

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Malcolm X: 'Can't separate Africa from Black struggle'

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 74/NO. 41 NOVEMBER 1, 2010

No letup in sight for high U.S. jobless rate

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Amid talk that the capitalist economy is coming out of a recession, the U.S. government is hard pressed to show any progress at all on jobs. The rate of long-term unemployment remains at a record high and most signs indicate that overall unemployment is deteriorating further.

Some 57,000 jobs were cut by employers in August and 95,000 in September. Prior to that time the hiring of 564,000 people to conduct the U.S. census had obscured the fact that there was no real recovery from the recession that had begun in December 2007.

The U.S. Labor Department reported unemployment remained at 9.6 percent in September. Counting all those involuntarily working part-time and those the government says have given up looking for jobs, it stood at 17.1 percent.

There are half a million more discouraged workers now than a year ago and a 72 percent increase in the number of people who are not reported in official unemployment figures because they have stopped looking for work. Unemployment has stood at

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Widespread protests startle French gov't

Strikes challenge retirement age hike



Militant/Claude Bleton

Contingent of auto workers from Renault joins October 16 Paris march against plans by French government to raise retirement age. High school and university students also joined protests.

BY DEREK JEFFERS

PARIS—The scope of strikes and protests against attempts by French president Nicolas Sarkozy to raise the retirement age has taken the French government by surprise.

More than 1 million people demonstrated throughout France October 19, the sixth day of national demonstrations and strikes since September 7.

Legislation raising the retirement age from 60 to 62 and from 65 to 67 for those who have not worked 41 years will be voted on by the French Senate October 21.

"We're young and have a hard enough time finding work," said auto worker Souleymane Seck. "I'm already 37 and I've only worked for 10 years." Seck is one of 1,000 temporary workers out of a workforce of 4,000 at the Peugeot Poissy assembly plant.

The official unemployment rate in

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Join the socialist campaign effort

In the final two weeks before the elections, the *Militant* invites our readers to join in campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates who are running in local races across the United States. From picket lines in Iowa, to protests against police brutality in California, to antiwar rallies in Illinois, and demonstrations against hospital closings in New York, working people can expect to see socialist candidates offering solidarity and

AN APPEAL TO READERS

presenting a working-class alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Socialist candidates are reaching a wide audience this year as the effects of the worldwide capitalist depression are destroying the lives of millions of working people, and wars are expanding in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Many are looking for a way to fight back.

Combining immediate demands to protect working people from employer and government assaults on our standard of living, along with a more far-reaching revolutionary perspective for workers to take political power, the socialist candidates are discussing this message with as many working people as possible over the

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Locked-out Iowa workers fight union busting at mill

BY ILONA GERSH

AND ALYSON KENNEDY

KEOKUK, Iowa—More than 800 people marched here October 16 to support some 240 workers locked out

at Roquette America, Inc., after rejecting a union-gutting contract proposal. They are members of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union Local 48G.

"Keokuk has never seen anything like it, the solidarity of hundreds. This will energize the lines for weeks," Wade Kehler told the *Militant*. He works as a wet corn mill operator at Roquette. The company is one of the world's largest corn products manufacturers, producing starches, sweeteners, and animal feed.

A group of Mexican workers in front of the restaurant where they worked waved support. A local deli set up a grill on the sidewalk and handed out hotdogs and hamburgers to the marchers.

Members of the United Steelworkers (USW),

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Militant/Rebecca Williamson

October 16 rally in support of workers locked out of Roquette America corn mill in Keokuk, Iowa.

45 miners killed on the job in United States this year

BY ANGEL LARISCY

Despite assurances by Washington to step up enforcement of coal mine safety regulations, miners continue to die. On October 11 William Dooley, a roof bolter, was crushed by falling rock at the Alpha Natural Resources Mine in West Virginia. He is the 45th coal miner in the U.S. killed on the job so far this year.

On April 5, 29 miners at Massey Energy's Upper Big Branch Mine in West Virginia were killed in the worst mine blast in the United States in 40 years. The mine had a history of repeated safety violations. Parts or all of the mine were ordered closed more than 60 times in 2009 and 2010.

Since the Upper Big Branch Mine disaster, federal inspections have increased at 89 coal mines that have a history of repeated safety violations. Federal regulators also say they have increased their use of orders to shut down mines until violations are fixed. These measures have had little impact on safety as the coal operators contin-

ue to speed up production.

Since the Upper Big Branch explosion in April, 10 men have died in nine coal mines from northern West Virginia to southern Illinois. Another four surface miners have also been killed in the same period.

A Mine Safety and Health Admin-

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Company disregarded safety at Chile mine	6

‘Day Diplomacy Died’ premieres in California

BY LEA SHERMAN

BERKELEY, California—More than 60 people attended the Bay Area premier of *The Day Diplomacy Died*, a documentary by Bernie Dwyer and Roberto Ruiz Rebo. It was held at La Peña Cultural Center here October 7.

The event was an evening in solidarity with Cuba and the Cuban Five and marked the 43rd anniversary of Che Guevara’s murder in Bolivia.

“This meeting is part of the international campaign for actions in solidarity with the Cuban Five on the 12th anniversary of their unjust imprisonment,” explained Alicia Jrapko, national coordinator of the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5, which organized the event.

Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González were arrested in 1998 while monitoring the activities of counterrevolutionary groups in South Florida that had carried out violent attacks on Cuba, including the bombing of hotels. Now known internationally as the Cuban Five, they were framed up on false charges and have spent 12 years in U.S. prisons.

Jrapko noted that the campaign to free the five focuses on “reaching out to those who don’t know about the case.” She pointed to art exhibits, concerts, and a mountain-climbing action to publicize the case and the support of actors, artists, and union figures, including Ed Asner, Danny Glover, and Dolores Huerta.

The Day Diplomacy Died refutes Washington’s slander that the Cuban

government repressed freedom of speech and expression when it arrested 75 so-called dissidents in 2003.

The film builds on interviews with four Cuban revolutionaries who had infiltrated the opposition groups that were operating under the tutelage of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana; former U.S. diplomats in Cuba; Ricardo Alarcón, president of the Cuban National Assembly; and José Pertierra, a Cuban American attorney currently representing the government of Venezuela in its effort to extradite Luis Posada Carriles. Posada Carriles was convicted by a Venezuelan court in the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner over Barbados that killed all 73 people aboard.

The documentary explains the role of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana in financing the “dissidents” and offering them other incentives to recruit others and organize acts of provocation and sabotage. One of the Cuban undercover agents exposes the plans of a “dissident” who was plotting the placement of bombs in manholes beneath the main streets of Havana.

The film documents the context in which the 2003 arrests took place as Cuba faced a wave of armed hijackings



Militant/Eric Simpson

Alicia Jrapko, national coordinator of International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5, speaks at October 7 Bay Area premiere of documentary *The Day Diplomacy Died*.

and other acts of violence as the U.S. invasion of Iraq began.

Filmmaker Bernie Dwyer had been scheduled to be part of the premier to speak about the documentary, but she was unable to attend.

Saul Landau, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., who is making a documentary on the case of the Cuban Five, took her place. A sharp debate ensued between members of the audience and Landau, who stated

that he wouldn’t have made the documentary because even though the “dissidents” were guilty, they were “jerks” who should not have been arrested.

