INSIDE

N.Y. meeting on 'What kind of socialism for 21st century?'

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 75/NO. 4 JANUARY 31, 2011

Gov't in Australia compounds flood toll

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—Widespread floods over the past month have cut a devastating swathe through towns and cities, farmlands, and open-cut coal mines across much of the eastern part of this country. The flood has become a massive social disaster not only because of the quantities of rain, but as a consequence of government mismanagement and capitalists seeking profits by building housing on flood plains.

The death toll reached 20 by January 17, with 12 more missing. Most of those unaccounted for are from the Lockyer Valley and the nearby city of Toowoomba, where a sudden downpour January 10 caused flash floods likened to an inland tsunami. Some 30,000 buildings were flooded in Brisbane, the country's third largest city, with a population of 2 million. As a result of new riverside housing developments promoted by capitalist developers, the damage bill will run into the millions.

Open-cut coal mines across central Queensland have been flooded and road, rail, and electrical infrastructure damaged. Coal miners face weeks, if not months, without work.

A farming region larger than Texas has been inundated in Queensland, with floods wiping out millions of acres of crops valued at \$2 billion. Sugarcane farmers on the Queensland

Continued on page 4

Workers, youth force Tunisia tyrant to flee

Protests continue under new regime



AFP/Getty Images/Fred Dufour

Demonstration in Tunis, capital of Tunisia, January 18 opposes government cobbled together following overthrow of dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. New government is headed by members of his party. Unemployment and rising food prices have fueled protests.

BY SETH GALINSKY

A mass uprising of working people and youth forced Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the ruler of Tunisia, to flee to Saudi Arabia January 14. His overthrow, after 23 years in power, took Paris and Washington, as well as the Tunisian government, by surprise.

The first protests erupted in Sidi Bouzid when an unemployed university graduate turned street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire December 17 after police confiscated fruits and vegetables he was selling without a permit and slapped him in front of a passersby. Bouazizi, 26, tried to lodge a complaint, but au-

thorities refused to accept it. He died January 4.

Demonstrations spread across the country, unleashing fury at high unemployment, rising food prices, and Ben Ali's dictatorial regime.

"It's not just about unemployment Continued on page 4

Drive opens to sign up long-term readers

BY ANGEL LARISCY

At the end of week one of the *Militant* renewal drive, supporters of the paper are just beginning to turn to the opportunities to win long-term readers to the paper.

Over the next week each area will be relooking at their quotas and plans to organize discussions with every subscriber. The goal is to get a high number of those whose subscriptions to the socialist press have expired, or will expire in the coming weeks, to sign up and continue receiving the paper.

Quotas adopted in different areas now total 290. These figures fall far short of the real opportunities posed by this campaign. Forty-seven renewals have already been recorded. A majority of these were mailed directly to the *Militant*.

Many of the quotas adopted by local areas were decided quickly and don't reflect a serious review of subscription lists, and making concrete plans to meet with as many subscribers as possible to win them to renewing.

Every area has a gold mine of indi-**Continued on page 4**

'No capitalist party is talking about working-class issues'



Militant/Betsy Farley

John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, campaigns among workers January 8 outside Saint-Gobain Containers glass factory in Dolton, south of Chicago.

Ex-dictator of Haiti returns amid spiraling social crisis

BY DEBORAH LIATOS AND DEAN HAZLEWOOD

MIAMI—With no public announcement, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, one of the most infamous despots of the 20th century, returned to Haiti from exile in France January 16. Two days later, he was charged with "corruption."

National police and UN troops with tanks moved in to escort Duvalier when he landed. The police used pepper spray and pointed their weapons at journalists to keep them away from the terminal. They established a detail to guard the dictator outside the Karibe Hotel where he is staying.

Small demonstrations against and in support of the dictator at the airport and in the streets over the following days were reported in the press.

Detested by the great mass of Haitian people, Jean-Claude Duvalier ruled Haiti with an iron fist from 1971

to 1986, succeeding his father, Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier, whose rein of terror began in 1957.

The Duvaliers tortured and massacred ten of thousands, ruling in an atmosphere of fear and repression backed by the Tonton Macoutes, the dictatorship's militia force. In 1986 a popular uprising overthrew Duvalier.

Duvalier told reporters, "I came to put myself at the service of my country." His sudden arrival takes place in the context of a spiraling social crisis.

An earthquake last year resulted in more than 300,000 dead, according to press reports. Some 1 million remain homeless. The failure of the Haitian and imperialist governments to organize immediate relief culminated in a cholera epidemic, which since late October has reportedly killed some 3,800 people.

The outcome of elections last year Continued on page 4

BY BETSY FARLEY

CHICAGO—"How can we fight for jobs, defend our unions, and win legalization for immigrant workers who don't have papers? How can we stop the murderous U.S. wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan? These are the real questions facing working people in Chicago, and throughout the world," said John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. "Not a single one of my capitalist opponents in this race is taking up these issues."

Twenty candidates initially filed **Continued on page 3**

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of U.S. working class 6

Anti-immigrant bill is debated in Florida town

BY NAOMI CRAINE

PALM CITY, Florida—About 300 people packed the public library here January 7 for a town hall meeting on a proposed anti-immigrant law. The event was called by State Representative William Snyder to get "public input" on a bill he plans to introduce in the Florida state legislature. The majority of the more than 40 people who spoke opposed the bill.

The law Snyder has drafted is modeled on Arizona law SB 1070, which was adopted last year. Snyder's law would require state and local police to check the immigration status of someone during a "lawful stop" if they have "reasonable suspicion" that person is undocumented. It would increase penalties in criminal cases for defendants who are undocumented. The measure would also require all employers in the state to use the E-Verify system to check the immigration status of job applicants, prohibit undocumented workers from seeking day labor, and penalize those who employ them.

