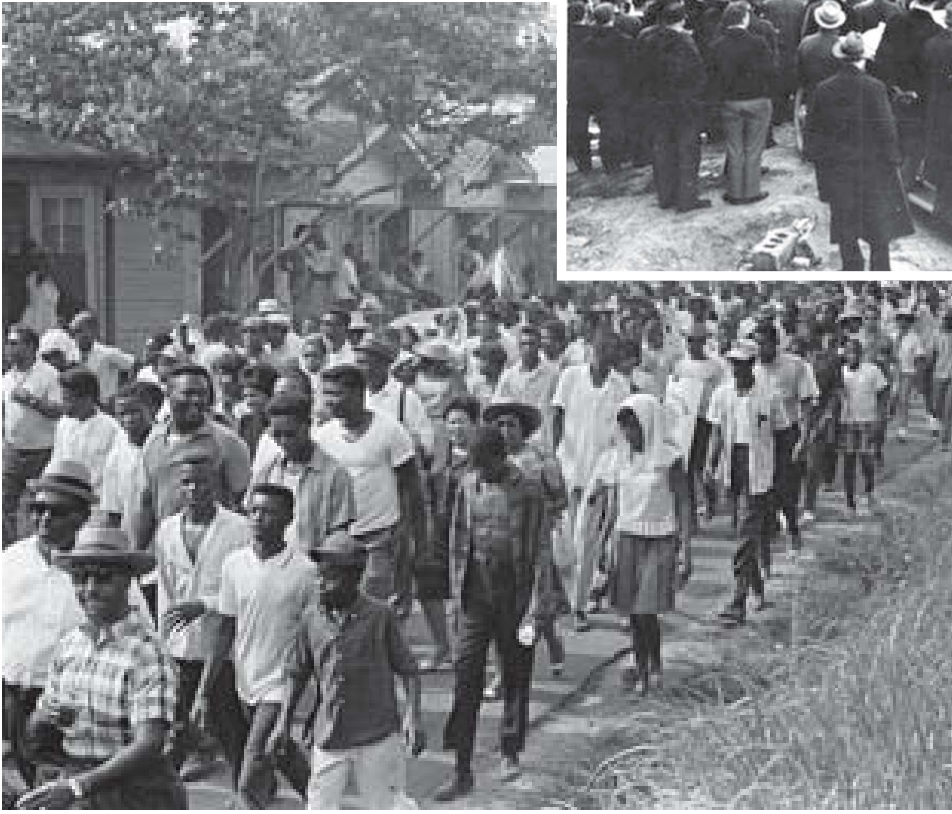
Moynihan, a Harvard sociology professor for many years, had long been a critic of AFDC. On their own, Moynihan said, cash payments to dependent children, most of them in families headed by women, couldn’t address what he considered the roots of poverty among African Americans: *joblessness*. Especially among young Black men, it was at “disaster levels.” Without a federal public works program to tackle that crisis — and this was at the heart of what Moynihan recounted — poorer families in Black communities would continue to be torn apart. More and more of them would be headed by single women, with less and less assistance, unable to provide a stable economic and social haven of support for children.

Vivid descriptions of such devastation of families in working-class districts in nineteenth century England abound in *Capital* by Karl Marx and *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* by Frederick Engels.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes at June 2015 Active Workers Conference, Oberlin, Ohio.



But so long as dog-eat-dog capitalist social relations exist, the family is what children, the elderly, the sick, and other working people have to fall back on.