In response, several speakers pointed to the long history of U.S. organized attacks on revolutionary Cuba over the last 50 years, including the frame-up and imprisonment of the Cuban Five.

The program also included poet Nina Serrano, who read a poem she wrote to honor Che Guevara.

Amnesty Int’l says it doubts Cuban 5 got fair trial

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Amnesty International has issued a report raising “serious doubts” about the “fairness and impartiality” of the trial of the Cuban Five in 2001. The five—Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, Ramón

Labañino, and René González—were framed up on various charges, including “conspiracy to commit espionage,” and, in the case of Hernández, “conspiracy to commit murder.”

Amnesty International raises as one of its central concerns that trying them in Miami, given the “prejudicial impact of publicity about the case,” made it “impossible to ensure a wholly impartial jury.” The group states, however, that it takes no position on whether the Cuban Five are innocent of the charges on which they were convicted.

Amnesty also points to the pretrial detentions of the five, including many months of solitary confinement, saying this undermined adequate access to their attorneys and “facilities for the preparations of their defence.”

The report says that the government

failed to present evidence that meets the “burden of proof” that Hernández was guilty of “conspiracy to commit murder.” The conviction was based on Washington’s claim that he bears responsibility for the decision by the Cuban government in 1996 to shoot down two planes flown by Brothers to the Rescue, a right-wing Florida-based group that had repeatedly violated Cuba’s air space. Hernández is now serving two consecutive life terms plus 15 years

Hernández’s conviction “raises a concern as to whether the presumption of innocence—an essential component of the right to a fair trial—was preserved in this case,” states the report.

Amnesty also reiterates its call to grant visas to Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva, wives of Hernández and René González respectively.



No letup in economic crisis for workers

More than 30,000 people turned out in Los Angeles recently to get advice on how to modify their mortgages so they would not lose their houses to foreclosure. The ‘Militant’ brings you the truth each week on the capitalist economic crisis and its devastating impact on working people.



Militant/Naomi Craine

Thousands line up in Los Angeles for help to avoid house foreclosures.

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Elections in Sweden reflect capitalist crisis

BY ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—The outcome of the September parliamentary elections here reflects the continuing decline of Swedish social democracy as a stable pillar of capitalist rule.

Never before has the Social Democratic party's coalition lost two elections in a row. A coalition of four parties led by the Moderates, otherwise known as the Conservatives, won a plurality again with 173 seats, compared to 156 seats won by the Social Democratic Party's Red-Green Coalition with the Green and Left parties.

The Social Democrats had dominated politics in Sweden since the 1930s, holding office for all but nine years between 1932 and 2006. This year the party itself got only 30.7 percent of the vote, the lowest since 1914 and just barely more than the Conservatives.

Neither of the two main coalitions garnered an outright majority, and both appear to have lost substantial votes for the first time to the right-wing Sweden Democrats, which took 20 seats.

Swedish capitalism suffered a financial crisis in the beginning of the 1990s, resulting from the implosion of a credit bubble centered in real estate. Banks teetered on the verge of bankruptcy and had to be bailed out by the state. Unemployment was more than 10 percent.

The government's response to this has been two decades of deregulation and privatization of Swedish industries, initiated by the Social Democratic government in the mid-1990s. The Conservative-led government continued this course after it came to power in 2006.

Taxes on wealthy individuals and corporations were cut back. Today Sweden has a lower average corporate tax than the United States and a much lower tax rate on new investments.

With the lowest budget deficit in the European Union and a relatively strong growth rate this year, its economy is fairing better than many in Europe.

Based on a consensus of the capitalist parties in parliament in the 1990s, the government began a series of "reforms" in the social security system. The national pension system was partially privatized and the guaranteed state pension dramatically lowered. Pension payments are now tied to the performance of the economy. State pensions were reduced by 3 percent for 2010–2011 based on last year's 5 percent decline of the gross national product. As a result, workers are increasingly working past the official retirement age of 65.

Official unemployment has remained between 8 percent and 9 percent over the past few years. For those under 25 years old, it's more than 25 percent. Both the amount and maximum duration of unemployment compensation were lowered in 2007. Cutbacks in the national health insurance system went into effect at the beginning of 2008. At the opening of this year, some 15,000 workers on medical leave were forced to return to work or be cut off from health insurance. By September less than 400 of them held a full-time job. It is estimated that this will happen to another 75,000 workers in the coming few years.

Over the past decade, the Conservative party has taken over much of the rhetoric of the Social Democrats. It started calling itself the "new workers party" in the 2006 elections. It upped the ante this time around, with its self-proclaimed title of the "only workers party" and has presented itself as a defender of Sweden's welfare system. At the same time, it has begun chipping away with cutbacks on sick leave and unemployment benefits, while providing work

Chicago march protests U.S. wars, FBI raids



Militant/Ellen Brickley

CHICAGO—More than 500 people from several Midwest cities joined a rally and march through downtown Chicago to protest Washington's wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, and U.S. support to Israel's occupation of Palestine. Many marchers carried signs demanding an end to FBI raids against antiwar activists.

Joe Iosbaker, one of the 14 people whose homes were raided by the FBI September 24, addressed the rally. He announced the decision of all 14 who were subpoenaed by the grand jury in Chicago to refuse to testify.

Angela Roxworthy, a student at McHenry County College, came with others from the Student Peace Action Network. "Obama said they would get the troops out of Iraq, but we are not out of Iraq. And the war in Afghanistan is costing more money and more lives," she said.

—DENNIS RICHTER

incentives such as tax rebates for those holding a job.

Expressen, a liberal daily, commented in its editorial September 20: "Everything that used to be the historic assets of social democracy is today the trump card of the Conservatives. For the Social Democrats now comes a time of difficult reappraisals."

The new party in parliament, the Sweden Democrats, was founded in 1988 by members of the racist organization Keep Sweden Swedish. Since

the 2005 election of its present chairman, Jimmie Åkesson, 31, the party has worked to change its image and gained a foothold in mainstream bourgeois politics. It changed the party emblem from a flame inspired by the National Front, a British Nazi group, to a flower; purged its most openly racist members; and prohibited members from donning Nazi regalia.

It has steadily increased its vote since it first stood in elections in 1998, win-

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Deported unionist fights to return to U.S.

BY SETH GALINSKY
AND ROGER CALERO

Moisés Mory was deported to Peru September 8 after a decade-long fight to remain in the United States. In a phone

interview from Lima, Mory said he plans to continue pressing for his right to return to the United States. His wife Ruth and his 17-year-old daughter are both U.S. citizens.

Mory had lived in the United States for more than 25 years. In 1986 he was accused of misdemeanor possession of 3.5 grams of cocaine. His attorney advised him to plead guilty to avoid a lengthy and costly court process, even though Mory insisted he was innocent. Mory was never informed that the charges could have consequences for his immigration status.

In 1999 Mory beat back the immigration cops' first attempt to deport him, after spending a year in jail. In May 2004 immigration agents arrested him again. At the time he was the president of the United Steelworkers of America local at Foamex International in East Rutherford, New Jersey, where he was a machine operator.

After four-and-a-half years in prison, Mory won release on condition that he wear an electronic ankle bracelet and report regularly to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

While in prison Mory refused to give up. He filed a steady stream of lawsuits and protests against violations of his rights and helped other inmates do the same. He has continued to get coverage of his fight in the Spanish-language media, including an interview with *Tel-emundo* after his deportation.