"There's already racial profiling" by police, said one of the first speakers to condemn the anti-immigrant law at the meeting. She described how her husband, who is Latino, was detained by police because he appeared "suspicious." Several participants gave other examples of police harassment, and said that the proposed law would not be carried out in a "race neutral" way.

"The biggest problems we face are the economy, domestic violence, and home foreclosures," said Angelica Perez. "How is this bill going to help?" Among those who spoke out were Gaby Pacheco and Felipe Matos, undocumented students who took part in a 1,500-mile walk from Miami to Washington, D.C., last year to support the "Dream Act." That law, which was recently defeated in the U.S. Senate, would have made it possible for some undocumented young people who are in college or enlist in the armed forces to apply for legal residence papers.

Among those who supported Snyder's bill was Carol Caso, who declared, "My property value is ruined" by Latino immigrants moving into the neighborhood. She complained about day laborers who wait for work at the local gas station, and about "roosters at 5:00 a.m."

Jack Oliver, with Floridians for Immigration Enforcement, argued that the proposed bill isn't racist. "The law is broken every day an illegal goes to work," he said. More deportations would mean "more jobs for Floridians."

"Just because something is the law doesn't make it right," Ana Rodriguez responded. "The people being deported are mostly hard workers, not criminals." She added that "border enforce-



Ana Rodriguez testifies against proposed anti-immigrant bill at town hall meeting in Palm City, Florida, January 7. Bill is similar to measure adopted in Arizona.

ment is killing people in Arizona."

On January 10 State Senator Mike Bennett, who has introduced a similar bill, acknowledged the political pressure against the sections that would require local police to enforce immigration law. "There probably will not be an Arizona-immigration style bill that passes the Florida Senate," he told reporters. "I might not even vote for it myself." At the same time he is advocating the expanded use of E-Verify to make it harder for undocumented workers to get jobs. Newly elected governor Richard Scott signed an executive order right after his inauguration requiring agencies under his control to use the federal system.

Immigrant rights activists from throughout southern and central Florida held a press conference before the Palm City forum in front of a banner reading, "No human being is illegal."

CIA-trained Posada Carriles on trial in Texas

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

CIA-trained Cuban counterrevolutionary Luis Posada Carriles went on trial in federal court in El Paso, Texas, January 12. Despite a long record of violent acts carried out against the Cuban Revolution, the charges he faces are 11 counts of perjury and naturalization fraud.

Federal prosecutors say that Posada lied to an immigration judge about how he entered the United States in March 2005 and his role in a series of bombings that took place in Havana in 1997.

In a 1998 New York Times interview, Posada bragged about his involvement in these bombings, including one that killed an Italian tourist, Fabio Di Celmo, at the Hotel Copacabana. "The CIA taught us everything-everything," he told the paper. "They taught us explosives, how to kill, bomb, trained us in acts of sabotage."

A mercenary in the failed 1961 U.S.organized invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, Posada worked for the CIA from the early 1960s to June 1976.

In October 1976, CIA-trained counterrevolutionaries blew up a Cuban airliner over Barbados, killing all 73

people aboard, many of them teenage members of the Cuban fencing team. Posada, who at the time was working as chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police, was among those implicated in this crime. A Venezuelan military court acquitted him of charges in the airline bombing, but the decision was later thrown out. He was allowed to escape from prison in 1985 before a civilian trial was completed.

He was also implicated in a November 2000 failed assassination attempt in Panama against Fidel Castro. After being incarcerated for four years and then pardoned by Panama's president, he made his way to the United States, where he has been living for nearly

Washington has refused repeated requests by the Cuban and Venezuelan governments to extradite Posada to stand trial for the 1976 airliner bombing.

THE MILITANT

Prisoners' rights and police frame-ups

From prison strikes in Georgia over inhumane conditions and violations of rights, to fights against police frame-ups and brutality, the 'Militant' carries coverage of working-class struggles in face of brutal conditions imposed by the bosses and government under capitalism. Don't miss a single issue!



Cornelius Dupree, Jr. celebrates January 4 his exoneration on rape and robbery charges. He served 30 years before being cleared by DNA evidence.

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New U.S. gov't measures designed to subvert Cuba

BY SETH GALINSKY

President Barack Obama announced January 14 he is relaxing restrictions on travel to Cuba by academic, educational, cultural, and religious groups. He also said he would allow more airports to provide charter flights to Cuba and permit U.S. citizens to send money to non-family members on the island.

A statement issued by Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Affairs January 16 on the changes noted "their reach is very limited and they do not modify the anti-Cuba policies." The statement pointed out that "the measures only benefit certain categories of U.S. citizens and do not reinstitute the right to travel to Cuba for all U.S. citizens, who will continue to be the only people in the world who cannot freely visit our country."

Far from being a step toward weakening Washington's economic and trade embargo against Cuba, the statement notes, the White House announcement "is basically limited to reestablishing the regulations which were in place in the 1990s during President Clinton's administration and were eliminated by George W. Bush in 2003."

Since the early 1960s, every U.S. president, Democrat and Republican alike, has maintained the embargo on Cuba. They seek both to punish the Cuban people for making a revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and to cripple the economy in hopes of creating conditions that could lead to a return to capitalism on the island.

Washington has combined violent armed actions against Cuba with fostering internal opposition to undermine the revolution, a policy U.S. imperialist rulers call "Track II."

The purpose of the new regulations, the White House statement says, is to "increase people-to-people contact" and help promote the Cuban people's "independence from Cuban authorities.'