In 1965, when Moynihan was a little-known assistant secretary of labor in the Lyndon Baines Johnson administration, he had written an internal report entitled *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. “The Negro American revolution is rightly regarded as the most important domestic event of the postwar period in the United States,” he wrote. “Nothing like it has occurred since the upheavals of the 1930’s which led to the organization of the great industrial unions.” As a result of that struggle, he said, the expectations of Blacks “will go beyond civil rights,” and “they will now expect that in the near future equal opportuni-



Above, Walter Reuther Labor Library

“Social Security was a concession forced from the employing class in the 1930s as a by-product of massive working-class struggles that built the industrial unions and advanced the integration of Blacks into industrial jobs,” Barnes says. “Those conquests were widely expanded in the 1960s and 1970s, as the powerful proletarian-based Black rights movement wrested further weighty gains.” Above, workers mobilize to support 44-day sit down strike at General Motors plant in Flint, Mich., January 1937. Left, 220-mile civil rights “march against fear” enters Jackson, Mississippi, June 1966.

gap, and Moynihan has no doubt that the Negroes will too,” said *Time* magazine in a 1967 cover story about him. But that’s where the class limitations of Moynihan’s bourgeois liberal outlook came into play. He didn’t give enough weight to the fact that in addition to many common economic and social conditions bearing down on all working people, workers who are Black confront a unique, concrete historic obstacle to “closing the gap” — systematic discrimination, bigotry, and physical dangers simply due to the color of their skin.

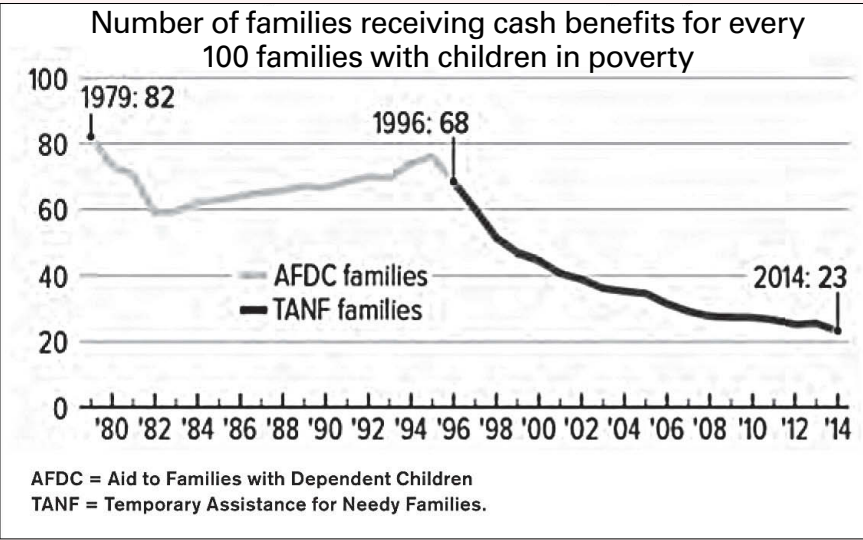
That national oppression is something

Irish and other workers who are Caucasian do not confront. Like Italians, Greeks, or many other immigrants, they became “white” over time in the racist US capitalist society (at least enough to “pass” as a national grouping). But descendants of African slaves do not — even those who “act white.” They bear a lasting relic under capitalism of the barbaric slave trade and involuntary servitude. A relic, above all, of the bloody defeat of post-Civil War Radical Reconstruction and decades of legal Jim Crow racist segregation across the US South and de facto discrimination nationwide. It’s a deeply entrenched legacy that only the overturn of the dictatorship of capital and revolutionary conquest of power by the working class can open the road to fighting to end for all time.

Not only did the Johnson administration reject the proposals in *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, but when Moynihan’s 1965 report was leaked to the press, he was condemned

- A half century later, a few liberals and especially nationalist-minded Blacks have acknowledged much of what Moynihan observed and recorded. These include Ta-Nehisi Coates, author of the 2015 best-seller *Between the World and Me*, written in response to the police killings of Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and the “friskings, detainings, beatings, and humiliations . . . common to black people.” In a 2013 *Atlantic* magazine article titled “Revisiting the Moynihan Report, Cont.,” Coates said it’s “really hard to separate out segregation from employment and family stability. That’s a subject worthy of debate. But Moynihan didn’t get debate. He got condemnation.”

## ‘Welfare reform’ — its toll on the working class



Under the blows of the slow-burning depression signaled by the 2001 and 2008-09 recessions, the four million single mothers without jobs in 2014 (by government figures) was higher than the number unemployed when the Clinton-Gingrich so-called “workfare” reform was adopted. What’s more, the percentage of women counted by the government as part of the labor force has been pushed down to 56.6 percent, the lowest since 1988.