On August 19, during one of his regular appointments with ICE, he was de-

tained and taken to the Peruvian Consulate in Paterson, New Jersey. "The consul acted like he was an ICE agent. He told me if I did not hand over my Peruvian passport he would give the green light to ICE to deport me," Mory said. "I asked to be allowed to call my lawyer, but he refused."

Mory says he explained to the consul and the ICE agents that he still had a work permit valid until 2011 and several appeals of his deportation order before the courts. A statement from the Peruvian Consulate says that Mory was told he had to buy an airline ticket to Peru to "voluntarily" leave the United States by September 18.

On August 23, when Mory reported to the ICE office, the immigration agents asked him for his plane ticket to Peru. When he told them he didn't have the money to buy one, they arrested him and took him to the Essex County Correctional Facility.

During much of the next two weeks the jail was on lockdown. Prisoners were not allowed family visits or use of the prison library, blocking Mory's access to legal texts that could help him challenge his detention.

On September 8 ICE agents handcuffed him and took him to JFK airport. "They took the handcuffs off as we approached the airport," Mory said. "Before boarding the plane I turned around and said, 'Wait a minute. I have something to say.'" He then gave a speech to other passengers in the waiting area explaining the injustices in his case.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Capitalist Crisis and Working Farmers: The Conflict over Irrigation Cuts in the Murray-Darling River Basin. Speaker: Bob Aiken, Communist League. Sat., Oct. 30, 6 p.m. *Upstairs, 281-7 Beamish St., Campsie.* Tel.: (02) 9718 9698.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Showing of movie *Deacons for Defense: How Blacks Organized in the 1960s against the Ku Klux Klan.* Fri., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged; \$2 unwaged. *4/125 Grafton Rd.* Tel.: (09) 369-1223.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

The Worldwide Crisis of Capitalism and the 2010 Elections. Speaker: Dave Prince, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 30. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. *5482 Mission St.* Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Deepening Economic Crisis and Attacks on Workers Rights. Speaker: Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois. Sat., Oct. 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. *3707 Douglas Ave.* Tel.: (515) 255-1707.

FLORIDA

Miami

Capitalism's World Economic Crisis and Perspectives for Building a Revolutionary Party. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani. Sat., Oct. 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. *719 NE 79th St.* Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Working People Need to Take Political Power. Speaker: Diana Newberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. *1311 1/2 E Lake St., 2nd Floor.* Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

TEXAS

Houston

Workers Need to Take Political Power. Speaker: Amanda Ulman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Texas governor; Steve Warshell, SWP. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. *4800 W 34th St., Suite C-51A.* Tel.: (713) 688-4919.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

U.S. Out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Speaker: John Naubert, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. *5418 Rainier Ave. S (take #7 bus to Brandon, walk one-half block south).* Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

Join campaign effort

Continued from front page
next two weeks. The socialist campaigns welcome the help of readers of the *Militant* who want to promote a wider hearing for a working-class and revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis.

One the most effective ways to advance the socialist perspective of working people running society is to introduce fighting workers and youth to the book *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes, and to the *Militant* newspaper. You can do this by joining the international campaign to sell 1,800 copies of the book and win 2,100 new and long-term readers to the *Militant* by November 9.

A supporter of the socialist campaign who participated in the October 2 march for jobs in Washington, D.C., wrote to the *Militant* this week: “This afternoon I saw the electrician who sat behind me on the bus to Washington, who had bought three copies of the *Workers Power* book at the rally. I asked him how far he had gotten with the book and he pulled it out from the backseat of his car and showed me his bookmark a third of the way through.”

“This is an awesome book,” the worker said, adding that the two friends he had bought copies for really liked it as well.

Similar discussions are happening around the world as workers share their experiences and discuss the political perspectives put forward by socialist campaigners through the *Work-*

ers Power book and the *Militant*. Some 68 copies of the book along with dozens of other titles from Pathfinder Press have been sold at the protests and strikes in France in recent weeks. During the final weeks of the campaign, we encourage readers to join in the effort. We still have another 100 subscriptions to add to the quotas column of the chart below, and we remain behind schedule for the number of subscriptions sold. Contact a distributor in your area (see page 8) to campaign with socialist candidates; sign up your co-workers, friends, and family members for subscriptions; and purchase an extra copy of the book to give to someone like the worker mentioned above.

Paul Mailhot
Editor

Georgia colleges to bar undocumented students

BY JANICE LYNN

ATLANTA—Jacob Perasso, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, condemned an October 13 State Board of Regents decision to bar undocumented immigrants from attending five state colleges. “The SWP candidates oppose any system of checking the immigration status of students,” said Perasso.

The regents’ 14-2 vote prohibits public universities in Georgia from enrolling immigrants without papers at colleges and universities that supposedly had to turn away academically qualified applicants during the past two years because of a lack of space or other reasons.

Next fall this will apply to the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, Georgia State University, Medical College of Georgia, and Georgia College & State University. According to the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 29 undocumented students are currently enrolled at these five campuses.

The new rules also require all of the state’s 35 campuses to verify the immigration status of admitted students seeking to pay in-state tuition rates.

“Everyone should have access to the more affordable in-state tuition,” Perasso countered. “The regents’ decision is part of the attacks on immigrants and all working people.

“The capitalist class needs a layer of super-exploited workers with less rights. So they are trying to convince us that immigrants are taking resources and jobs; that it should be ‘us’ against ‘them.’ But that’s a trap used to divide and weaken working people,” he said.

Some lawmakers plan to introduce a bill to extend the ban to all 35 state colleges and universities, saying the current ruling does not go far enough. Perasso’s main opponents, Democrat Roy Barnes and Republican Nathan Deal, say they support such a measure.

Georgia is one of three states that bars undocu-



Militant/Naomi Craine
Eleanor García (left), SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California’s District 33, talks with participants in September 7 Los Angeles rally protesting police killing of Manuel Jamines.

mented immigrants from higher education. The South Carolina government prohibits undocumented immigrants from all public colleges and the state of Alabama does not allow undocumented students to enter two-year community colleges.

Outside the Board of Regents meeting protesters carried signs that read, “Education not deportation.” Eva Cardenas, a Clayton State University sophomore, said the board’s decision “shows us that we must continue to fight for the basic right of education, and that’s for everyone, regardless of your document status. Let’s not go back to an era when we deny education to a certain group of people.”

Perasso pointed to the importance

of protests last spring and summer against attempts to deport Kennesaw State University student Jessica Colotl, who came to the United States with her parents when she was 10 years old. “It was because of the fight of her sorority sisters, other students, and workers who marched last May 1 that she has been allowed to complete her classes this year,” he explained.

“I pledge that my campaign will support and help build all protests calling for the reversal of the Board of Regents’ decision. The SWP campaign calls for the legalization of all immigrants and an end to all deportations. We oppose all cuts in public education and say education at all levels should be accessible and free for all.”

Party-building fund collects almost \$16,000 in 4th week

BY TOM FISKE

The Socialist Workers Party fund drive has moved into gear with \$15,964 collected the fourth week of the drive. A series of events around the country have been a big part of this advance. Total quotas are now \$1,600 above the goal of \$98,000. However, the national campaign is 11 percent behind schedule on collecting pledges, with four weeks remaining in the drive.