As part of the changes in remittance rules, anyone in the United States can send up to \$500 per quarter to anyone in Cuba, except to high-ranking

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS-

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Report from World Festival of Youth and Students in South Africa. Speaker: Annalucia Vermunt, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged, \$2 unwaged. 4/125 Grafton Rd. Tel.: (09)

-CALENDAR-

WASHINGTON, D.C.

12 Years of Injustice: Free the Cuban 5! Speakers: Leonard Weinglass, one of attorneys for Cuban 5; Kathryn Striffolino, Amnesty International; representative. D.C. Committee to Free the Cuban 5. Tues., Feb. 8, 6 p.m. Sponsor: D.C. Committee to Free the Cuban 5. Founders Library, Howard University, 500 Howard Place. Tel.: (202) 986-5839.

officials of the Cuban government or "senior members" of the Communist Party, "to support private economic activity, among other purposes."

The adjustment in remittances comes as the Cuban government has adopted measures to increase the productivity of labor, reduce dependence on imports, and cut waste and inefficiency. Changes include a substantial reduction of government employees, greater emphasis on agricultural production, and relaxed rules on starting up private small businesses.

The White House hopes to find a way to advance the "Track II" course by taking advantage of Cuba's economic challenges.

New York cemetery workers protest layoffs



NEW YORK—Landscapers rallied outside the gates of Woodlawn Cemetery January 17 to protest a plan to lay off 23 of 38 workers after the union rejected a 35 percent wage cut. Teamsters Local 808 represents the workers.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Chicago socialist addresses workers' issues

Continued from front page

for ballot status in the Chicago mayoral election. Only six remain, all Democrats. Hawkins is forced to run a write-in campaign because of exclusionary petitioning requirements to get on the ballot.

The race to determine who will replace Mayor Richard Daley has attracted international attention since Daley announced he would not seek a seventh term as mayor. Rahm Emanuel, former White House chief of staff, and Carolyn Moseley Braun, a former member of the U.S. Senate, lead the

Illinois state senator James Meeks and U.S. Congressman Daniel Davis, also Democrats, recently withdrew from the mayoral race at the urging of Jesse Jackson, director of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, in order to have a "unified Black candidate." Both support Braun.

In addition to Braun there are three other candidates in the race for mayor who are Black: Patricia Van Pelt Watkins, William Walls, and Hawkins. The socialist campaign is the only one that speaks for the interests of Black working people and the working class as a whole.

"The Socialist Workers Party has no intention of withdrawing my candidacy in this election," declared Hawkins, who is a factory worker. "We will use our campaign to help working people organize and fight to defend our class interests, to strengthen our class unity through fighting race and sex discrimination, and to protect our class from the consequences of the capitalist economic crisis."

Campaigning in workers districts and at plant gates, the socialist candidate has discussed with other workers the worsening conditions they face.

Unemployment in Chicago stood at 10.1 percent in November. Unemployment for African Americans of all ages stood officially at 17.1 percent statewide at the end of 2009.

The Chicago metropolitan area ranks fifth in the country in terms of housing segregation for African Americans. The high school dropout rate for Blacks is above 50 percent.

Federal public works program

"To end unemployment we must fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and a massive, federally

funded, public works program to employ millions at union-scale wages, building affordable housing, hospitals, schools, and infrastructure," Hawkins

"What's needed is a fight against race discrimination. Segregation guarantees that African Americans constitute a disproportionate part of the reserve army of labor—the last hired and first fired.

"And instead of cuts in funds for schools and hikes in college tuition, we need a government that will make education, from cradle to grave, truly free, universal, and a right for all.

"Workers need our own party—a labor party—to fight to take political power out of the hands of the billionaire factory owners and bankers and put the working class in power," Hawkins explained. "Every gain for workers has come as a result of our struggle, not by relying on Democratic or Republican politicians. The twin parties of capitalism are in the forefront of the assault on working people."

The Democratic Party-dominated Illinois state legislature has just passed a 67 percent increase in state income taxes. Democratic governor Patrick Quinn immediately signed it into law.

"Working people can expect more attacks on our standard of living in order to pay off the bondholders," Hawkins stated, "including cuts in state workers' wages, pensions, and benefits, along with cuts in services that working people statewide need. All the six Democrats running for mayor offer the same 'solution' for Chicago's 'budget crisis."

Rehire laid-off teachers

The SWP campaign calls for a steeply graduated income tax on the wealthy and corporations, with no taxes for workers or exploited farmers. It demands the return to city workers of the furlough days they have been forced to agree to, the rehiring of laidoff teachers with back pay, an end to cuts in education and city services, and an immediate end to interest and principal payments to the wealthy bondholders.

"Quinn's rush to sign the tax hike bill stands in stark contrast to his footdragging on another bill recently approved by the state legislature to end the death penalty. This bill is a victory for all those who have fought without compromise for decades to expose the anti-working-class and racist brutality of this state's criminal 'justice' system," said Hawkins.

"We demand the immediate signing of the bill abolishing Illinois' death penalty into law. We will continue and step up the fight for release of all the wrongfully convicted, including the 23 men imprisoned as a result of confessions extracted through police torture at the hands of former Chicago Police Department lieutenant Jon Burge," the socialist candidate said.

New International no. 13

by Jack Barnes

The huge economic and

cultural inequalities between

imperialist and semicolo-

nial countries, and among

classes within almost every

country, are produced and

accentuated by the workings

of capitalism. For vanguard

workers to build parties able

to lead a successful revolu-

tionary struggle for power in

our own countries, our activ-

ity must be guided by a strat-

egy to close this gap.

"Our Politics Start with the World"

New International no. 12

'Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun"

by Jack Barnes



Today's accelerating global capitalist slump accompanies a continuaconfront it.

