

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**  
**Meeting debates Malcolm X and**  
**'Road to Workers Power' book**  
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## High court weakens 'Miranda' protections

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In a blow to workers rights, the Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision June 1 ruled that individuals being interrogated by the police must verbally assert their right to remain silent, or cops can assume they have waived their "Miranda rights." The decision further undermines the constitutional protection against self-incrimination and gives broader leeway to the cops during interrogations.

Under a 1966 Supreme Court ruling in the case of a worker named Ernesto Miranda, a suspect has the right to remain silent when interrogated by cops and the right to an attorney, including one paid by the state if the defendant can't afford it. The police must inform the person of their rights in advance of questioning. Failure to do so makes any information obtained inadmissible in court.

The Supreme Court specifically noted in the Miranda ruling the number of cases it had heard of cops coer-

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## State laws used to go after right to abortion

BY MAGGIE TROWE

DES MOINES, Iowa—About 370 antiabortion bills have been introduced in state legislatures in 2010, reports the Guttmacher Institute.

In Mississippi a new law prohibits insurers from covering abortion in the new "insurance exchanges" provided for in the federal health-care bill.

The Oklahoma legislature overrode Gov. Brad Henry's vetoes of three antiabortion laws, the latest of which requires doctors performing abortions to answer 38 questions about each woman's abortion, including her reason for wanting it.

New laws in Arizona restrict abortion coverage under the state employees' health plan, Medicaid, and health insurance exchanges, and imposes stricter reporting requirements on doctors.

On April 13 Nebraska governor David Heineman signed a law outlawing

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## Census jobs cover up real unemployed rate

Record long-term joblessness persists



AP Photo/Adam Lau

Workers seek jobs at annual job fair organized by Los Angeles Mission, a homeless organization in Los Angeles, June 3. U.S. employment officially grew by 431,000 in May, 95 percent of which was result of government's creation of temporary census jobs.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

According to the U.S. Labor Department, employment grew by 431,000 in May. This was the biggest gain in jobs in 10 years, reported the *Wall Street Journal*. But the overwhelming majority of hiring in May—411,000 jobs—was for tempo-

rary census workers, whose jobs will be eliminated after a few months.

For millions of workers unemployed for months and in some cases years, little has changed. Over the past 12 months the U.S. unemployment rate has hovered around 10 percent. For

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## Boeing strikers keep pressure on bosses in fight for contract

BY BILL ARTH

LONG BEACH, California, June 8—Workers on strike here against Boeing reestablished picket lines af-

ter they were taken down in preparation for a June 9 vote on a proposed contract settlement. The plant builds C-17 military transport planes.

The strike by the 1,700 members of UAW Local 148 began May 11. A proposed contract was reached June 4 after a federal mediator met with the company and the union negotiating committee. Union officials then took down picket lines and

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## Japan: Prime minister quits amid opposition to U.S. base

BY SETH GALINSKY

Just eight months after coming to office in a landslide election victory, Japanese prime minister Yukio Hatoyama resigned due in large part to opposition to his decision to maintain a major U.S. air base in Okinawa.

The August 2009 election victory of Hatoyama's Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) ended a half century of rule by the Liberal Democratic Party. During his campaign Hatoyama pledged to move the U.S. Futenma base off Okinawa. Instead, in spite of large demonstrations in Okinawa demanding its removal, he acceded to U.S. pressure and agreed to keep the unpopular base on the island, although it will move to a less populated area.

Hatoyama also announced the resignation of Ichiro Ozawa, the secretary-general of the DPJ, who was embroiled in a political funding scandal.

The DPJ rapidly chose Finance Minister Naoto Kan to take Hatoyama's place. Kan was ratified by Japan's parliament June 4, becoming the country's fifth prime minister in just four years.

Kan immediately stated that he would honor the agreement with Washington on Okinawa, saying that U.S.-Japanese ties are the "cornerstone" of Tokyo's foreign policy, including the "North Korean issue."

The instability in the Japanese government is also a reflection of the deep economic crisis that began in the 1990s, known as the "lost decade."

The Japanese economy, the second

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### As we go to press . . .

United Auto Workers Local 148 announced June 9 that 822 members voted in favor of the proposed contract with Boeing and 544 opposed it.



Militant/Naomi Craine

Striking Boeing workers picket outside company offices in Long Beach, California, June 3.

### Also Inside:

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# Canada labor joins fight against 'terrorism' list

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

MONTREAL—The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) has issued a statement challenging the sanctions being applied against Abousfian Abdelrazik, a Canadian citizen and machinist whose name remains on a United Nations Security Council "terrorism" watch list.

The UN edict, which was established in 1999 after U.S. embassies were bombed in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, makes it illegal to give material aid or financial services to those who have been listed. They cannot fly and their assets must be frozen. Any person or organization that hires them could be prosecuted.

Abdelrazik was born in the Sudan. When he returned there in 2003 to visit his sick mother he was arrested by Sudanese authorities in collaboration with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). He was jailed and tortured as a "terrorist" suspect associated with al-Qaeda.

The Canadian government only reluctantly issued the travel documents in 2009 that permitted Abdelrazik to return home after he was cleared by both CSIS and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in late 2007. But the UN Security Council refuses to lift the sanctions that prevent Abdelrazik from working.

The CLC, with more than 3 million union members across Canada, will hire Abdelrazik for one week. His job will be to document his story. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW) and

the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, both CLC affiliates, will also each hire Abdelrazik, for a day.

Hassan Yussuff, secretary-treasurer of the CLC, told a May 18 news conference that the CLC hopes other labor groups will do the same thing "to send a very clear message to our Canadian government that this is a basic issue of human rights." IAMAW general vice president Dave Ritchie said, "The IAMAW is proud to be a part of this campaign especially because Mr. Adelrazik is a machinist by trade."

At the press conference, Abdelrazik thanked the CLC for its efforts on his behalf. "Physically I came to Canada, but I am still in prison," he said. "The Canadian government blocked my way to come back. And when I came back I asked them to lobby on my behalf for delisting . . . and they refused."

In an April 28 telethon here in support of Abdelrazik more than 300 people phoned in to declare support for "busting the sanctions" and revoking the UN regulations in Canada. Those who want to help with the campaign can visit: [www.peoplescommission.org/en/abdelrazik](http://www.peoplescommission.org/en/abdelrazik).

## Hearing set in Troy Davis frame-up case



Militant/Jacob Perasso

ATLANTA—A federal judge in Savannah has scheduled a hearing June 23 for Troy Davis, a death-row prisoner in Georgia. His fight for freedom has won broad support, as the May 19, 2009, protest shown above, demonstrates.

Davis was convicted in 1991 of killing an off-duty police officer. He has maintained his innocence for the past 20 years.

There was no physical evidence linking Davis to the killing. He was convicted on the basis of eyewitness testimony. Since his 1991 trial, seven of nine state witnesses against him have recanted or contradicted their testimony. Several of them have said they were pressured by the cops to finger Davis.

In August 2009, in the face of international protests, the Supreme Court ordered a hearing by a federal judge to determine whether new evidence exists that can prove Davis's innocence.

—JACOB PERASSO

## Montreal rally defends right of Tamils to organize

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

MONTREAL—On May 18 more than 500 people, the big majority of Tamil origin, participated in a vigil outside the U.S. Consulate here to mark the first anniversary of the murderous assault by the army of Sri Lan-

ka against the forces of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the civilian Tamil population in that country.