Yet the proportion of families below the poverty line receiving benefits plunged from nearly 70 percent to 23 percent.

In addition, a third of state governments have adopted caps of lower than five years (e.g., two years in Kansas, only one in Arizona), and the buying power of benefits has been cut by at least a third, since the “reform” has no cost-of-living adjustment in states’ block grants, which haven’t increased since 1997!

by many liberals, Black nationalists, and middle class radicals as a racist who “blamed the victim,” especially Black women. It’s clear that most of these “critics” never bothered to read or seriously consider what Moynihan wrote.<sup>2</sup>

Nor did Moynihan convince Richard Nixon to take action on public works or other proposals when he served as White House urban affairs adviser in

pledge to “end welfare as we know it,” Moynihan had had enough. The senior senator from New York shouted from the rooftops that Clinton’s legislation promoted “cruelty” toward families and perpetuated “social devastation.” That Democratic administration was destined to “go down in history as [one] that abandoned, eagerly abandoned, the national commitment to dependent children.”

Shortly before leaving office in January 2001, Clinton boasted that 8 million people nationwide had been slashed from state welfare rolls — a 60 percent drop in less than half a decade. What the bourgeois supporters of this legis-

lation don’t trumpet so loudly, however, is that the vast majority of these former AFDC recipients, if they’ve been able to find work at all, have been pressed into jobs at minimum wage *or below it*, with few if any health, pension, or vacation benefits.

And that has been during the *high point* of the upturn in the capitalist business cycle. As the first targets of the legislation’s five-year limit are cut off permanently from welfare payments in the months ahead, they will find themselves in the midst of mounting layoffs and rising unemployment.

Clinton’s 1996 act was the first time that an entire group of working people — single mothers and their children — has been eliminated from the kind of

Continued on page 10

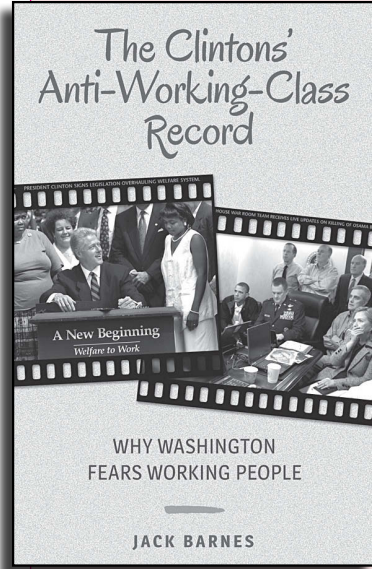
“Poverty, lack of steady employment, and disintegration of families are inevitable products of a capitalist system based on class exploitation and national oppression . . .”

1969, although Moynihan did get Nixon’s ear more often than he had gotten LBJ’s. A Family Assistance Plan proposed by Nixon with Moynihan’s backing — a monthly “guaranteed minimum income” for a family of four, regardless of how many parents were in the home — was defeated by a Senate coalition of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans. Nixon implemented the “Philadelphia Plan,” for the first time setting affirmative-action targets for hiring Blacks on federally funded construction projects. And he ended the draft.

But the percentage of children living below the government’s own poverty level kept climbing — from 14 percent in 1968 to 23 percent at the opening of the Clinton administration in 1993. So when Clinton publicly cited Moynihan’s 1965 report in order to rationalize his

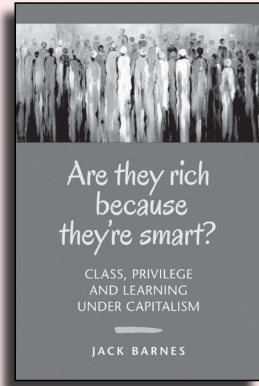
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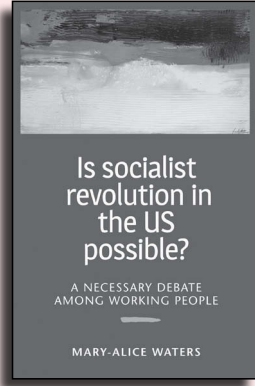