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POLITICS

Dictator returns to Haiti

Continued from front page

is still undecided amid the social and political instability that pervades the

In 2007 Haitian president René Préval said that Duvalier could return to Haiti but would face justice for the deaths of thousands of people and the theft of millions of dollars in state re-

On January 17 Duvalier's opponents began calling Haitian radio stations, recounting the brutality that resulted in him being deposed.

That same day a news conference responding to Duvalier's return was held at the headquarters of Veye Yo, a Haiti solidarity organization in Miami. It was moderated by Tony Jeanthenor, the group's coordinator.

Marleine Bastien, executive director of Haitian Women of Miami, said, "We ask for free inclusive democratic elections in Haiti. What we are asking is that Duvalier be held accountable for the killings during the dictatorship. I lost about 19 members of my family during the 30-year dictatorial

Several speakers demanded the safe return of former Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and that his Lavalas Party be allowed to run in elections. The party was ruled off the ballot in the 2010 vote. Aristide was overthrown in a coup in 2004 and then forced into exile under U.S. pressure

Jean Marceline, an unemployed construction worker, told the *Militant*, "Duvalier should be jailed because he did too many bad things to our country. He killed both my uncle and auntie for nothing in 1979."

After his four-hour arraignment January 18 on corruption and embezzlement charges, Duvalier was released while the judge purportedly considers whether there is sufficient evidence for a trial.



Haitians demonstrate on anniversary of January 2010 earthquake against eviction of people still living in tent camps. Some 1 million remain homeless.

Drive opens for new long-term readers

Continued from front page

viduals who signed up for the paper in the fall, when more than 2,000 people bought subscriptions after political discussions about the working-class struggles covered in the paper. Supporters of the Militant also sold close to 1,800 copies of Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power by Jack Barnes, most in combination with a subscription.

Many of these were sold by socialist workers in factories. "A few nights ago as I drove my forklift around the plant on night shift, I stopped to talk to one subscriber about renewing who said, 'I can budget that," writes Maggie Trowe of Des Moines. "When I passed him again he pulled out a \$20 bill for a six-month renewal. Later as we lined up to clock out another coworker called me over and did the same."

The Militant is especially valued by workers involved infights against the bosses' speedup and unsafe condi-

The Militant recently carried coverage of the mine disaster in New Zealand. Socialists there made visits to the area to get the paper out. One miner in the town of Greymouth decided to renew for six months after discussions on the recent events. Several workers made statements to the Militant about the mine disaster to be used in future coverage.

In Chicago socialists kicked off the renewal campaign by making calls to set up appointments to visit people and talk politics. As a result they secured three subscriptions right away.

Alyson Kennedy writes, "We got more than 15 subscriptions at Malcolm X College during the last drive. We plan a table there and other follow-up work next week to get renewals." Campaigning for John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, will open up more opportunities to win long-term readers of the paper there.

These are just a few examples of the interest there is to tap into if supporters of the socialist newsweekly reach out and grab it. As socialists sign up longterm readers they will also continue to get out to union struggles, protest actions, factories, and campuses to win introductory subscriptions.

Join the campaign! Sign up your coworkers, friends, and those you are involved in political activity with to renew their subscriptions or sign up for new a subscription of six months or longer. Both kinds of subscriptions will count toward the campaign to increase the long-term readership. You can contact a distributor in your area, listed on page 8, to help.

Reviewing our plans in each area and allowing more time to carry them out will make it possible to regularly get the *Militant* into the hands of hundreds of workers, farmers, and students. Many are looking for honest reporting about the struggles of working people and an analysis of the news from the point of view of the working class.

Tunisian tyrant flees

Continued from front page

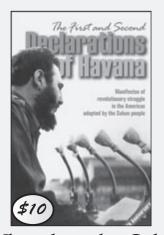
anymore," a Sidi Bouzid resident told Reuters. "It's about freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, all the freedoms."

The day before he fled, Ben Ali went on television and promised not to run for reelection in 2014; he slashed prices on sugar, bread, and milk. Ben Ali dissolved the government, promised new elections within six months, and said he would end Internet censorship and allow more freedom of the press. Ben Ali said he had ordered police to stop using live ammunition against demonstrators.

Too little, too late. The next day

some of the largest demonstrations took place. Many shouted "Ben Ali,

The First and Second Declarations of Havana



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out!' and "Ben Ali, assassin!" One marcher's sign said "We won't forget" in reference to the dozens of protestors killed by police over the previous weeks.

Backed by imperialists

Essentially a French colony beginning in 1881, Tunisia won its independence in 1956 with Habib Bourguiba as its first prime minister. In 1975 he proclaimed himself "president for life." Ben Ali overthrew Bourguiba on Nov. 6, 1987, after being appointed prime minister a month earlier.

At first Ben Ali—an army general who had studied at the Saint-Cyr military academy in France and at the U.S. Army Intelligence School at Fort Holabird, Maryland—took measures to project himself as a democratic and progressive leader in the Maghreb, as the five North Africa countries of Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, and Libya are known. He pardoned 3,000 prisoners, mostly political and Islamist opponents, and allowed six opposition parties to operate.

But the moves didn't last long. In 1989 in the first election after Bourguiba's overthrow, Ben Ali ran as the sole candidate, backed by all the so-called opposition parties, winning 99.3 percent of the vote. He maintained Bourguiba's secret police ap-

Under Ben Ali's iron hand, the Tunisian government promoted "business-friendly" policies, well liked by European and U.S. capitalists. The economy is based on oil, phosphate mining, textiles, other light industry, tourism, and agricultural exports.

Pfizer pharmaceutical, Ericsson electronics, and Siemens health products all set up operations in the country. Arizona-based Paradigm Precision Holdings has an aircraft parts plant outside Tunis, paying machine operators just \$280 a month.