More than 40,000 civilians were killed during the military offensive of the Sri Lankan government, which ended in May 2009, and 300,000 were subsequently interned in concentration camps.

Similar actions were held in other cities around the world that day, coinciding with the holding of an election for a world council of Tamils.

An editorial in the *Globe and Mail* denounced that initiative. "Rather than relive old battles," it said, "Canada's Tamil diaspora should support peace and reconciliation in their homeland. Otherwise, Toronto, home to half of Canada's estimated 200,000 Sri Lankans, risks becoming a base for disaffected members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam."

In his greetings to the May 18 event in Montreal, Malcolm Guy from the Tamil Action committee recalled that in April 2008 the Canadian government seized and closed two cultural centers belonging to the World Tamil Movement (WTM) in Montreal and Toronto on the pretext that the organization was collecting money for the Tamil Tigers.

Speaking on behalf of the Communist League, John Steele condemned the recent sentencing in Vancouver of Prapaharan Thambithurai to six months in prison for having collected \$600 for the WTM. Steele called for freeing Thambithurai, repealing all "anti-terrorist" laws, opening Canada's border to Tamil refugees, and withdrawing Canadian troops from Afghanistan.

John Steele contributed to this article.

## THE MILITANT

### What's behind conflict in Korea?

*The U.S. government forcibly partitioned Korea after World War II in its attempt to turn back a socialist revolution in the North. Read in the 'Militant' why today reunification is the only road forward for working people in North and South Korea.*



U.S. forces at DMZ dividing North and South Korea May 28. Washington has about 28,500 troops in South Korea.

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# Lockout of workers ends at Co-op City in Bronx

BY DAN FEIN  
AND FRANCISCO CAMBERO

NEW YORK, June 8—A one-week lockout of 500 maintenance workers, porters, groundskeepers, garage workers, and dispatchers at the Co-op City apartment complex here in the Bronx ended today.

RiverBay Corporation locked workers out when they refused to accept concessions following the expiration of the contract between the company and Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ. The status of negotiations has not yet been reported.

Fifty-five thousand people—including many of the strikers—live in the 35 high-rise buildings and seven clusters of townhouses that make up Co-op City. It is the largest housing development in the United States.

Many residents of Co-op City supported the locked-out workers. On June 3 a rally took place there to show solidarity with the union struggle.

The company informed the union that to keep the current medical plan, workers would have to accept a contract with no pay raise for the next four years. If they agreed to switch to an inferior medical plan, they would receive a 2.3 percent annual raise over the life of the contract.

Alexander Vargas, a groundskeeper, told the *Militant*, “We showed up to work after the weekend to find no keys or IDs. There were signs this lockout was coming. The management hires temps for up to six months then lays them off. It puts them in a tough spot because these are our coworkers and because they are not in the union. They will be fired if they don’t work. These guys are trying all the tricks in the book.”

The company hired around 40 scabs off the street, picketers reported.

Mark Shapiro, a porter, said, “The current medical plan has much higher caps than the one the company offered with a pay raise. Higher hospital caps, higher annual caps, higher lifetime caps.”

“This is an international problem,” he added. “In Mexico they are fight-

ing for union rights. Workers in China are fighting.”

“Everything is going up,” noted porter Allen Parchment. “We need a raise.”

Unionized city sanitation workers refused to cross the picket line to pick up garbage until the third day of the lockout when the New York City Department of Health declared a health “emergency.”

Kyle Bragg, vice president of Local 32BJ, showed *Militant* reporters a letter from the company ordering clerical workers who are members of Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 153 to do the jobs of the locked-out 32BJ members. About half of these workers did so, along with supervisors, according to Bragg.

“We want fair, affordable health care. This is a basic right all workers should have,” Bragg said.

## ‘It’s a pleasure to be able to do what we can’

*The Supporters Monthly Appeal raises funds to help finance the work of the Socialist Workers Party. Organizers have been working to increase the number of contributors to more than 500.*

In Miami, two factory workers—Jean-Louis and Jean-Baptiste—each made a pledge to the Supporters Monthly Appeal in May.

Both are from Haiti. In the 1980s they were part of a movement of peasants demanding land reform and democratic rights during and after the time of the Duvalier dictatorship. The movement faced severe repression from the government and paramilitary gangs.

“My family became very concerned about my safety,” Jean-Louis explained. “I came to live here but never left the struggle.”

Jean-Baptiste, who himself came to the United States some 15 years ago, added, “For 30 years, we’ve been activists demanding justice for the masses of workers. We’re dedicated. Since we got here, we’ve been looking for something.



Militant/Dan Fein

Workers at Co-op City housing complex in Bronx, New York, June 5 protest lockout there of some 500 members of Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ.

“So when we met the Socialist Workers Party it was like we found gold.

“We lost a lot of opportunities in Haiti to be able to make a revolution. Perhaps we didn’t have the materials. Perhaps we didn’t have the leaders we needed. But here I’ve learned about Thomas Sankara, Maurice Bishop, Malcolm X, and other leaders of the international revolutionary movement. We had heard about some of them through word of mouth. But now,” he smiled, “we’re swimming in documents!”

“Sincerely, for myself, I want to do everything possible to increase my pledge,” Jean-Baptiste concluded. “It’s a pleasure to be able to do what we can,” added Jean-Louis.

Ramona Chavez Lopez, a home health aide worker in Marshalltown, Iowa, recently decided to make a monthly contribution. “Back in 1998 I worked together with a member of the party in a meatpacking plant. What an impact it had. I began to educate myself, and my coworkers and I learned about our

rights. We stopped accepting discrimination,” she said.

“I began supporting the work of the party because it became clear to me how its members firmly believe in the necessity of struggle. I know it takes a lot of money to support the party’s work because it’s a party for workers, not the rich. I don’t have much, but I donate what I can.

“I hope more read this and decide to give as well.”

In Seattle organizers recently received a letter from someone who had contributed in the past. She explained she stopped contributing a few years ago, “when I realized I had not kept track of politics or read the *Militant*, and was contributing more for the sake of nostalgia than for anything I actually knew about what the party was doing at the time.

“I have been reading the *Militant* pretty regularly for the past year now. I like and agree with what I see there, in particular where it relates to immigration issues, but also in general. I appreciated the recent editorial on the census, since I had just been speaking to a friend about how intrusive it is. I feel comfortable making a regular contribution to the party once more.”

Join us! Contact a distributor of the *Militant* listed on page 8.

*Don Mackle in New York, Pete Seidman in Miami, and Lisa Rottach in Des Moines contributed to this column.*

## Census jobs inflate employment figures

Continued from front page

Blacks the rate is 15.5 percent. The official unemployment rate did decline slightly to 9.7 percent in May, from 9.9 percent in April.

At the same time, jobs in the private sector grew by 41,000, the smallest amount since January. Today there are 8 million fewer workers on private payrolls than there were when the recession opened in December 2007, the *Journal* acknowledged. Nearly half of private sector employers are cutting jobs, reported CNNMoney.com, despite the rise in manufacturing jobs last month by 29,000 and mining employment by 10,000. In construction, 35,000 jobs were eliminated in May. Hewlett Packard, the world’s largest personal com-

puter maker, announced in early June plans to slash about 3,000 jobs over several years.

Among public employees, the picture is also grim. More than 400,000 may have jobs for a few months taking the census, but tens of thousands face layoffs from state and local jobs every month as the rulers slash education, health care, and other programs. In May alone, 22,000 state and local government jobs were axed.