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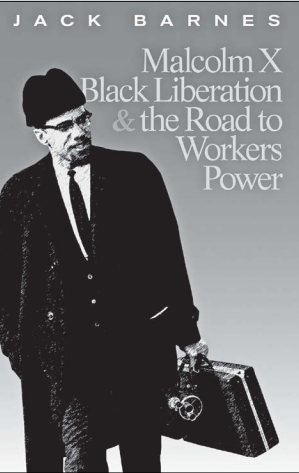


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# End the frame-ups, free the Hammonds and the Bundys!

The following statement was released Nov. 1 by Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Washington.

The acquittal of Ammon and Ryan Bundy and other participants in the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupation in Oregon is a significant victory for working people, and a shock to the rulers and their government. It's a win for working farmers and ranchers, increasingly squeezed by the workings of the capitalist market. It strengthens those fighting to free Dwight and Steven Hammond, framed up and jailed twice on the same charges, as well as those protesting police brutality, racism and defending Native American treaty rights of the Standing Rock Sioux.

The jury's verdict reflects working people's growing distrust of government in the midst of the capitalist economic crisis. It represents a blow to the government's routine use of conspiracy charges, FBI informers and agent provocateurs and other attacks on constitutional and democratic rights. It was a rejection of the government's vindictive political prosecution, and of the FBI and state police ambush and killing of protest leader Robert "LaVoy" Finicum.

The Bundys still face frame-up charges for standing up to federal agents who tried to confiscate cattle

belonging to their father, Cliven Bundy, in Nevada in 2014. The Socialist Workers Party joins the call to drop these charges, as well as those pending against remaining defendants from the Malheur occupation.

We also say: Free the Hammonds! Prosecute and

jailed the cops who killed Lavoy Finicum! Prosecute the sheriff deputies who killed rancher Jack Yantis near Council, Idaho! Withdraw the cops and state troopers attacking protesters supporting the Standing Rock Sioux!

## Solidarity with TWU strike against SEPTA

*Below are excerpts of a Nov. 1 statement by John Staggs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania and a former member of Transport Workers Union Local 234.*

The Socialist Workers Party encourages all workers in Philadelphia and beyond to support the struggle of TWU Local 234 members to defend their health care, pensions and their union, and to enforce work rules that protect the safety of workers and riders.

SEPTA bosses hope to turn workers against the strike. They're getting help from Democratic Party officials and some union officers who are in a panic about Hillary Clinton's narrowing lead and are pressing the union to return to work before the election.

Workers and farmers here and worldwide create all wealth through our labor. We produce more than enough to provide health care, education, housing and retirement to every human being, for a lifetime.

Everywhere workers confront the effects of today's long-term crisis of capitalist profits and production, contracting trade and employment. The bosses have no solution except to take it out on the working class.

We must unite in solidarity with anyone under assault. From this expanding unity, working people can build a movement to take power out of the hands of the ruling families and begin replacing twisted capitalist social relations, where everything is built around profit, to new bonds of human solidarity.

## 'Workfare reform': blow to protections won by workers' battles

Continued from page 9

protections Social Security is supposed to offer to retirees, children, workers injured or thrown out of a job, and others vulnerable to the instabilities and devastations inherent in capitalism, both in good times and bad.

What's more, this section of the working class is one that's expanding in the United States. In 1965, when Moynihan wrote *The Negro Family*, the "crisis" figure he cited for the number of Black children raised in families headed by single women was 25 percent. A half century later, that's the percentage for *all single-parent households headed by women*, whatever their skin color. The figure for Blacks has risen to more than 70 percent.

Meanwhile, the poverty, lack of steady employment, and disintegration of families and other social relations — all imposed by the operations of capitalism on millions of working-class men, women, and children — register the inevitable consequences of a social system based on class exploitation and national oppression.