French capitalists are the biggest Continued on page 9

Floods devastate Australia

Continued from front page

coast face the loss of up to 60 percent of their annual income over the next three years. Almost half the state's 1.5 million ton grain crop, especially winter wheat and sorghum, has been ruined.

Almost a third of domestic fruit and vegetable production is in Queensland. Tomatoes, lettuce, zucchini, and potatoes have doubled in price as growers try to harvest and get remaining crops to markets.

Queensland Labor premier Anna Bligh admitted January 14 that the giant Wivenhoe Dam built on the Brisbane River came perilously close to being breached. On January 11 the rising dam level came within three feet of breaching spillway "fuse plugs," a special emergency water release mechanism. This would have sent an additional flood surge down the swollen river.

Rather than beginning to release the rising water levels earlier and in a measured way, management emptied one-third of the dam's capacity in an "urgent release," according to the Australian newspaper. This resulted in "more than 80 percent of the flood in the Brisbane River at its peak."

Meanwhile, floods and mudslides in Brazil claimed more than 600 lives. Angry workers and peasants charged the government could have prevented much of the disaster if it had provided an early warning system to rural communities around Rio de Janeiro.

The government was aware that heavy rains were forecast but took no steps to warn residents of the rural communities, the New York Times reported.

Residents complained afterward that while many working people were trying to dig for survivors with their bare hands, the government was providing few rescue teams.

Fernando Pfister said four of his children perished. "Do the politicians have children?" he asked. "What would they do if this happened to their families?"

ON THE PICKET LINE -

Heinz workers picket UK plant demanding wage raise

WIGAN, England—More than 100 workers picketed outside the giant Heinz plant here January 11. The 1,200 Unite union members were on their fourth day of strike action, demanding a wage raise that matches inflation.

The day before, the company upped its offer to 3.5 percent for this year and 3.4 percent for 2012. The UK government's inflation figure was 3.3 percent in November. Since then further price rises have hit working people hard, including a 2.5 percent increase in the value added tax.

"Heinz is making record profits," said union steward Jimmy McCarrick. "Everything is up for them, and they want to peg us down." A woman striker chimed in, "They get the cream and we get the sour milk." She recounted how this was their first plant-wide union action since 1978.

Ian Wright, a strike leader and deputy Unite union convener, described how students from nearby Salford University had joined the picket lines at the end of 2010. They had been occupying their university to protest tuition raises. Some 200 agency (temporary) workers are respecting the picket lines too. McCarrick pointed out that the union here has ensured they receive the same pay rate as company workers.

The day following the strike Heinz upped its offer to 3.9 percent with consolidation of a supplementary

payment into basic pay. The workers are currently voting on this offer.

—Pete Clifford and Dag Tirsén

Locked-out workers in Iowa and New York pledge solidarity

BROOKLYN, New York—Building workers locked out at the Flatbush Gardens apartment complex here welcomed a visit to their picket line by a fellow unionist, Buddy Howard, a locked-out grain miller at Roquette America in Keokuk, Iowa. He joined the pickets in front of the complex's business offices January 16.

Howard is one of about 240 members of Local 48G of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union (BCTGM), locked out for more than three months by the corn-processing company. The 70 building workers are members of Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ. They have been locked out since November 29 after refusing to accept a 30 percent pay cut. New hires would make even less.

One of the 32BJ pickets told Howard, "I used to work five days a week; now I picket seven days," echoing the opinion expressed by many of the workers that they will do what it takes to withstand the property owners' effort to break them. Howard brought greetings from Local 48G. "Stay strong and keep in touch," the building workers told Howard as they parted at the end of the day.

On January 11 union lawyers filed



Militant/Mike Fitzsimmons

Picket line of locked-out building workers at Flatbush Gardens in Brooklyn, New York. Buddy Howard (second from left) of Local 48G of grain millers' union in Keokuk, Iowa, visited picket line January 16. Local 48G is locked out by Roquette America, Inc.

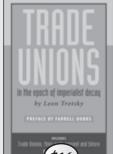
unfair labor practices charges against Renaissance Equity Holding LLC, owned by landlord David Bistricer. Bistricer is already on a list of the city's worst landlords. The Tenants Association is supporting the locked out workers in their fight for a decent union contract. Some of the locked out workers live in the 59-building complex.

Desmond Pennant, the shop steward, said, "We are working people who feel we got a raw deal. We won't accept a bad contract forced down our throat. This is 2011, not 1911."

At a union meeting held at the local school January 14, union officials announced plans to leaflet four other housing complexes in New York City owned by Bistricer.

—Dan Fein and Mike Fitzsimmons

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay



by Leon Trotsky

Features: "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future" by Karl Marx

Introduction by Farrell Dobbs

PathfinderPress.com

Abortion rights forces win victory in Iowa

BY REBECCA WILLIAMSON

DES MOINES, Iowa—In a victory for working people, the Iowa Board of Medicine announced January 11 that it will take no action against Planned Parenthood of the Heartland's telemedicine program, which extends access to abortion pills to rural areas.

The case began in 2009 when Operation Rescue, a longtime opponent of a woman's right to choose abortion, based in Wichita, Kansas, filed a complaint with the Iowa medical board. The outfit claimed the program was illegal because it "denies women access to physical examinations by licensed physicians."

The telemedicine program, launched in 2008, has been accessed by more than 2,000 women across the state to receive the abortion pill over the past two years. Planned Parenthood called it "a needed service, and one that our clients demanded."