A dozen people attended an event in Boston on October 16 featuring Willie Cotton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in New York. Cotton said the press has played up the role of capitalist enterprises in the efforts to free the Chilean miners, but he noted the unsafe conditions that led to the accident. “We need to organize to have safety on the job in the hands of workers, that is what the Socialist Workers Party candidates are raising in this election,” he said.

Among those attending was a worker originally from Peru, and a student from Boston College, who spent the day campaigning for the local socialist candidates, Kevin Dwire for governor and Laura Garza for U.S. Congress, 8th District. At the meeting some \$710 in new pledges were made.

There were about 60 people at the New York fund meeting October 16 where Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., was the speaker. Several youth attended. One was Nyron McDonald, a sophomore at Queens Col-

lege, who is part of a socialist group on campus. Socialist campaign supporters met members of this group as they were boarding buses for the October 2 demonstration for jobs.

“We collected more than \$4,000 at the meeting and our pledges rose to \$19,700 out of \$20,000, so we are poised to go well over our goal,” writes Cindy Jaquith, a leader of the fund drive campaign in New York.

Party-building fund Sept. 11–Nov. 9

City	Quota	Paid	%
Twin Cities*	\$7,500	\$4,755	63%
Des Moines*	\$3,000	\$1,885	63%
Washington*	\$8,000	\$4,864	61%
Houston	\$3,000	\$1,355	45%
Los Angeles	\$8,000	\$3,052	38%
Chicago	\$10,000	\$3,810	38%
New York	\$20,000	\$7,184	36%
Seattle	\$8,600	\$2,955	34%
San Francisco	\$13,500	\$4,285	32%
Philadelphia	\$3,600	\$1,000	28%
Miami	\$3,000	\$730	24%
Atlanta	\$7,800	\$1,784	23%
Boston	\$3,600	\$680	19%
Other		\$300	
TOTAL	\$99,600	\$38,639	39%
Should be	\$98,000	\$49,000	50%
* Raised quota			

campaign to sell 'Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power' & 'Militant' Sept. 11–Nov. 9 (week 5)						
Country	'Workers Power' books			'Militant' subscriptions		
	quota	sold	%	quota	sold	%
UNITED STATES						
Miami	50	43	86%	65	49	75%
Boston*	50	37	74%	70	40	57%
Atlanta	120	78	65%	150	101	67%
Chicago	130	84	65%	130	79	61%
Philadelphia	65	41	63%	75	46	61%
New York	375	220	59%	325	210	65%
Des Moines	110	62	56%	125	64	51%
Seattle	130	65	50%	140	64	46%
Washington	145	70	48%	125	77	62%
Twin Cities	100	47	47%	135	61	45%
Los Angeles	135	49	36%	120	66	55%
Houston	50	15	30%	50	24	48%
San Francisco	130	39	30%	155	63	41%
Total U.S.	1590	850	53%	1665	944	57%
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	90	63	70%	90	63	70%
Edinburgh	25	16	64%	35	24	69%
Total U.K.	115	79	69%	125	87	70%
Canada	62	45	73%	70	46	66%
New Zealand	25	16	64%	60	38	63%
Australia	25	13	52%	55	36	65%
Sweden	18	11	61%	22	17	77%
Total	1835	1014	56%	1997	1168	56%
Should be	1800	1125	63%	2100	1313	63%
* Raised both quotas						

Montreal newspaper workers reject company offer

MONTREAL—Workers at the *Journal de Montreal* daily, locked out since January 2009, voted October 12 by 89 percent to reject the latest contract offered by Quebecor management.

“The offer didn’t make any sense,” said Pablo Durant, a photographer. “It would have meant the death of unions in Quebec and perhaps all of Canada.” The 253 workers are members of the STIJM (union of news workers at the *Journal de Montreal*).

Under the terms of the proposed contract, 201 of the workers would have been permanently laid off. Vacations would have been slashed and the workweek extended from four to five days for the same wage.

The company offered \$20 million in termination pay to 130 of the workers not rehired if they signed a clause agreeing to close down the online newspaper RueFrontenac.com that the workers have been running.

“I have never been so proud of us because we are standing up” to the company, journalist Jessica Nadeau told the union assembly.

—John Steele

California nurses picket against cuts in health care

OAKLAND, California—“You can see we are out in force,” said Susan Segal, one of over 700 nurses at Children’s Hospital here who

participated in a three-day strike against cuts in health-care benefits.

“Management is saying we have to take these cuts because other companies are doing it,” Segal told the *Militant*, “but someone has to draw the line, and who better than hospital workers?”

Joining the nurses on the line were clerks, housekeepers, and other hospital workers, members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). “The health-care benefits of all the workers at the hospital will be affected by how this fight turns out,” said SEIU representative Davere Godfrey. The union contract expired in July.

—Betsey Stone

Airline workers to vote on union representation

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 300 airline workers packed a meeting hall here October 17 to support voting “yes” for the International Association of Machinists in union elections now under way at Delta Air Lines.

About 30,000 baggage handlers, customer service and reservation agents, and stock clerks, as well as 20,000 flight attendants are voting. Delta, a nonunion company, merged with Northwest Airlines in 2008. “I don’t want to find out what it’s like to work nonunion,” said Ray Pierre, a Delta baggage handler. “This is a critical vote for us.”

—Frank Forrestal

Iowa unions rally for locked-out workers

Continued from front page

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), United Auto Workers, and other unions, and family members of the locked-out workers and many community people turned out for the solidarity action.

After Steve Underwood, president of Local 48G, thanked everyone for their solidarity, the march began down Main Street, followed by a large picket in front of the plant and a meal of hotdogs, navy beans and ham, chili, and corn bread at the Labor Temple.

According to Brenda Bradley, the idea for the solidarity march originated in the Women of Steel committee of USW Local 444. “I thought all the unions should come together because if they break Local 48G, then we are next,” she said. Bradley has worked for 26 years at Henniges Automotive, a nearby factory. She marched with other members of Women of Steel.

Valerie Lawson, a meat packer and member of UFCW Local 61, said, “This could happen to any one of us. The companies are trying to break the unions. I have been to the other side: low wages and no health insurance.”

Roquette America delivered what it called its “last, best, and final offer” September 27, the expiration date of the contract with Local 48G. The company told union negotiators it would lock out the workers if they rejected the pact. The next day more than 200 local members voted the contract down despite the lockout threat.

When workers returned to the job after the vote, they found the company had erected cement barricades at the entrance to the plant, reprogrammed the computers to not accept

their identification cards, and brought in extra security guards.

Under Roquette’s proposed contract, monthly health insurance payments would double for the first year. Two days after the lockout began, the company cancelled workers’ health coverage.

Roquette wants to pay new employees \$4 below the current starting wage. The company also wants to continue using temporary workers instead of hiring full-time workers at union-scale wages.

Roquette has brought in about 60 scabs, or what they call “professional contingency workers.”

San Francisco hotel workers picket Hilton



Militant/Betsey Stone

SAN FRANCISCO—Hundreds of Hilton Hotel workers and supporters picketed in front of the downtown Hilton here October 14 as part of a six-day strike against company demands for reduction in health-care coverage, job combinations, and a freeze on pensions. Housekeepers on the picket line voiced opposition to a company plan to have them clean 20 rooms a day, instead of 14.