President Barack Obama’s reaction to the May jobs report was that while “there are going to be some ups and downs,” the economy is “getting stronger by the day.”

“We’re on an upwards trend,” chimed in Rep. Carolyn Maloney, one of the chairs of Congress’s Joint Economic Committee. “We’re trending in the right direction.”

In May the government counted 15 million people as unemployed. How-

ever, this does not include another 2.2 million workers dubbed “marginally attached” to the workforce—half of them labeled “discouraged workers.” With job prospects improving, more of these workers are actively looking for jobs, boosting the government’s count of unemployed workers.

The number of long-term unemployed remains at record levels. About 6.8 million have been out of work for at least six months, while the average length of time they remain without a job rose to eight months. Many find that the longer they are unemployed, the harder it is to convince bosses to hire them.

Wall Street reacted to the May unemployment report and the unfolding financial crisis in Europe with a 3 percent drop in the Dow Jones Industrial Average, “the Dow’s second slide below 10000 in two weeks . . . and the third-biggest point and percentage decline of 2010,” reported the *Journal*.

Read the ‘Militant’ online

[www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com)

### Publishing schedule June–July

The next issue of the *Militant* will be printed on Monday, June 14, and mailed out the next day. It will be a two-week issue. We will resume publication with issue number 26, which will be mailed out Thursday, July 1.



## Read, Sell, & Discuss

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

### Chicago

We have been working as temporary workers in an auto parts plant of 400 here. Eight coworkers have bought *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes, in our first three weeks on the job. Two people have also gotten subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Two years ago the company had a large layoff. They recently called everyone back and began hiring temporary workers, who make about one-third less than the permanent workers and receive no benefits.

One coworker who bought the book was brought back as a temporary along with many others who used to be permanent before they were laid off. After a short discussion she said she agreed on the need for "some kind of massive movement to get at the root" of the deteriorating conditions workers face. Another who got the book is second generation at the plant. Both of his parents worked there for 32 years and came from the southern states.

A Mexican coworker bought the book in Spanish along with a subscription to the *Militant*. She had recently participated in a protest at a detention center that holds immigrant workers awaiting deportation. One young Black worker who bought the book brings it to work to read on breaks.

—Laura Anderson  
and Alyson Kennedy

### Houston

We sold 12 copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* at the 3rd Annual National Black Book Festival here in Houston May 22–23.

Participants purchased a dozen other Pathfinder books, from the *Communist Manifesto* to *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks*. We also sold three subscriptions to the *Militant* and 11 single cop-

ies of the paper.

A young oil worker from Lake Charles, Louisiana, picked up four books, including *Workers Power*, along with a subscription to the *Militant*. "Now I'm glad I came here!" he remarked, explaining that he ended up at the festival almost by accident while attending a sports event in Houston.

Among the people who said they wanted to purchase books from the Pathfinder Press Web site were several Houston-area school teachers. Two of these women picked up *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, saying that this is just what they were talking about.

—Jacquie Henderson

## French edition of 'Workers Power' book is out

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

MONTREAL—*Malcolm X, la libération des Noirs et la voie vers le pouvoir ouvrier*, the French edition of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, is now in print.

Author Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, draws lessons from a century and a half of the U.S. class struggle, describing how it is the revolutionary conquest of power by the working class that will make possible the final battle for Black freedom and open the way to a world based not on exploitation, violence, and racism, but human solidarity.

"That new state power," he explains, "provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation inherited from millennia of class-divided society."

Barnes underlines the fact that "workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution." Malcolm X, he writes, "became the face and authentic voice of the forces of the coming American revolution." The book has already been published in English and Spanish.

The first 10 days of presenting and selling the new French edition in Montreal, whose population is in its majority French-speaking, triggered a real interest among working people and youth looking for ways to respond to the attacks they see coming down on our class here and around the world.

Four workers in one food plant and another in a printing plant, one born in Congo and the others in Haiti, bought the new book from communist coworkers. Discussions turned around the crisis of the world capitalist economy, imperialist wars, growing attacks on social programs, racism, and what workers can do about it. The example set by Cuban workers in taking power and using it to end capitalist exploitation fit right into these discussions.

So far 28 copies of the book in French have been sold in Montreal. Several of these sales came from calling back some 40 people met during the previous months who had bought the introduction to the book published as a French-language supplement to the *Militant*.

These were people met during the Montreal tour in March by Armando



Campaigning to sell new French-language edition of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* at Jean Talon Metro station in Montreal.

Choy, a retired brigadier general in Cuba's armed forces; at a series of labor and student demonstrations; at various political events; and at literature tables set up by distributors of the *Militant* and Pathfinder books.

Among those who bought the book is a nursing student from Haiti who met *Militant* distributors during their regular campus sales. Another Haitian woman

bought the book from a nearby literature table while she was waiting in line to catch the bus.

A university bookstore buyer in Montreal ordered five copies of the French edition of the book as soon as he heard the title.

Distributors of the *Militant* here adopted a goal of selling 50 copies of the new book by June 17.

## Store orders for Pathfinder up

BY MARY ELLEN MARUS

After the International Center and Civil Rights Museum in Greensboro, North Carolina, sold most of the books from their first Pathfinder order, they placed a second order for 63 titles.

Pathfinder sales representatives obtained 94 orders for Pathfinder books between January 1 and May 1, surpassing their goal of 85. This was the most successful sales campaign in several years. The new book *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes, was central to the effort and gave the campaign a big boost. Salespeople are continuing visits to bookstores and libraries to follow up on all those who expressed interest in Pathfinder titles.

Through the course of the campaign, representatives visited numerous bookstores and libraries. A sales team from Washington, D.C., visited an important independent bookstore in Baltimore. During the visit an order of almost \$400 was placed. Titles included *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, *Lenin's Final Fight*, and many other Marxist classics.

In the Bay Area, salespersons got four orders after visiting bookstores in Santa Cruz, San Francisco, Berkeley, and a campus bookstore in Davis, California. All purchased *Malcolm X, Black Liber-*

*ation, and the Road to Workers Power.*

"The successful visit to San Diego was the highlight of the Los Angeles campaign. Pathfinder representatives met with nine buyers and have already garnered two orders, including from the city's Malcolm X Library," said Nick Castle.

Upon looking through a wide selection of Pathfinder titles, two high school librarians in Vancouver, British Columbia, said that they needed the perspective of these books in their library. They asked the sales representative to return to the school next fall to present the books to the students.

More than 71 libraries from the United States to Canada to New Zealand now have *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* on their shelves.

Visits to public and campus libraries garnered sales of a broad range of Pathfinder books. In Victoria, British Columbia, the university librarian appreciated the marked-up catalogue highlighting books for his consideration. The 28 orders in Canada helped spark a sharp increase in Pathfinder sales there. Two-thirds of the orders include the *Workers Power* book.

Salespeople contacted bookstores located in Black neighborhoods. In Brooklyn, New York, they visited a number of independent bookstores, including Arab-language ones. In Miami buyers in Haitian bookstores are looking forward to the *Workers Power* book now available in French.

Plans are under way in Quebec, which is 80 percent French-speaking, and in U.S. cities, to show *Malcolm X, la libération des Noirs et la voie vers le pouvoir ouvrier* to the many French and bilingual bookstores and libraries.