The program is the first of its kind in the country. A nurse examines a woman who wants the abortion pill. Afterward, the woman has a consultation via the Internet with a doctor in Des Moines who determines if she meets the requirements to take the pill. If so, she is provided with it immediately. She finishes the rest of the medication later and returns for a follow-up visit with a nurse at the clinic.

Operation Rescue staff member Cheryl Sullenger filed the complaint against Dr. Susan Haskell of Planned Parenthood. The medical board held hearings on the complaint.

The Iowa-Nebraska-Kansas region has been a battleground around the right to choose abortion. Omaha abortion provider Dr. LeRoy Carhart

announced in November that he plans to expand access at three more clinics: Council Bluffs, Iowa; Indianapolis; and the Washington, D.C., area. A new law in Nebraska went into effect in mid-October that further restricts access to abortion, making it illegal after the 20th week of pregnancy. The standard is 22 weeks since abortion was legalized in 1973 by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Council Bluffs is about five miles east of Omaha. Some elected officials in Iowa have announced plans to introduce legislation this year similar to the Nebraska law, specifically against Dr. Carhart's efforts to maintain access for women who seek abortions. Rep. Matt Windschitl, a board member of Iowa Right to Life, said, "I'm taking on the fight . . . to keep him out of my state."

- 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT

January 31, 1986

AUSTIN, Minn., Jan. 22—United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 President Jim Guyette today called on unions across the country to protest the presence of the National Guard here.

He also urged union members, peace organizations, and others concerned with social justice to come to Austin to find out for themselves about Hormel Co.'s union-busting.

Guyette's appeal followed a steppedup attack by Hormel against Local P-9 strikers. This included Hormel's success in getting Democratic Farmer-Labor Party Gov. Rudy Perpich to mobilize the National Guard on January 21, helping to herd scabs into the plant.

In response to Hormel's escalation of its strike-busting effort, Local P-9 sent roving pickets to Hormel distribution centers and to the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa. More than 95 percent of the Ottumwa workers honored the picket line.

THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEIKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PROPLE OF THE ALL & INSTRUMENT OF THE WORKING PROPLE

January 30, 1961

Supporters of imprisoned Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba received a strong boost when the United Arab Republic, Morocco and Indonesia announced that they were withdrawing their troops from the UN's Congo military force. The action of the three countries struck a heavy blow at the use of the UN by the Western powers to salvage imperialist rule in the Congo.

The decision to withdraw was made in protest against using the "neutral" UN force to aid pro-Western Congolese politicians who dissolved the legally constituted parliament and jailed Lumumba.

The growing difficulties of the Belgian colonialists were further indicated by press reports that pro-Lumumba forces now control nearly half the country.

Meanwhile, the UN is becoming more and more discredited in the Congo. The three countries that have already decided to pull out contributed some 5,000 troops of the 20,000-man UN army.

THE MILITANT Weekly Organ of the Communic League of America

February 1, 1936

The fourth Scottsboro trial ended with the conviction of Haywood Patterson. Judge and prosecutor worked hand in glove. No Negroes were on the jury; the state went through the farce of putting Negroes on the panel, but none served on the jury. They were either challenged by the prosecution or evaded service through fear of reprisals.

Patterson was given a 75-year prison sentence. The attitude of Attorney S. S. Leibowitz, enemy of the mass defense movement, is that he has won a victory.

Patterson himself is not deceived. He announced on hearing the verdict that he would rather die than spend another day in jail for something he did not do.

All other trials have been indefinitely postponed because of material witness' sickness. The boys were returned to Birmingham jail. Patterson [will] appeal his case on the grounds that he was denied a change of venue and thus did not get a fair trial.

Civil War and forging of U.S. working class

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the U.S. Civil War. It resulted in the Second American Revolution, changing the relationship of class forces in the United States and propelling growth of both the industrial bourgeoisie and the working class. The piece below from America's Revolutionary Heritage by George Novack examines the roots of the social conflict resulting in the Civil War. Copyright © 1976 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY GEORGE NOVACK

The Civil War had deep historical roots. It was the inevitable product of two interlacing processes. One was the degeneration of the First American Revolution, which unfolded by slow stages until it culminated in open counterrevolution. The other was the rise of capitalist industrialism with its contradictory effects upon American social development. . . .

The social structure of the United States at the end of the eighteenth century was a composite of slave and free labor, of precapitalist and capitalist forms of production. To complete the reconstruction of society along bourgeois lines, it would have been necessary to break up the soil in which slavery was rooted. This proved impossible under the prevailing conditions. The slave interests were sufficiently powerful at the time of the Revolution to prevent any tampering with the institution in its

southern strongholds and even to obtain constitutional warrant for its perpetuation. The opponents of slavery could do no more than restrict its scope by providing for the abolition of the foreign slave trade at the end of twenty years, for emancipation in certain northern states where slavery was of slight economic importance, and for its prohibition within the unsettled northwestern territories. . . .

The struggle for supremacy between the proslavery forces centered in the South and the free labor forces headed by the northern bourgeoisie was the decisive factor in the political life of the United States in the period bounded by the two revolutions. From 1800 on, the big bourgeoisie kept ceding political ground to the planters. Supreme political power inevitably gravitated into the hands of the economically predominant cotton nobility. The capitalists could not regain their lost leadership until the economic development of the country had produced a new combination of social forces strong enough to outweigh the slavocracy and its allies and then to overthrow it.

Thanks to the achievements of the Revolution and to exceptionally favorable international economic circumstances, the United States took tremendous steps forward during the first half of the nineteenth century. The productive forces of the nation, agricultural and industrial, slave and free, grew by leaps and bounds. The gains accumulated as



First South Carolina Volunteers, Union Army Black combat regiment, listen to reading of Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863. It freed all slaves in Confederate states and welcomed their enlistment. During Civil War some 200,000 Blacks served in Union Army.

a result of the Revolution and the ensuing economic progress were distributed, under pressure from the people, in the shape of numerous small, gradual, democratic reforms. This part of the planter-bourgeois regime was a comparatively pacific period in domestic politics. The chief disputes which arose among the governing classes (including those issues directly pertaining to slavery) were settled by compromise.