—BETSEY STONE

Socialist candidates join solidarity march for Roquette workers

BY DAVID ROSENFELD

KEOKUK, Iowa—Socialist Workers Party candidates from Illinois and Iowa got a welcoming and serious response from workers locked out at Roquette America, Inc. October 16. I joined three other Socialist Workers candidates in the spirited march

in solidarity with the 240 locked-out workers of Local 48G of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union.

One worker was exuberant about the solidarity other unions and workers have organized with their fight. “I have been transformed,” he said. When we showed him a copy of the *Militant*, he explained that a coworker who subscribes had already introduced it to him.

Over the course of two visits to Keokuk, nine workers signed up for subscriptions to the *Militant* and one bought a copy of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes.

Several of the locked-out workers live across the Mississippi River in Illinois. They were happy to meet Alyson Kennedy, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois. Kennedy related her experiences in Utah in 2003–2005 as a coal miner on strike.

David Rosenfeld is the SWP candidate for governor of Iowa.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



November 1, 1985

NEW YORK—“On this 40th anniversary of the United Nations, Nicaragua is a living example of a small nation that decided to be free, and is consequently resisting the blows of an irrational policy that intends to snatch that right away from us,” Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told the General Assembly of the United Nations here October 21.

Ortega called on the U.S. government to end its “state terrorism” against the people of Nicaragua and declare peace.

Ortega began his speech by condemning the “inhuman decision of the apartheid regime to kill patriot Benjamin Moloise,” the Black South African poet and member of the African National Congress who was recently executed by the apartheid regime.



October 31, 1960

“How can either Kennedy or Nixon, who represent big business, save the small farmer from going from bad to worse?” asked Carl Feingold, Socialist Workers party candidate for senator from Minnesota last week.

“The average working farmer is barely able to cover the costs of production while being blamed for high food prices. Meanwhile the family farmer has to pay more and more for fertilizer, machinery and other goods whose prices are fixed by the major monopolies.

“By taking over these monopolies a government of workers and farmers could provide machinery and other productive means at reasonable rates to the farmers. It could guarantee them ample, cheap credit to free them from subservience to banks and other money lenders.”



November 2, 1935

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 31—In a statement to the press, Meyer Lewis, representative of William Green, A. F. of L. president, declared that he was in Minneapolis to superintend a “purge” of labor organizations.

As proving the necessity to bring about “an industrial employer and employee relationship which is truly American,” Lewis named the 1934 strikes of Local 574.

The famous July 1934 strike of Local 574, which received nationwide attention, established the union’s control of the transport industry of Minneapolis. Its militant leadership and success, its popularization of the slogan “Make Minneapolis a Union Town” and its aid to other unions, inspired hitherto dormant labor into a series of successful strikes.

Company disregarded safety in Chilean mine

BY ANGEL LARISCY

The last of 33 Chilean miners, trapped underground at the San José copper and gold mine for more than two months, made it to daylight October 13.

The mine, owned by San Esteban Mining Company, employs 140 workers and has a long record of safety violations. In 2007 the mine was shut down by the government because of a series of deaths and injuries. But as copper and gold prices climbed, the government allowed the mine to reopen.

Chile is the largest copper producer in the world. Small and medium-sized mines in Chile, such as the San José mine, employ some 10,000. Along with longtime miners, they hire large numbers of people with little to no training or previous mine experience.

Because the 125-year-old mine was so dangerous, it paid more than other local mines.

Chilean officials and the media have played up the fact that the rescue operation provided video feeds allowing miners to watch movies or soccer games and chat with loved ones while they waited for rescue. “They had the run of the mine,” said Jeffery Kravitz, of the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration, including “places to exercise.”

But the conditions the miners faced were harsh. The company’s 650-square foot “refuge” where the miners waited after the cave-in had only three days of food; there was no energy supply or adequate ventilation. Miners resorted to drinking water from equipment radiators. When located after 17 days, half were dehydrated and a number of others were nearing starvation.

After rescue, one miner had acute pneumonia, and two had to have ma-

jor oral surgery. A number had fungal infections on their skin from 70 days in the damp mine.

Manuel González, the first rescuer sent into the mine, noted the “inhuman” conditions the miners faced. “It was 100 percent humidity and about 40 degrees [Celsius, or 104 degrees Fahrenheit] down there,” he said. González, who works at state-run Codelco, the world’s largest copper mine, told reporters, “Nobody should have to work like that.”

Seven of the rescued miners held a news conference asking for government benefits and job training. They also requested privacy in the face of news stories seeking to whip up a scandal with gossip about some miners’ personal lives.

San Esteban has filed for bankruptcy, leaving more than 300 workers without jobs. Miners protested at an October 17 mass celebrating the rescue, demanding severance and back pay. “We’re not 33, we’re 300,” read one sign.



AP Photo/Jorge Saenz

Rescued miner Dario Segovia, center, gestures at end of October 17 mass service at San José mine near Copiapo, Chile. Partially visible sign reads: “San Esteban [mine owner], we are not 33, we are 300,” referring to 300 miners laid off following rescue of 33 trapped in mine for more than two months. Laid off and rescued miners are demanding back and severance pay.

Workers and students protest in France

Continued from front page

France has climbed from 7.8 percent in mid-2008 to 10 percent in July this year.

According to *El País*, a daily in Spain, the protests in France have taken “two directions unforeseen by the French government”: open-ended strikes, especially in oil and rail, and the “unexpected, sudden, determined, and growing” participation of high school students.

Workers in some industries hold daily assemblies to decide if they will continue their “renewable” strike the next day.

Top union officials have opposed calling for a general strike, instead allow-

ing workers to decide branch by branch whether to continue the walkouts.

Oil refineries in the country have been shut down by a strike, which began October 12. Hundreds of gas stations are out of fuel and there are long lines to get gas at others. Because of a shortage, airplanes flying shorter distances have been told to bring enough fuel for round-trips.

Unionists and residents formed a human chain preventing access to the Grandpuits oil refinery east of Paris, after the government ordered 33 striking workers to reopen the plant or risk up to

five years in prison.

Rail workers also began an open-ended strike October 12, successfully cutting about in half the number of passenger trains. Truck drivers have also joined the protests. Transport union official Maxime Dumont told the press, “There’s impatience, the guys are saying, ‘let’s go.’”

In Marseille strikes were particularly widespread. Port workers there walked out September 28 against changes in work rules, as well as the retirement law.

Tens of thousands of high school and university students have joined the protests. “Already 20 percent of young people between 18 and 25 are unemployed,” high school student Jonas Salfati, 17, told the *Militant* at one of the demonstrations. “This means they will have to work longer to retire, with a smaller pension.”

The latest protests and strikes are the largest in France in 15 years. At the end of 1995 more than 2 million people demonstrated repeatedly against a plan by then-prime minister Alain Juppé to increase the number of years of work to qualify for retirement and to raise the retirement age for government workers. Millions more joined strikes by rail, bus, subway, gas and electric, postal, airport, garbage, and health-care workers. Juppé was forced to back down on the main pieces of his plan.

In 2003 the French government went after pensions again. More than 1 million workers demonstrated against the renewed attack, but this time the government succeeded in raising the number of years government workers must work, from 37 and a half to 40, before being eligible for a government pension.

Sarkozy reportedly told his aides that those who oppose raising the retirement age are “extremists” and that he is willing to face a long strike. Another one-day strike and demonstration called by the labor unions October 19 drew hundreds of thousands across France.

Seth Galinsky in New York contributed to this article.