Display featuring Pathfinder titles, top shelf, at Civil Rights Museum bookstore in Greensboro, North Carolina

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## ON THE PICKET LINE

### Striking grocery workers march on Boston

METHUEN, Massachusetts—"300 Families, 60 Miles, 5 Days" was the theme of a march here by striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 791. About 300 workers at the distribution center here for Shaw's Supermarkets walked off the job March 7, rejecting a company offer that would have them pay more for health care.

On May 23, 100 strikers and their supporters set off from the gate of the distribution center on a five-day march to the state Capitol in Boston, 60 miles away.

The warehouse distributes meat, dairy, and produce to the 176 Shaw's Supermarkets and Star Markets in New England. The grocery chain's parent company, Supervalu of St. Paul, Minnesota, is one of the largest grocery companies in the country.

"We cannot allow another union to go down," Thomas Colon, a striking worker, told the *Militant*. "Their objective is to squeeze every last drop out of you. We're not representing only ourselves. This is for my kids' kids' future." Colon marched all five days.

Along the march expanded picket lines were set up in front of local Shaw's grocery stores, with rallies in the evening. Churches and a synagogue put up strikers at night.

On May 26, Centro Presente!, an immigrant rights organization in Somerville, Massachusetts, welcomed the marchers, serving dinner to the 75 strikers and their supporters.

—Ted Leonard

## Abortion rights under attack

### Continued from front page

most abortions 20 weeks or more after conception, citing the capacity of the fetus to "experience pain." The law it replaced set the limit based on fetal viability, generally considered to be at 22 weeks or later. The state's legislature had passed the law by a 44-5 vote.

The new law provides for exceptions only in the case of medical emergency, the pregnant woman's imminent death, or a serious risk of "substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function."

Last year after the murder of Wichita abortion provider Dr. George Tiller by antiabortion rightist Scott Roeder, Dr. LeRoy Carhart, an abortion provider who has a clinic in Bellevue, Nebraska, announced he would begin carrying out late-term abortions in his clinic to replace the void left by Tiller's murder.

Nebraska legislature leader Michael Flood spearheaded a campaign to restrict abortion rights. "Speaker Flood was in a position to do something to ensure that Nebraska does not become the late term abortion capital of the Midwest and we thank him for his diligence and leadership in introducing and prioritizing" the law, said Julie Schmit-Albin, executive director of Nebraska Right to Life.

While the overall number of abortions has been declining since 1990, the rates among working-class women have gone up, according to a study by the Guttmacher Institute, a foundation that supports abortion rights. Some 69 percent of women choosing abortion have incomes below 200 per-

### Steelworkers in Mississippi strike Omnova plant

HOUSTON—Workers at the Omnova Solutions Inc. plant in Columbus, Mississippi, walked out May 21 in their first strike in four decades. The workers, members of United Steelworkers Local 748-L, had voted 168 to 2 on May 15 to reject the company's "final proposal."

"They're just asking for so many draconian steps backward in our contract," Ronald Crowe, who has worked in the plant for 38 years, told the *Columbus Commercial Dispatch*. "I already make less now than I did when I was hired," added striker Jerry Aldridge, an Omnova employee for 22 years.

Derek Sherrod, who has worked at the plant for more than two decades, said that the company is seeking job consolidation and massive job cuts.

The company is attempting to maintain production with managers, other salaried personnel, and some

## Striking Boeing workers fight for contract

### Continued from front page

locked the union hall. About 40 workers, many of whom had arrived for picket duty, gathered the next morning outside the locked union hall. They decided to spread the word for strikers to meet outside the hall at 6:00 a.m. June 7 to talk to the negotiating committee.

Several hundred workers showed up. Many were angry the picket lines had been taken down and felt that the proposed agreement changed little from

cent of the federal poverty level. The federal poverty level is only \$10,830 for a single woman without children.

The report gave figures underlining the importance for women to have access to safe and legal abortion. "Each year, two percent of women aged 15-44 have an abortion; half have had at least one previous abortion," the study stated.



Militant/Ted Leonard

Grocery store strikers marched 60 miles to Boston in May to gather support for fight against contract that would sharply increase what they pay for health care.

temporary workers.

Omnova produces commercial wall coverings, upholstery, and other products at nine plants in the United States, Europe, and Asia. Four of these plants

are unionized.

According to the company Web site, Omnova employs about 2,300 people.

—Jacquie Henderson

one previously rejected by a big margin. Workers decided to reestablish the picket line while they considered the tentative agreement.

"They were unauthorized to ever take it down," Ronda Johnson, who has worked at Boeing 25 years, told the *Militant* at the picket line today. "When you're on strike, you're on strike. Until the contract is ratified, we're supposed to be out here. When we got back Monday, the membership said, 'No, it's not over 'til it's over.' That's why we're back out here."

William Judge, who also has 25 years at Boeing, said, "The union hall should be open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, until the contract is ratified."

Dan Cooley, a 30-year Boeing veteran, said the union officials "prematurely supposed that everyone was going to go for it. We go by majority rule. They presupposed most people would buy it, but I'm not so sure they will. We'll see tomorrow."

According to reports in the media, the agreement lengthens the contract

from four to five years. It includes a \$2-per-year-of-service monthly increase in the pension offer, and increases the employee's payment for health insurance from 12 percent to 13 percent, instead of the initial company proposal of 15 percent. Workers get no wage increase in the first year, and instead get a \$4,000 lump-sum payment. They would receive a 3 percent wage increase annually after the first year.

"Boeing put together a good deal here," UAW Local 148 president Stan Klemchuk told the *Los Angeles Times*.

Meanwhile, workers at the Boeing plant in St. Louis, which also produces military equipment, face a June 13 contract expiration. Members of International Association of Machinists District 37 voted in May to authorize a strike by a 99 percent majority.

Some workers here believe the federal mediator pushed for a rapid settlement to avoid overlapping strikes.

Ollie Bivins, a member of UAW Local 148, contributed to this article.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



### June 21, 1985

The monthlong strike by some 6,000 members of the social security workers union (STISSS) in El Salvador ended June 6 in a victory for the union when the government was forced to free two jailed union leaders.

The STISSS officials had been arrested on June 2 when military police and National Guardsmen stormed 5 hospitals and 20 clinics across the country in an attempt to crush the strike. The strike began on May 6 and hospital personnel had occupied their work places.

The most dramatic indication of the increased level of fightback by El Salvador's labor movement was this year's May Day march. More than 15,000 workers marched through the streets of San Salvador behind a banner that read, "For a new society." Many other workers who supported the march lined the sidewalks.



### June 20, 1960

U.S. foreign policy of global cold-war suffered a stunning setback with the announcement today that President Eisenhower's visit to Japan had been cancelled. The last-minute decision to call off the trip confirmed that the great majority of the Japanese people are firmly opposed to being dragged down the road to war through a military alliance with the U.S. Even if the treaty is forced upon the Japanese people there is little prospect that Washington can look to Japan as a "reliable" ally.

In Tokyo, 25,000 demonstrators cheered wildly at the news of their great victory. They danced in the streets, hugged each other, and shouted, "We've won, we've won!"

In Washington, Associated Press news analyst John Hightower described the trip cancellation as a "humiliating and costly defeat."



### June 29, 1935

The strike of 40,000 lumber workers in Washington, Oregon, and Northern California continues despite the open provocation of the militia. Friday the police fired on a crowd in Eureka, Cal. killing one and wounding several. Many more are ill as a result of gas attacks by the police.

During the last week the mill owners have mobilized an army of strikebreakers, thugs, police and National Guard in an attempt to open the mills at any cost.