Around 1850 a radical reversal of these processes set in. The rise of large-scale industry in the North and the expansion of small farming in the Northwest upset the economic equilibrium upon which the planters' power had rested and led to a new correlation of social forces. Goaded by the prospect of losing supreme power and by the economic decline and social disintegration of the slave system, the planting interests absolutely opposed themselves to progressive tendencies in all fields of

national life. Their despotism became increasingly intolerable. Not only the Negro chattels but the entire American people were being made the victims of the arrogant, unrestrainable slaveowners. To check this growing reaction and to assure continued progress in the nation, it was imperative to break the grip of the slave power.

The victory of the Republican Party in the presidential elections of 1860 and the ensuing departure of the slave states brought to a head the struggle between the southern planters and northern bourgeoisie, the proslavery and antislavery camps, the counterrevolution and the revolution. The secessionist coup d'etat revived all the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including those which had presumably been forever settled.

At this critical point three main perspectives opened before the American people. A victory for the Confederacy could have effaced the remnants of the Revolution and fastened the hated dictatorial rule of the slaveholders over all America. Another ineffectual compromise between the contending camps would have permitted the struggle to drag along and exhaust the people. A victory for the revolutionary forces would clear the way for a full and final disposal of the unfinished business of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The developments of the Civil War soon excluded any middle course or ground for compromise, leaving open only the two extreme variants.

The favorable alternative triumphed. The bourgeois Republicans, who had taken power on a program of restricting the slave power, found that they could hold it against the assaults of the Confederacy only by resorting to increasingly revolutionary measures leading to

Continued on page 9

Marx's 1864 letter to Lincoln on his reelection

Below is a November 1864 letter by Karl Marx, a founder of the modern communist movement, to Abraham Lincoln congratulating him on being reelected president of the United States.

Sir,—We congratulate the American people upon your reelection by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your reelection is Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the Titanic American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the starspangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave-holders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world "slavery" on the banner of Armed Revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man¹ was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution," and

maintained "slavery to be a beneficent institution," indeed, the only solution of the great problem of "the relation of capital to labor," and cynically proclaimed property in man "the corner-stone of the new edifice,"—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with the hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis,2 opposed enthusiastically the pro slavery intervention—importunities of their betters and, from most parts of Europe, contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the working men, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the whiteskinned laborer to sell himself and

2. The cotton crisis was caused by the stoppage of cotton deliveries from America due to the blockade of the Southern slave states by the Federal fleet. Most of the European cotton industry was paralyzed, and this worsened the condition of the workers.

choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The working men of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle classes, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

Karl Marx

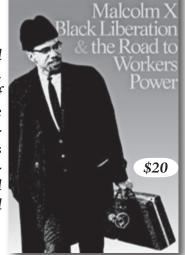
Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

by Jack Barnes

"This is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. A book 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..."

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1. The Declaration of Independence

'What kind of socialism for 21st century?'

New York meeting discusses world politics, openings for communist movement

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—More than 370 people turned out here for a public meeting sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party January 15 titled "What Kind of Socialism for the 21st Century?—The Long, Hard Battles Ahead." Participants came from across the United States, as well as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Greece, and France.

The meeting was cochaired by Paul Mailhot, editor of the *Militant* and a member of the SWP National Committee, and Annalucia Vermunt, a member of the executive committee of the Communist League in New Zealand and the league's 2010 candidate for mayor of Auckland.

The newly printed Pathfinder book Soldier of the Cuban Revolution: From the Cane Fields of Oriente to General of the Revolutionary Armed Forces by Cuban general Luis Alfonso Zayas was available at the meeting. The first speaker was the book's editor, Mary-Alice Waters, who is also editor of the Marxist magazine New International and a member of the SWP National Committee.

Waters announced that three titles by Pathfinder will be launched at the Havana Book Fair this February: Soldier of the Cuban Revolution; the Spanish edition of Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power; and the Spanish edition of Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women, which is being published by Ciencias Sociales in Cuba.

Waters noted that Washington had just announced an adjustment to its embargo of Cuba that includes permitting any individual in the United States to send \$500 a quarter to anyone in Cuba "to support private economic activity, among other purposes." There is also a U.S. program called Cuban Medical Professional Parole, which encourages Cuban doctors on medical missions in foreign countries to contact any U.S. embassy to request immediate entrance into the United States as a "refugee."

Both of these moves, explained Waters, are carefully crafted to capitalize on Cuba's economic difficulties in or-

der to undermine the state property established by the revolution and promote a "democratic" counterrevolution.

Soldier of the Cuban Revolution offers a real picture of the roots of the proletarian morality and discipline conquered by the young people who mobilized in the 1950s to get rid of the Batista dictatorship, Waters said. She quoted Zayas's firsthand description of the march by 140 men in Che Guevara's famous Column 8 from the Sierra Maestra to the Escambray mountains of central Cuba in September and early October

1958—an operation expected to take 48 hours that instead lasted 47 days.

"If we had covered those three hundred seventy miles in forty-eight hours," observed Zayas, "perhaps we wouldn't have weeded out the quitters, those who didn't have the willpower to continue. Perhaps we would never have been able to measure the capacities of those who did."

The socialist, revolutionary course of Cuba since working people there conquered power some 50 years ago also comes through in two recently published books by Cuban leader Fidel Castro, Por todos los caminos de la Sierra: La victoria estratégica (On every road through the Sierra: Strategic Victory) and Fidel Castro: My Life, an interview with Ignacio Ramonet. These books were highlighted in Waters's talk.