45 U.S. miners killed on job so far this year

Continued from front page

istration (MSHA) inspector issued the 87th citation in two years to the Loveridge No. 22 mine in West Virginia on July 26 for roof and wall problems. Three days later, miner Jessie Adkins, 39, was killed when a chunk of rock 16 feet long and four-and-a-half feet high broke away from the wall and crushed him.

With fewer and fewer union mines and little being done to organize miners, coal operators suffer almost no conse-

quences for miners killed on the job.

After coal companies receive a citation from MSHA, they have the right to contest it and pay no fine until the case is resolved. This means penalties can be delayed for years.

In the face of increased citations from government inspectors, companies are appealing more often and the backlog of cases against mine owners is on the rise. The number of unresolved safety appeals has gone from 16,600 at the time of the Upper Big Branch mine blast to 18,100 to date.

MSHA also takes months to investigate deaths and issue a ruling whether or not the company is responsible. In some cases, so much time has passed the inspectors have retired. Often they, or witnesses, no longer remember the details of the event.

Less than three weeks after the Upper Big Branch Mine explosion, Justin Travis, 27, and Michael Carter, 28, were killed at the Dotiki Mine in Kentucky when a huge section of the roof collapsed. After a five-month investigation, MSHA issued a ruling that Allied Resource Partners should have taken greater measures to support the roof. The company faces no fine until it decides whether or not to contest the ruling.

Part of the Dotiki Mine, had been shut down at least six times in the months

leading up to the deaths of Travis and Carter. Each shutdown was due to inadequate roof bolting.

Massey Energy was again cited for safety violations September 28 at its Seng Creek Powellton mine in West Virginia when they were making deep cuts—cutting large quantities of coal without stopping to move ventilation equipment or install adequate roof supports.

As the leader in contesting citations, Massey Energy is fighting 39 percent of the 5,880 citations and 83 percent of the \$6.9 million in fines that have been levied from January to July.

Experienced miners and their families know the answer is not additional regulations against coal companies, which are always pushing to maximize their profits.

In 2006, 12 men were killed in the West Virginia Sago Mine explosion. Like after every major disaster the government adopted new measures then, as with the Upper Big Branch Mine, but the death toll continues year after year.

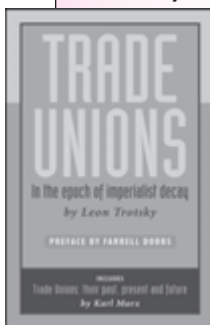
“I don’t want to hear another politician say they will make sure it never happens again,” Deborah Hamner, whose husband George died in the Sago Mine, told the *Washington Post*. “It’s time for miners to fight for safety. Washington isn’t going to do it.”

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‘Can’t separate Africa from Black struggle’

Part 2 of January 1965 interview with Malcolm X for ‘Young Socialist’

Below we continue our installments from the recently published book Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power, by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. From the book this week we reprint the second part of an interview with Malcolm X in January 1965 that originally appeared in the Young Socialist magazine. The interview was conducted by Barnes, then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Barry Sheppard, a staff writer for the Militant. The rest of the interview will be printed in an upcoming issue.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: How much influence does revolutionary Africa have on the thinking of Black people in this country?

MALCOLM X: All the influence in the world. You can’t separate the militancy that’s displayed on the African continent from the militancy that’s displayed right here among American Blacks. The positive image that is developing of Africans is also developing in the minds of Black Americans, and consequently they develop a more positive image of themselves. Then they take more positive steps—actions.

So you can’t separate the African revolution from the mood of the Black man in America. Neither could the colonization of Africa be separated from the menial position that the Black man in this country was satisfied to stay in for so long. Since Africa has gotten its independence through revolution, you’ll notice the stepped-up cry against discrimination that has appeared in the Black community.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: How do you view the role of the U.S. in the Congo?¹

MALCOLM X: As criminal. Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo, through her ties with Tshombe and the mercenaries. You can’t overlook the fact that Tshombe gets his money from the U.S. The money he uses to hire these mercenaries—these paid killers imported from South Africa—comes from the United States. The pilots that fly these planes have been trained by

the U.S. The bombs themselves that are blowing apart the bodies of women and children come from the U.S. So I can only view the role of the United States in the Congo as a criminal role. And I think the seeds she is sowing in the Congo she will have to harvest. The chickens that she has turned loose over there have got to come home to roost.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: What about the U.S. role in South Vietnam?

MALCOLM X: The same thing. It shows the real ignorance of those who control the American power structure. If France, with all types of heavy arms, as deeply entrenched as she was in what then was called Indochina, couldn’t stay there,² I don’t see how anybody in their right mind can think the U.S. can get in there—it’s impossible. So it shows her ignorance, her blindness, her lack of foresight and hindsight. Her complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: How do you view the activity of white and Black students who went to the South last summer and attempted to register Black people to vote?

MALCOLM X: The attempt was good—I should say the objective to register Black people in the South was good because the only real power a poor man in this country has is the power of the ballot. But I don’t believe sending them in and telling them to be nonviolent was intelligent. I go along with the effort toward registration, but I think they should be permitted to use whatever means at their disposal to defend themselves from the attacks of the Klan, the White Citizens’ Council, and other groups.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: What do you think of the murder of the three civil rights workers and what’s happened to their killers?³

MALCOLM X: It shows that the society we live in is not actually what it tries to represent itself as to the rest of the world. This was murder and the federal government is helpless because the case involves Negroes. Even the whites involved, were involved in helping Negroes. And concerning anything in this society involved in helping Negroes, the federal government shows an inability



“Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo,” Malcolm X said. Above, while supposedly under protection of UN “peacekeepers” in late 1960, independence leader and former prime minister Patrice Lumumba, right, was arrested and murdered by U.S.-backed Congolese forces.

to function. But it can function in South Vietnam, in the Congo, in Berlin,⁴ and in other places where it has no business. But it can’t function in Mississippi.

YOUNG SOCIALIST: In a recent speech you mentioned that you met John Lewis of SNCC in Africa. Do you feel that the younger and more militant leaders in the South are broadening their views on the whole general struggle?

MALCOLM X: Sure. When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and Black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and ’62 that the younger generation was much

different from the older, and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey.⁵ The students didn’t think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn’t be bought out.

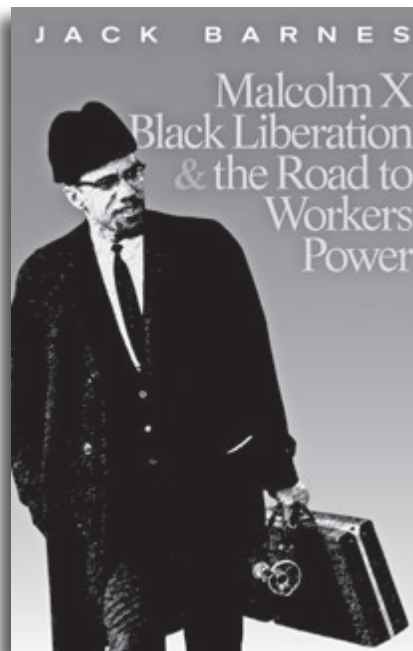
In America students have been noted for involving themselves in panty raids,

Continued on page 9

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by Jack Barnes



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1. The Congo declared its independence from Belgium June 30, 1960. The prime minister of the newly independent government was Patrice Lumumba, who had led the liberation struggle there. Washington and Brussels moved swiftly to prepare Lumumba’s overthrow, organizing attacks by Belgian troops, units of mercenaries, and forces of the imperialist-backed secessionist regime of Moïse Tshombe in Congo’s southern, mineral-rich Katanga province. In face of this onslaught, Lumumba took the fatal step of requesting military help from the United Nations. In late 1960 Congolese army officer Joseph Mobutu, at the instigation of Washington and Brussels, deposed Lumumba and placed him under arrest. As Swedish troops wearing the blue berets of UN “peacekeepers” looked on, Mobutu handed Lumumba over to Tshombe’s forces, who murdered the Congolese leader in January 1961.