The strike is led by a committee as a subsidiary section of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. So far the men have resisted all attempts to put over empty "arbitration" settlements and to break the backbone of the strike by settling one plant at a time.

The strikers demand a thirty hour week, seventy five cents an hour and union recognition.

# Atlanta meeting debates book on Malcolm X, road to workers power

BY JANICE LYNN

ATLANTA—Some 45 people participated in a discussion at the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History on the recently published Pathfinder book, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes.

Speaking at the May 27 meeting was Steve Clark, one of the book's editors and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Also on the panel was Sobukwe Shukura, host of the radio show "Revolutionary African Perspectives," cochair of the National Network on Cuba, and a leader of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

The event turned into a lively debate between the Pan-Africanist and socialist views advanced by Shukura and the revolutionary proletarian politics defended by Clark.

Morris Gardner, program manager at the library, chaired the meeting. Francine Henderson, the library's administrator, opened the event and told of the impact of Malcolm X's ideas on her life. She commended Pathfinder for keeping Malcolm's speeches in print.

Clark said 6,500 copies of the new book have been sold so far in English and Spanish, and that the French translation had just rolled off the press.

Clark opened by pointing to a falsification of Malcolm's views, that had appeared the previous week in the *New Yorker* magazine. The article portrayed Malcolm as "the very model of modern apocalyptic prophet-politician, unambiguously preaching violence and a doctrine of millennial revenge," and at the same time "a moral reformer" and "universalist."

Malcolm X was none of the above, Clark said. During the final year of Malcolm's life, he emerged as the outstanding revolutionary internationalist leader of the Black liberation struggle in the United States, as well as of the working class.

"One aim of the new book," Clark said, "is to encourage workers and youth to read and study what Malcolm X had to say, in his own words," not only as

an antidote to misrepresentations of his views, but above all as an example to emulate *in action*.

*Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, however, is not another book "by Malcolm X, nor one exclusively about Malcolm X," Clark said.

Citing the introduction by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Clark said it is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a book about the devastating consequences for working people worldwide, of the fact that state power in the United States is held by a handful of propertied families who use it to defend the profits they derive from capitalist property ownership and exploitation of labor.

Clark said that a political road forward for the working class in face of "the opening stages of a world capitalist crisis of a kind working people have not experienced since the early decades of the last century" is offered by the book. He pointed to rising joblessness hitting workers who are Black the hardest; brutal speedup leading to injuries and killings of workers from West Virginia coal mines to Gulf Coast oil rigs; to spreading imperialist wars and assaults on political rights of working people to organize to defend their class interests.

Quoting the introduction, Clark said the book is "about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United States . . . and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution." And why the state power established by such a revolution "provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation."

As shown in word and deed during the last year of his life, Malcolm X converged politically with these conclusions, Clark said, and with the revolutionary internationalist political course they dic-

tated. Malcolm explained that he came to see the workings of capitalism as the root of racism and other forms of oppression and exploitation, and he sought to join with others to *make a revolution* to take power out of the hands of the racist and war-making imperialist rulers.

Clark quoted Malcolm's speech at Barnard College in New York three days prior to his assassination in February 1965: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. We are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Clark said that it was this conviction—the necessity, in the words of Barnes's introduction, "for the oppressed and working people of all skin colors, continents, and countries to join together in revolutionary struggle"—that set Malcolm X apart from other leaders of the Black struggle of his time, including Martin Luther King.

"Malcolm appreciated King and others who devoted their lives and energies to the fight for Black rights," Clark said. "He was ready for united action to advance common demands in the fight for Black liberation and other goals."

"But Malcolm did not converge politically with King's pacifism and opposition to organized self-defense against racist violence. With King's support for the imperialist Democratic Party and various of its leading politicians. Or, above all, with King's conviction that the racist capitalist system could be reformed rather than overthrown."

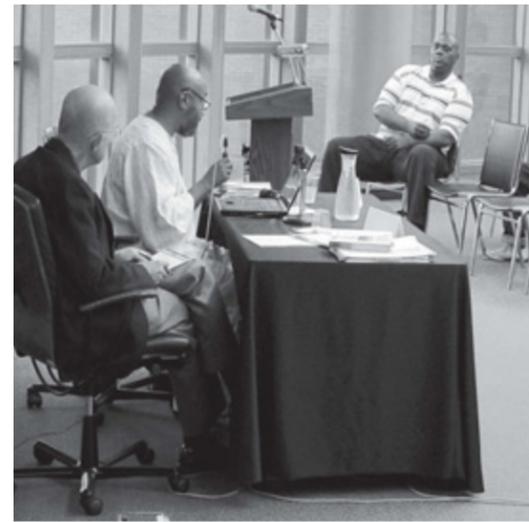
## 'Revolutionary Pan-Africanism'

Sobukwe Shukura said he had "a different perspective on the book." The author, Jack Barnes, presents a view of the political direction Malcolm might have gone "had he lived longer, not where Malcolm was when he passed away," Shukura said. The book "purposely minimizes" aspects of Malcolm X's evolution.

Contrary to what the book presents, Shukura said, Malcolm X "was on the path of Pan Africanism." He added, "It is disturbing that the book dismisses Pan-Africanism as a vague idea not worthy of putting before the public." In fact, Shukura said, it was Malcolm's Pan-Africanism that helped make him a revolutionary internationalist. "With African people spread throughout the world," a Pan-Africanist has to be an internationalist.

It is necessary to recall whom Malcolm met with during his trips to Africa, said Shukura: "not the neocolonial leaders," but Pan-Africanist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure—the first post-independence presidents of Ghana and of Guinea—and President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. We must also not exaggerate the place of Malcolm X in the Black struggle in the United States, Shukura said, to the exclusion of those like Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) and others who came out of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other currents.

Shukura said that while he himself is a socialist, though "not a Marxist-Le-



May 27 event at Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History. Panelists from left: Steve Clark, editor of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*; Sobukwe Shukura, radio talk show host and leader of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party; and Francine Henderson, library administrator. Henderson welcomes participants.

minist," and believes humanity someday "will achieve communism," he disagreed with Barnes's conclusion that Malcolm X was "on the path" to communism. "No one can point to anyplace where Malcolm said he was a communist," Shukura said. "And the best authority on Malcolm is Malcolm."

Shukura concluded by saying that the book's emphasis on "the vanguard role of Black people in the United States is also misguided." Blacks will get involved in working-class fights, he said. But they will "not be cannon fodder" for revolutionary struggles until "the European working class in the United States" steps forward in such battles.

## Road to workers power

Responding to Shukura's statement that "nowhere had Malcolm X ever said he was a communist," Clark replied during the discussion that it was false to imply that SWP leader Jack Barnes stated or even suggested that Malcolm had done so. Clark said the book explains that Malcolm during the final year of his life converged politically with revolutionists, including communists, in Cuba, Algeria, and the United States who were on a course of revolutionary struggle to overturn the capitalist and imperialist exploiters and oppressors in this country and the world over. (See further comments by Clark on this and other of the disputed questions in the article on the facing page.)