In this regard, another well-known article by Moynihan — a 1993 piece entitled, "Defining Deviancy Down" — poses questions that are important for the working-class vanguard. Moynihan wrote the article shortly after the spring 1992 social explosion in Los Angeles in reaction to the acquittal of four cops whose arrest and beating of Rodney King, an African American, had been widely televised.

Among the "deviant" social trends Moynihan focused on were the accelerating breakdown of the family structure, the sharp reduction in real income of poor families receiving AFDC benefits, and the rising violent crime rate (the last of these peaked the following year and has been falling since then). This was not the first time in American history, he said, that such "crime, violence, unrest, [and] lashing out at the whole social structure had been seen," especially among jobless "young men" from "broken families." Once again calling on his own working-class family background, Moynihan noted lessons "from the wild

Irish slums of the 19th century Eastern seaboard to the riot-torn suburbs of Los Angeles."

The biggest danger, Moynihan said, is yielding to those social layers who "benefit from redefining the problem as essentially normal and doing little to reduce it" — "defining deviancy down," in his words. (Moynihan was speaking from his own class standpoint, about dangers to the capitalist government, political parties, and social order they represent.)

On the one hand, wrote Moynihan, "This redefining has evoked fierce resistance from defenders of 'old' standards, and accounts for much of the present 'cultural war' such as proclaimed by many at the 1992 Republican National Convention." He didn't elaborate on that reference, but he clearly had in mind the widely publicized convention speech in which Patrick Buchanan recounted (with considerable exaggeration) how US Army and National Guard units — "M-16s at the ready" — had taken back Los Angeles "block by block" that spring. In the same way, Buchanan said, "we must take back our cities and take back our culture and take back our country." That's how the "war going on in our country for the soul of America" will be won, Buchanan said. "It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself."

On the other hand, Moynihan pointed to "solutions," also clearly not to his liking, that were gaining ground among more dominant sections of both ruling-class parties, including the recently elected Democratic administration of Bill and Hillary Clinton. "We are building new prisons at a prodigious rate," Moynihan cautioned at the close of his article. "Similarly, the executioner is back. There is something of a competition in Congress to think up new offenses for which the death penalty seems the only available deterrent."

That's why Moynihan, the liberal politician and professor, was opposed to "defining deviancy down." But for working people — for reasons of our own independent class interests — the stakes are much greater in not "defin-

### Welfare for work promise 'didn't pay off in end'



Harry Hamburg

President Bill Clinton with Lillie Harden, of Little Rock, Arkansas, Aug. 22, 1996, during White House ceremony where he signed law fulfilling brutal pledge to "end welfare as we know it." Harden was touted as example of success of workfare programs that withdrew cash payments from children and families with low incomes. After suffering a stroke in 2002, Harden was denied Medicaid — which she had been able to receive while on welfare — and couldn't afford a \$450 prescription. In 2005 she told a journalist that Clinton's promise to exchange "welfare for work" didn't "pay off in the end." She died in 2014 at age 59.

ing down" social attitudes, habits, and conditions that divide our class, or that tear apart our political confidence, disciplined functioning, combativity, and morale.

Preying on fellow workers and farmers; judging each other on the basis of skin color, national origin, religion, or sex, instead of what we *do*; showing up drunk or stoned to a picket line or defense guard — none of this is "essentially normal" to a working class that is organizing and resisting, a class whose emancipation from exploitation can only be won by our own independent political organization and disciplined action. None exemplifies the norm included by Marx and Engels in the rules they drafted in 1847 for the world's first

communist organization — "a way of life and activity which corresponds" to the political integrity and aims of the class-conscious workers movement.

That's the challenge that has faced every revolutionary movement of the working class and oppressed — from the mass workers struggles that forged the industrial unions in the United States; to the Black-led mobilizations for civil rights that brought down Jim Crow segregation and opened the road to internationalist working-class leaders such as Malcolm X; to the Rebel Army that led the workers and farmers of Cuba in a triumphant socialist revolution; to the struggle for a proletarian party that will make possible a socialist revolution in the United States.