In 1964 Tshombe was installed as Congolese prime minister. Forces that looked to Lumumba, based in the country’s eastern provinces, rebelled. Mercenaries and Belgian troops aided Tshombe in crushing the uprising. Washington organized a force of U.S. planes flown by U.S. pilots to carry out bombing and strafing missions. Thousands of civilians were killed in putting down the revolt.

2. From 1946 to 1954 the French government waged a war against liberation forces in Vietnam, which was then part of the French colonial empire. With France unable to defeat the independence movement, the war ended in a partition of the country. The liberation forces took power in North Vietnam and, under the workers and peasants government established there, the toilers went on to expropriate the landlords and capitalists. The French occupiers withdrew, and a U.S.-supported neo-

colonial regime was established in the south. Facing a renewal of the liberation struggle in South Vietnam, by the early 1960s Washington had sent thousands of troops, initially called “advisers.” By 1968 there were 540,000 U.S. combat troops in Vietnam.

3. In June 1964 three civil rights workers—two white, one Black—were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia, Mississippi. The bodies of Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James E. Chaney were not found until August 4. The state of Mississippi never handed down murder indictments for the killings.

In late 1964 the U.S. Justice Department indicted nineteen men on federal conspiracy charges in connection with the killings, but charges were dropped two years later. In 1967 twenty-one men were arrested by the FBI, again on conspiracy charges under federal civil rights laws. Seven were convicted and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to ten years, with none serving more than six.

In 2005 Edgar Ray Killen, an organizer of the Klan attack who had not been convicted in the 1967 trial, was tried on Mississippi state manslaughter charges. Killen, eighty at the time, was convicted and sentenced to sixty years in prison.

4. During the 1960s, the United States maintained a garrison of more than five thousand troops in Berlin. In October 1961 U.S. and Soviet tanks had faced each other in a standoff across the newly built Berlin Wall in the heart of the partitioned and occupied city.
5. In 1960 student-initiated demonstrations in South Korea and Turkey led to the ouster of South Korean president Syngman Rhee and Turkish premier Adnan Menderes. Sudanese ruler General Ibrahim Abboud resigned in November 1964 following a month of student demonstrations.

The fight to defend workers power in 1920s Russia

Below is an excerpt from *Challenge of the Left Opposition (1926–27)* by Leon Trotsky, one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for October. The Opposition led by Trotsky was formed in 1923 in response to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Communist Party and state under Joseph Stalin. The Opposition fought to advance the proletarian and revolutionary internationalist course of Lenin in establishing and defending working-class state power and other gains won in the 1917 Russian Revolution. This included strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, combating national oppression, and politicizing state and party bodies.

This excerpt is from the platform titled “The situation of the working class and the trade unions.” The platform was submitted to pre-convention discussion prior to the 1927 15th Congress of the



Installation of electricity pylons in countryside in Soviet Union, 1925. Decisive factor in appraising progress toward socialist reconstruction is growth of productive forces and dominance of socialist elements over capitalist ones, “together with improvement in all the living conditions of the working class,” said Left Opposition platform.

ruling class of an immense state. The nationalization of the means of production was a decisive step toward the socialist reorganization of the entire social system based on the exploitation of some by others. The introduction of the eight-hour day was a step toward a total change in all aspects of the material and cultural living conditions of the working class. In spite of the poverty of the country, our labor laws established for the workers—even the most backward, who were deprived in the past of any group defense—legal guarantees of a kind that the richest capitalist state never gave, and never will give. The trade unions, raised to the status of the most important social instrument in the hands of the ruling class, were given the opportunity, on the one hand, to organize masses that under other circumstances would have been completely inaccessible to them and, on the other, to directly influence the whole political course of the workers’ state.

The task of the party is to guarantee the further development of these supreme historical conquests—that is, to fill them with a genuinely socialist content. Our success on this road will be determined by objective conditions, domestic and international, and also by the correctness of our line and the practical skill of our leadership.

The decisive factor in appraising the progress of our country along the road of socialist reconstruction must be the growth of our productive forces and the dominance of the socialist elements over the capitalist—together with improvement in all the living conditions of the working class. This improvement ought to be evident in the material sphere (number of workers employed in industry, level of real wages, the kind of budget appropriations for the workers’ needs, housing conditions, medical services, etc.); in the political sphere (party, trade unions, soviets, the Communist youth organization); and finally in the cultural sphere (schools, books, newspapers, theaters). The attempt to push the vital interests of the worker into the background and, under the contemptuous epithet of “narrow craft professionalism,” to counterpose them to the general historical interests of the working class, is theoretically wrong and politically dangerous.

The appropriation of surplus value by a workers’ state is not, of course, exploitation. But in the first place, we have a workers’ state with bureaucratic distortions. The swollen and privileged administrative apparatus devours a very considerable part of the surplus value. In the second place, the growing bourgeois-

sie, through trade and by taking advantage of the price scissors, appropriates part of the surplus value created by state industry.

In general during this period of economic reconstruction, the number of workers and their standard of living have risen, not only absolutely but also relatively—that is, in comparison with the growth of other classes. However, in the recent period a sharp change has occurred. The numerical growth of the working class and the improvement of its situation has almost stopped, while the growth of its enemies continues, and continues at an accelerated pace. This inevitably leads not only to a worsening of conditions in the factories but also to a lowering of the relative weight of the proletariat in Soviet society.

The Mensheviks, agents of the bourgeoisie among the workers, point with malicious pleasure to the material wretchedness of our workers, seeking to rouse the proletariat against the Soviet state, to induce our workers to accept the bourgeois-Menshevik slogan “Back to capitalism.” The self-satisfied official who sees “Menshevism” in the Opposition’s insistence upon improving the material conditions of the workers is performing the best possible service to Menshevism. He is driving the workers toward its yellow banner.

In order to deal with problems, we must know what they are. We must judge our successes and failures in a just and honest way in relation to the actual condition of the masses of workers. . . .

The hard situation of the working class on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution is of course explained in the last analysis by the poverty of the country, the results of intervention and blockade, the unceasing struggle of the encircling capitalist system against the first proletarian state. That situation cannot be changed at a single blow. But it can and must be changed if a correct policy is followed. The task of Bolsheviks is not to paint glowing and self-satisfied pictures of our achievements—which of course are very real—but to raise firmly and clearly the question of what remains to be done, of what must be done, and what can be done, following a correct policy.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The Opposition’s political program was defeated at the Congress. Trotsky and other Opposition members were expelled from the party. Copyright © 1980 Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



The October Revolution, for the first time in history, made the proletariat the

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Capitalism: Savior of miners?

“Capitalism Saved the Miners,” the *Wall Street Journal* headline read.

“It needs to be said,” declared an October 14 opinion-page piece. “The rescue of the Chilean miners is a smashing victory for free market capitalism.”