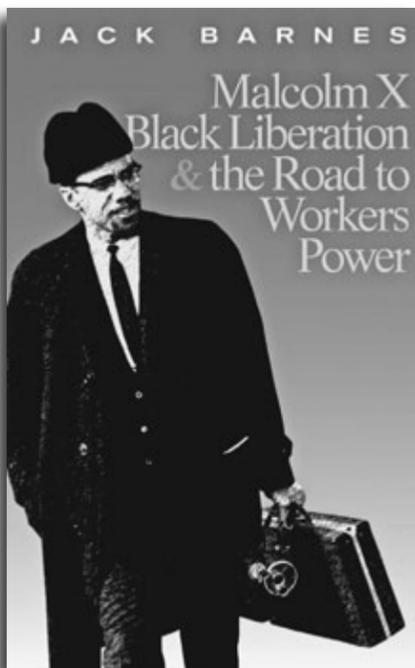
Clark agreed that "to know where Malcolm stood, you have to read what he said over and over again." That's why *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* puts so much importance on reading and studying the speeches and interviews from the final year of Malcolm's life.

But it is false to say the book speculates about Malcolm X's political trajectory, Clark said. It is "not an academic study, but a *practical* book, a *political* book about the need for working people to make a socialist revolution. In the United States, Malcolm X was the sin-

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

by Jack Barnes



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# Communist workers movement versus Pan-Africanist socialism

BY STEVE CLARK

The debate at the May 27 meeting at the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History, reported on the facing page, barely scratched the surface in joining the issue on the conflicting courses of the communist workers movement, and of the Pan-Africanist movement and its socialism.

Nor did it adequately answer assertions by Sobukwe Shukura—a central leader of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party—about views presented by the author, Jack Barnes, in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, published earlier this year. Some of Shukura's statements, in fact, went beyond distortion to outright misrepresentation.

## Pan-Africanism

Shukura said he found it “disturbing that Barnes dismisses Pan-Africanism as a vague idea not worthy of putting before the public.” Shukura was apparently referring to the following passage from the book:

Malcolm's course during these final months is sometimes described as a new form of Pan-Africanism, and Malcolm himself used that term a few times. But “Pan-Africanism” captures neither the scope nor the revolutionary political character of Malcolm's internationalism and anti-imperialism.

Malcolm, of course, recognized the shared aspects of the oppression facing those of African origin—and of their resistance to that oppression. Because of the combined legacy of colonialism and chattel slavery, Blacks shared many such elements whether they lived and toiled in Africa itself, in the Caribbean and Latin America, in Europe, or what Malcolm, echoing Elijah Muhammad's marvelous term, called “this wilderness of North America.”

Shukura insisted that Malcolm X was “on the path to Pan-Africanism” at the time of his assassination. To assess that judgment, it's useful to look at the most prominent Pan-Africanist organization in Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa. The PAC was founded in 1959 as a split from the African National Congress (ANC) and in explicit opposition to the ANC's Freedom Charter, which took as its banner in the fight against the white-supremacist apartheid system the slogan: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.”

In sharp contrast, the PAC—under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe—popularized the slogan, “One settler, one bullet.”

It's hard to imagine a starker divergence between such PAC demagoguery and the statement by Malcolm from the last days of his life that I pointed to in the opening presentation to the Atlanta meeting. “I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between . . . those who want freedom, justice, and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation,” Malcolm said. “I believe that there will be that kind of clash—but I don't believe it will be based upon the color of the skin.”

Or Malcolm's closing words to young people in December 1964 at Oxford



Malcolm X at 1962 hospital union rally in New York. During rise of Black struggle, many African Americans came to see their fight as part of victorious post-World War II battles for national liberation worldwide, Barnes explains in new book. This pushed back racism, raised Blacks' self-confidence, and laid “the basis for greater unity in struggle by workers who are Black, white, and of other racial and national backgrounds.”

University in the United Kingdom, where he said that making a revolution was the central question confronting “the young generation of whites, Blacks, browns, whatever else there is. . . . I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth.”

There are numerous other such statements throughout Malcolm's speeches and interviews from the last year of his life, many of them quoted by Barnes in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*.

At the Atlanta meeting, Shukura stated that Barnes “purposely minimizes aspects of Malcolm's evolution”—yes, purposely—such as Malcolm's embrace of African freedom struggles and their political impact on Blacks in the United States. He implied that Barnes plays down the importance of efforts by African American militants to sweep the world clean of bigoted lies about Africa and African history used to rationalize racist oppression. But he made no attempt to substantiate these allegations.

As Barnes insisted in his talk to a March 1965 memorial tribute to Malcolm X in New York—a talk that has been kept in print for 45 years, and is included in its entirety in the new book—Blacks “were systematically stripped of their language, culture, history, names, religion, of all connections with their homes in Africa—of their identity. They were named *Negro*, signifying this lack of identity and this denial of their African origin.”

In his October 2009 introduction to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, Barnes points to the fact that during the rise of the Black struggle in the 1950s and 1960s, “a broad vanguard of African Americans [saw] their struggles as an integral part of the victorious post-World War II national liberation struggles that swept across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.” And that this “push[ed] back racism, raise[d] self-confidence among African Americans, and [laid] the basis for greater unity in struggle by workers who are Black, white, and of other racial and national backgrounds.” Where does Barnes say otherwise, let alone “purposely”?

Shukura emphasized that during

Malcolm's two trips to Africa in 1964, he met with Pan-Africanist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure—the first post-independence presidents of Ghana and of Guinea—as well as President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Far from “purposely minimizing” such meetings, however, Barnes prominently features in the book the 1965 *Young Socialist* interview where Malcolm points to these discussions as among “the highlights” of his trips.

But what lessons can be drawn from the example of a bourgeois nationalist demagogue such as Nasser to advance struggles by working people today fighting oppression and exploitation in the Middle East, Africa, the United States, or anywhere else? *None*. Nkrumah and Toure were leaders of successful struggles to end British and French imperialist domination of Ghana and Guinea, respectively. But neither of them led governments of the toilers that organized and mobilized peasants and workers in those countries along a revolutionary course toward breaking with the exploiting classes at home and the imperialist interests they served.

It was significant, in this regard, that Shukura did *not* point to the example of the one leadership on the African continent in Malcolm's time that *did* follow such a course—in Algeria. Barnes, on

Continued on page 8



Militant photos by Maceo Dixon

on African American Culture and History discussed *Workers Power*. Bottom, library administrator Francine left to right: Steve Clark, one of editors of book, and of All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

gle outstanding leader with a mass audience in the latter half of the 20th century who explained the need for *revolutionary struggle* against what he called the ‘systems of exploitation’ and oppression in the United States and worldwide, the need for ‘a political showdown . . . between the economic systems that exist on this earth.’ Malcolm explained that you cannot reform capitalism; it has to be overthrown.”

Clark said that *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* “explains the necessity and the opportunities to build a revolutionary working-class party—a party of workers of all skin colors, languages, and nationalities—to fight to take power out of the hands of the capitalist rulers.” If that is not done, he said, “not only will exploitation, racism, and other forms of oppression continue, but the imperialist war-makers can and will devastate humanity and destroy the world.”

Clark also pointed out that it is a misrepresentation to suggest the book opposes the right of African-Americans to organize their own political organizations to advance the fight for liberation. The book records in detail, Clark said, the Socialist Workers Party's support to the Organization of Afro-American Unity founded by Malcolm, the Freedom Now Party of the mid-1960s, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) in the 1980s, and others.

The SWP explained that political initiatives such as these not only marked an advance in the fight for Black freedom, but set an example along the road toward political action by the working class, independent of and opposed to the Democratic, Republican, and other parties of the imperialist rulers.