Columnist Daniel Henninger argues that the technology used to drill a hole to the trapped miners, create a capsule to transport them to the surface, and communicate with them via sophisticated cell phones shows that the profit system is necessary to advance humanity. “Without the year-over-year progress embedded in these capitalist innovations, those trapped miners would be dead,” he contends.

Henninger leaves out one thing: everything he points to that aided the miners’ rescue was created by the labor of the working class, which produces all wealth in society.

Capitalism didn’t save the miners—the capitalist drive for profit at all costs is what put their lives in danger. The Chilean mine bosses reopened the San José mine, which had been closed because it was unsafe. The price of gold and copper had gone up and they wanted to make money.

Massive media attention has been given to the

Chilean government and President Sebastián Piñera, a billionaire businessman, for an “expertly managed rescue mission.” But the media says little about the deplorable conditions miners are forced to labor under every day. The San José miners risked their lives to go underground with little to no training in order to earn enough money to live. After their rescue they returned home to neighborhoods lacking sewage systems, running water, or paved roads.

It is possible today, with the science and technology developed by social labor, to lessen the burdens and dangers of work and provide quality food, clothing, shelter, and health care to every human being.

Far from looking to capitalism to bring about an end to poverty, wars, and oppression, workers and farmers need to look to waging a struggle to take political power into our own hands.

With state power the working class will use technology to advance society in the interests of the world’s majority, not to exploit human beings for the profit of a few. We will end the deaths and maiming on the job, along with the slaughter in wars of conquest and the needless deaths of millions from disease and malnourishment.

Elections in Sweden reflect crisis

Continued from page 3

ning nearly 6 percent of the vote this year.

A major aspect of the party’s campaign has been to scapegoat immigrants, especially Muslims, which comprise about 5 percent of Sweden’s population. “The issues we will never compromise on are immigration, crime, and the elderly,” Åkesson said after the elections.

“The decline of the social democracy and the rising support for the Sweden Democrats shows that the capitalist crisis deeply affects working people,” said Dag Tirsén, a meat worker and lead candidate for the Communist League in the elections. “Confidence in Swedish bourgeois socialism among workers is weak-

ening. The scapegoating of the Roma people and of Muslims by leading capitalist politicians has played into the hands of the rightists.

“The way forward for working people is to use our unions and organize independent of the capitalist parties in order to fight against the bosses’ attacks on our solidarity, living standards, and political rights. This is part of the fight toward a proletarian revolution in which working people can wrest political power from the capitalists and begin to organize society in the interests of the great majority. In this context, the weakening of the social democratic bureaucracy is the weakening of an obstacle in the struggles that are coming.”

Malcolm X: ‘Can’t separate Africa’

Continued from page 7

goldfish swallowing, seeing how many can get in a telephone booth—not for their revolutionary political ideas or their desire to change unjust conditions. But some students are becoming more like their brothers around the world. However, the students have been deceived somewhat in what’s known as the civil rights struggle (which was never designed to solve the problem). The students were maneuvered in the direction of thinking the problem was already analyzed, so they didn’t try to analyze it for themselves.

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are a

part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking, but they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in their country as long as they’re relying on the government to do it.

The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi, and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system. At the federal level they are more shrewd, more skillful at doing it, just like the FBI is more skillful than the state police and the state police are more skillful than the local police.

The same with politicians. The politician at the federal level is usually more skilled than the politician at the local level, and when he wants to practice racism, he’s more skilled in the practice of it than those who practice it at the local level.

Questions about the tea party

BY DOUG NELSON

Two readers asked recently about the *Militant’s* coverage of the tea party and August 28 “Restoring Honor” rally in Washington, D.C. Relevant articles include: “Economic Crisis Fuels Tea Party Campaigns” in the August 30 issue and “Glenn Beck Rally in D.C. Prompts Counterprotest” in the September 20 issue.

What is called the tea party “movement” encompasses various conservative groups and individuals appealing to resentful middle-class layers and working people whose lives have been shaken by the capitalist economic crisis, which they do not understand.

Incorporating competing points of view on many questions, the tea party’s only consistent, collective message is what they are against—“fiscal irresponsibility,” bank bailouts, increasing interference by big government in peoples’ lives, and squeezing of the “little guy” by monopoly and finance capital. Based in the Republican Party, tea party leaders rail against the “establishment,” criticizing the policies of both Democratic and Republican party politicians—with particular focus on the current administration of President Barack Obama and Democratic Party incumbents.

The tea party is not rooted in a racist reaction to the first Black president. If anything, the tea party is less racist than the many demagogic “popular” movements of the past in the United States. While the percentage of adherents who are Black is low, tea party leaders have sought to highlight prominent Black tea party advocates. The Tea Party Federation expelled the Tea Party Express after its leader Mark Williams wrote a racist parody attacking the NAACP.

Neither does the tea party signify a rightward shift in politics or growing social conservative attitudes among working people. To the degree that tea party figures have expressed overtly racist or otherwise bigoted remarks, their support has narrowed, as evidenced by the sharp drop in support for New York gubernatorial candidate Carl Paladino following his recent antigay comments.

Attendance figures used in the *Militant* for both the Glenn Beck “Restoring Honor” action and the October 2 pro-Democratic Party “One Nation Working Together” rally were based on the most commonly cited and credible numbers in the press, as well as the *Militant’s* reporters on the scene. Both were large and driven by the effects of the unfolding economic and social crisis.

The composition of the October 2 rally was clearly more favorable to campaigning with a revolutionary working-class perspective. But it is important to recognize that among those attracted to the tea party banner are also workers and farmers who should hear a working-class explanation and solution to the capitalist system that is ruining their lives.

Unemployment

Continued from front page

9.5 percent or worse for 14 consecutive months, one month more than was true in the 1981–83 recession. Bloomberg News estimated the jobless rate would remain above 9 percent for 2011.

Teenage unemployment stands at 26 percent, only 1 percent less than last year. The official unemployment rate for Black teenagers is 49 percent, with only 11.7 percent of Black youth working.

Over the next three months, few employers plan to hire, according to the National Federation of Independent Business. Where business has picked up, bosses are cautious about doing a lot of hiring, preferring to load more work on those already on their payrolls, which risks more unsafe working conditions. The railroad CSX, for example, says it will deal with a rise in shipping by increasing the length of trains without hiring more workers.

It would take nine years at the current rate of new job creation to replace all the jobs that have been lost in the last two years of recession, the *New York Times* wrote. This is not counting the 150,000 jobs that need to be created each month to keep up with population growth. The figure for new jobs created by private companies in September was only 64,000.

LETTERS

Tea party

In your articles about the Tea Party you seem to take a neutral view as to their general thrust and nature. It is clear that they are based largely on a racist reaction to the first Black president and not on differences of policies. The NAACP correctly recognized their danger and organized a counterprotest to them in Washington, D.C.

M.H.

Tacoma, Washington

Glenn Beck rally

Kudos to the *Militant* for its cover-

age of the October 2 rally in Washington, D.C. (in October 18 issue). That “nearly 200,000” participated is of significance because as noted at the end of the article the late August rally, also in Washington, D.C.,

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“called by right-wing talk-show host Glenn Beck attracted hundreds of thousands—both middle-class layers and workers.” But is it the case that the Beck rally drew such numbers?

August Nimtz

Minneapolis, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.