Shukura stressed it is “the white working class” that must be won away from racism and that “the white left” should concentrate on achieving that goal instead of seeking to organize Black workers. Blacks “will continue to organize our own organizations until

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## Malcolm X in his own words

Malcolm X  
on Afro-American History  
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Malcolm X: The Last Speeches  
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By Any Means Necessary  
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Malcolm X Talks to Young People  
(Available in Spanish and Farsi)  
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The Final Speeches  
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# Workers power debate

Continued from page 7

the other hand, underlines the importance of that revolutionary experience in his introduction to the book. He writes:

[Malcolm] held in high esteem fighters who at great sacrifice had done battle to overturn colonial regimes across Africa and Asia. He was particularly drawn to the revolutionary leadership of the secular government of Algeria, many of whom, as Malcolm pointed out, were 'white,' and few of whom continued to practice the Islamic faith. Led by Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria's workers and peasants government, unlike other newly independent nations in Africa and the Middle East, was organizing working people to challenge not only the power and prerogatives of their former French colonizers, but of Algeria's homegrown landlords and capitalists as well.

## A convergence in fight for power

What about Shukura's rejection of what he claims is Barnes's assertion, in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, that Malcolm was "on the path to communism"? That Barnes speculates on the political direction that Malcolm might have moved in "had he lived longer, not where Malcolm was when he passed away"? This, too, is utterly false. Barnes writes:

Since the day Malcolm was killed in February 1965, nobody can prove where he would have gone next politically. But those in my generation and others in the Socialist Workers Party leadership were convinced by Malcolm's course that he was moving toward becoming a communist. Politically he was converging with the Cuban Revolution, with the popular revolutionary government in Algeria led by Ahmed Ben Bella (and with the course of the SWP), that is, with the historic line of march of the working class toward power worldwide.

By that point in the book, Barnes has already presented in substantial detail the facts of Malcolm's political evolution in 1964 and early 1965, and in Malcolm's own words:

- His rejection of the Nation of Islam's reactionary attitudes toward women, condemning those who don't give women "incentive by allowing her maximum participation in whatever area of society where she's qualified." Whatever country you visit, Malcolm said, "the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman."
- Malcolm's rejection of the Nation of Islam's opposition to intermarriage, saying: "I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being—neither white, black, brown, or red . . . [It]'s just one human being marrying another human being."
- His efforts to unify the broadest layers—irrespective of religious beliefs, or absence of religious beliefs—in militant *political action* against every manifestation of racist bigotry, of capitalism's economic and social exploitation, and of murderous imperialist wars—from the Congo, to Vietnam, to Cuba at the time. In order to join in these struggles effectively, Malcolm said, you have to keep "your religion at home, in the closet."
- Malcolm's statement to the *Young Socialist* magazine in January 1965 that his recent visits to Africa and the Middle East had helped convince him to stop referring to the

course he advocated as "Black nationalism." He recounted a discussion with an Algerian revolutionary—one who "to all appearances . . . was a white man"—who asked Malcolm if his goal was "the victory of Black nationalism, where does that leave him? . . . So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." Malcolm, not anyone else, insisted on the term, "true revolutionaries."

On the basis of these examples and many others, Barnes writes in the closing section of the book:

Malcolm was on the road to becoming a communist. Why would we conclude anything else? What evidence would propel us to do so? Why would we place limitations on Malcolm—Malcolm of all people!—that we wouldn't place on anyone else?

But contrary to Shukura's assertion, Barnes never says that Malcolm had become a communist at the time his political life was cut short by an assassin's bullet. As already noted, Barnes asserts that, "Since the day Malcolm was killed in February 1965, nobody can prove where he would have gone next politically." And elsewhere in the book, Barnes writes that "in order to minimize misunderstanding about the political points we need to clarify, let me emphasize that I'm not calling into question Malcolm's assertions up till the final days of his life that he remained a Muslim."

Moreover, Barnes reminds readers that when Malcolm explained to the *Young Socialist* why he had not for some time referred to his political course as "Black nationalism," he added that he "would still be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy"—the program, the strategy—"which I think is necessary for the liberation of the Black people in this country." That program, Barnes said, "was still very much a work in progress when Malcolm was killed. It was still more tactics than strategy. It was open to different interpretations. It didn't yet provide those who looked to Malcolm with a coherent world outlook or a regular political rhythm of disciplined ac-



Algerian working people welcome Ahmed Ben Bella after 1962 victory of war of independence from France. Unlike in other African and Mideast nations, Algeria's workers and peasants government mobilized toilers to break with exploiters at home, not just former colonizers.

tivity, of things to do to advance those perspectives."

And Barnes concludes:

What is so essential in understanding Malcolm X is that we can see the fact—not the hope, not the faith, the fact—that, in the imperialist epoch, revolutionary leadership on the highest level of political capacity, courage, and integrity converges with communism, not simply toward the communist movement. . . .

What comes out of such a convergence. . . . is a movement of the proletariat and its fighting allies. . . . that becomes more inclusive, richer in its variety, experience, cultural breadth, social understanding, political intelligence and savvy, and—above all—combat capacity. One capable of leading the toilers in conquering the dictatorship of the proletariat and using it to put an end to national oppression and all the other consequences of centuries of class society.

## Neither wolf nor fox

The *Militant* news article on the Atlanta meeting reports an exchange between Shukura and a member of the audience on the divergence I had pointed to in the opening presentation between the political courses of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. The audience member pointed out that while King had spoken out against the Vietnam War, Malcolm had supported victory for the Vietnamese revolution. I concurred with the point later in the discussion.

While true, it misses something more important.

Martin Luther King urged African Americans and other working people to give political support to one of the two parties of the capitalist oppressors and imperialist war-makers in the United States, the Democratic Party. Malcolm X, to the contrary, was an uncompromising opponent of both imperialist parties, Republican and Democrat. During the 1964 U.S. elections, when Republican Barry Goldwater ran against the Democratic president Lyndon Baines Johnson (whose administration was escalating Washington's murderous war in Vietnam), virtually every political current in U.S. politics claiming to speak on behalf of workers and the oppressed—with the exception of the Socialist Workers Party and Malcolm X—went all out to defeat Goldwater, presenting Johnson as "the peace candidate."

In July 1964, when King and other leaders of civil rights organizations called for a halt to demonstrations for Black freedom until after the November elections, Malcolm told the press that these misleaders had "sold themselves out and become campaign managers in the Negro community for Lyndon B. Johnson." And a few months later, following Johnson's re-election, Malcolm said that the U.S. capitalists "knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. . . . Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected—because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had

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# Resignation of Japanese prime minister

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largest in the world after the United States, showed the crisis of capitalism earlier than other imperialist countries.

Japan's real estate bubble began to collapse in 1990, including an 80 percent drop in commercial property prices. The financial crisis became acute there in 1997; by 1999 the Tokyo stock market was almost two-thirds below its 1989 peak, while Japanese banks held \$1 trillion in bad loans. An anemic recovery in the middle of this decade was not enough to solve the problem.

The Japanese government has a huge public debt, nearly 200 percent of the country's gross domestic product, one of the largest in the world. Official unemployment has jumped from 3.8 percent in May 2007 to more than 5 percent today. For decades unemployment in Japan was below 4 percent. In the latest available figures, one in six Japanese lived below the official poverty line in 2007, one of the highest among the major imperialist powers.

The increase in unemployment and lower paying jobs has caused a housing crisis for many workers. The January 2 *New York Times* reported on the Capsule Hotel Shinjuku 510 in Tokyo. The hotel rents out plastic capsules "no larger than 6 1/2 feet long by 5 feet wide, and not tall enough to stand up in" to workers who can't afford to rent an apartment. An upper

bunk in the capsules—which have no doors, only pull-down screens—costs about \$640 a month.

## Deflationary spiral

Japan is in the midst of a deflationary spiral. Consumer prices fell 1.9 percent last year. In March the Bank of Japan doubled a loan program to banks to 20 trillion yen (US\$222 billion) in an attempt to combat deflation, with little impact. In April prices dropped again for the 14th consecutive month.

The deflation-driven price war has forced other competitors out of the market. U.S.-based Wendy's closed its operations in Japan December 31.

The Democratic Party of Japan hopes that the selection of Kan to replace Hatoyama will prevent a big loss in July's election for the upper house of the Japanese parliament. Unlike previous prime ministers who came from Japan's political "dynasties" that have controlled both main capitalist parties, Kan, the son of a factory manager, is put forward as a populist and "a self-made man."

There are divisions within Kan's party. "Calls for the government to move the air base out of the prefecture aren't likely to change," said Denny Tamaki, DPJ candidate in Okinawa, according to the *Daily Yomiuri's* online English edition June 4. "Without a fundamental solution of the Futenma [air base] issue, I don't think it'll be possible to maintain a stable administration."

# Atlanta meeting debates Malcolm X

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there is an opportunity for revolutionary struggle when European workers reach a certain level of consciousness," Shukura said.

A member of the audience commented on Shukura's reply to Clark's remarks about the political divergence between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. Shukura had pointed to the need to recognize King's own evolution, such as coming to oppose the Vietnam War. The audience member said the difference was that while King spoke out against the war, Malcolm had supported victory for the Vietnamese revolution.

Clark responded to a comment by someone else in the audience that Malcolm X, like Malcolm's father, continued to follow the politics of early 20th century figure Marcus Garvey, who built a large organization in the United States and the Caribbean advocating a "back to Africa movement." Clark said that during the last year of Malcolm's life, he came to reject the call to return to Africa or build a separate Black state in the United States.

In response to a direct question about this in early 1965, Malcolm gave a direct answer: "No, I believe in a society in which people can live like

human beings on the basis of equality."

Clark added that Malcolm—through his experience working with revolutionists in both Africa and the United States who were not Black—explained in January 1965 that he had stopped using the term "Black nationalism" to describe the political course he advocated.

Other exchanges during the discussion joined several questions:

What can be done to address the devastating effect of the capitalist crisis on young people who are Black?

Is there anything new we might find out from the coming publication of three previously unpublished chapters of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, or other unpublished letters, writings, or speeches by Malcolm?

What can be learned from the lessons of the Cuban Revolution for today, and from revolutionary leaders such as Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso and Maurice Bishop of Grenada?

What does the "Tea Party" movement show about prospects for overcoming divisions in the working class in the United States based on skin color and national origins?

# High court weakens 'Miranda' rights

Continued from front page

ing "confessions" through beatings and other forms of intimidation.

In the current case, Van Chester Thompkins was arrested on suspicion of murder in Southfield, Michigan, and read his Miranda rights. He chose to remain silent and did not sign a waiver of his Miranda rights. The cops, however, proceeded to badger him with questions for nearly three hours. Thompkins did not answer.

Finally, in response to three questions: "Do you believe in God?" "Do you pray to God?" and "Do you pray to God to forgive you for shooting that boy down?" Thompkins said "yes." This one word became the "evidence" used at his trial to convict him of first-degree murder. A federal court subsequently ruled that using Thompkins's comment was inadmissible in court. But the Supreme Court reversed the ruling.

## Correction

The seventh paragraph in the article "Puerto Rican political prisoner Carlos Alberto Torres wins parole," that appeared in the June 7 issue, starts: "Antonio called me . . ." It should have said "Carlos Alberto called me," referring to Torres.

Writing for the majority of the court, Justice Anthony Kennedy said, "The fact that Thompkins made a statement about three hours after receiving a Miranda warning does not overcome the fact that he engaged in a course of conduct indicating waiver." He also said cops are "not required to obtain a waiver" of a suspect's "right to remain silent before interrogating him."

In a column posted on huffingtonpost.com, Charles Weisselberg, a professor of law at UC Berkeley, wrote, "The Court has formally transformed Miranda from a rule aimed at protecting suspects to one that protects police. Miranda's safeguards for suspects are now mostly symbolic. So long as officers give warnings, their interrogation practices will be largely immune from any legal challenge."

Weisselberg also noted that as solicitor general, Elena Kagan, President Barack Obama's nominee to the Supreme Court, filed a friend of the court brief on behalf of the Justice Department backing the use of the "evidence" obtained from interrogating Thompkins.

The Supreme Court decision comes a few months after it had ruled that police can conduct a second round of questioning of suspects who had invoked their Miranda rights as long as two weeks had passed since their release from custody.

# Workers power

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troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam!"

That was the true measure of the gulf between Malcolm X's proletarian internationalism and Martin Luther King's procapitalist, social democratic views.

## Forging a working-class vanguard

Shukura in his presentation took issue with one of the central points running throughout *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, from its first page to its back cover. In an opening paragraph of the introduction—which I quoted in my opening remarks to the meeting—Barnes says that the book "is about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United States—from the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction to today—and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution."

This observation is "misguided," Shukura said. Blacks will get involved in working-class fights, but will "not be cannon fodder" for revolutionary struggles until "the European working class in the United States"—aka, "whites"—step forward in such battles. And in his closing remarks to the meeting, Shukura said that "the white left" should concentrate on combating racism in "the white working class," instead of "seeking to organize Black workers."

So many misleading—and false—statements are packed into this assertion that to be debated they must first be disentangled.

First, communists in this country and elsewhere, including the Socialist Workers Party, are not part of "the left"—of any skin tone. As the Communist Manifesto explains, communism is not a set of principles, "left-wing" or otherwise. It is not a preconceived doctrine of any kind. Insofar as it is a "theory," a set of ideas, it is nothing but the political generalization of the *line of march of the working class toward power*, "springing from an existing class struggle, a historical movement going on under our very eyes." Communism is the generalized political lessons of struggles by working people and the oppressed the world over for more than a hundred and fifty years.

Second, the Socialist Workers Party is not a "white" organization. "White" is a form of false identity the rulers attempt to impose on a section of the working class and middle-class layers in order to block the development of revolutionary working-class consciousness and political action. The SWP is a revolutionary *working-class* party whose membership, in the words of its constitution, is open to "every person who accepts the program of the party and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work." That, in fact, is true of every communist organization worthy of the name, anywhere in the world.

Finally, the Socialist Workers Party does not and never has sought "to organize Black workers." As Jack Barnes explains in the introduction to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, the task on which the future of humanity rides in the twenty-first century is to forge "a politically class-conscious and organized vanguard of the working class—millions strong"—regardless of color. A working-class vanguard capable of leading the revolutionary conquest of state power and the establishment of proletarian state property in industry and trade.

That new state power, Barnes explains, "provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation inherited from millennia of class-divided society."

The history of revolutionary popular struggles in the United States—from the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction, to the movements that built the industrial unions and brought Jim Crow segregation toppling down—suggests that Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky was correct in his estimate more than 75 years ago that workers who are Black will make up a disproportionate number of the best fighters in class battles to come.

**The *Militant* is inviting Sobukwe Shukura to join the issues under debate in the two articles here in a future issue. We look forward to publishing his rejoinder. —Paul Mailhot, Editor**