World Festival of Youth and Students

Harry D'Agostino, organizer of the Young Socialists at the State University of New York at New Paltz and candidate for lieutenant governor of New York endorsed by the SWP last year, spoke about building a Young Socialists club among his fellow students. He related how the *Militant* is helping to win young people to a working-class outlook. Like Vermunt he was one of some 15 people at the meeting who had



Militant/Fric Simpson

Crowd at January 15 meeting and featured speakers Jack Barnes, top, and Mary-Alice Waters, bottom.

recently returned from Pretoria, South Africa, where they participated with thousands of other young people in the World Festival of Youth and Students.

Describing the Young Socialists's activity on campus, D'Agostino said, "We went from one to two young socialists in the fall. "Now with more confidence we can go further."

Steve Clark, managing editor of *New International* and a member of the SWP National Committee, elaborated on this point. "The *Militant* gives workers a picture of the activities of the communist movement and responds to what is happening in the class struggle," he said. At the festival in South Africa young people purchased 1,700 books by Pathfinder. A weakness was not getting into their hands subscriptions to the *Militant* as well, Clark said.

The *Militant* was launched in 1928 after members of the U.S. Communist Party who supported Leon Trotsky and others seeking to uphold the proletarian international course of V.I. Lenin in Russia were expelled by the party under the influence of a conservative bureaucracy in Russia headed by Joseph Stalin. Those expelled saw publishing a workers newspaper as their very first task. The effort was financed by workers in the party, such as the coal yard workers in Minneapolis who pooled their resources to send in \$5 or \$10 a week out of their meager wages.

Clark also spoke about the political openings for working people in Iran. Over the last 10 years, 65,000 Pathfinder titles translated into Farsi, the official language of Iran, have been sold there. A display at the meeting graphically captured the increasing interest in communist literature among Iranians. From March 2009 to March 2010, 1,834 Pathfinder titles by the Iranian publisher Talaye Porsoo were sold. From March 2010 to January 2011, 2,394 have been sold. On display were copies of the Tehran daily Donya-e-Eqtesad (The World of Economics), which serialized the Farsi edition of Teamster Rebellion.

A dozen other displays highlighted themes of the meeting, such as one titled "Washington's 'long war' at home and abroad" and another illustrating the steps the capitalists are taking to increase their rate of profit by increasing the rate of exploitation of labor. Panels also showed the activities of socialists

in the factories and trade unions.

U.S. military strategy toward China

Jack Barnes, the author of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* who is the national secretary of the SWP, was the final speaker. He opened his remarks pointing to the significance of U.S. defense secretary Robert Gates's trip to Asia. During his trip Gates told reporters that the Chinese government has and continues to develop long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles as well as other missile technology that is designed to destroy U.S. aircraft carriers and aircraft."

These advances are part of Beijing's efforts to assert some control over Pacific waters near China, which have been dominated by Washington since World War II.

The threat of a powerful adversary in China has a great deal to do with the wars Washington is currently fighting in Afghanistan and on the border with Pakistan, Barnes said. Washington is trying to strengthen its alliance with the governments of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India as a counterweight to Beijing. Gen. David Petraeus is "the commander of the Western front with China," Barnes said. Concern over Osama bin Laden is not Washington's motivation. There are much bigger questions at stake.

Washington needs to get the Pakistani and Indian governments to pull their troops away from each other's borders and look toward China. Barnes noted Washington's success in getting better relations with the Indian government, which had been a Soviet ally until

Continued on page 9

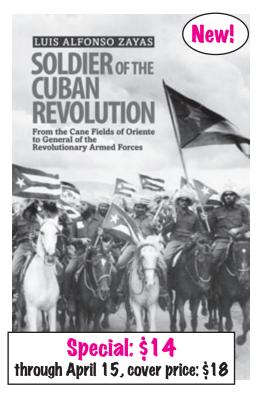


Militant/Natalie Morriso

Participants at New York gathering study more than a dozen displays on political themes that were discussed.

Soldier of the Cuban Revolution

From the Cane Fields of Oriente to General of the Revolutionary Armed Forces



Luis Alfonso Zayas, today a general in the Cubana Revolutionary Armed Forces, recounts his experiences over five decades in the Cuban Revolution. From a teenage combatant in the clandestine struggle and 1956–58 war that brought down a U.S.-backed dictatorship, to serving three times as a leader of the Cuban volunteer forces that helped Angola defeat repeated invasions by the army of white-supremacist South Africa, Zayas tells how he and millions of ordinary men and women in Cuba changed the course of history and, in the process, transformed themselves as well.

PathfinderPress.com

Malcolm X on U.S. bombings in Congo in 1960s

Below is an excerpt from Malcolm X: The Last Speeches, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for January. In this talk—presented in Rochester, New York, on Feb. 16, 1965, five days before his assassination—Malcolm discusses Washington's role in attacking the liberation struggle in the Congo. The country had won its independence from Belgium in June 1960 led by Patrice Lumumba, who became the country's first prime minister. Intervention by Washington, Brussels, and UN troops resulted in Lumumba's assassination half a year later. His supporters continued the fight against imposing an imperialist-backed government there. Copyright © 1989 by Betty Shabazz, Bruce Perry, and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY MALCOLM X

[T]he press is used to make the victim look like the criminal and make the criminal look like the victim. . . . This is imagery. And just as this imagery is practiced at the local level, you can understand it better by an international example. The best recent example at the international level to bear witness to what I'm saying is what happened in the Congo. Look at what happened. We had a situation where a plane was dropping bombs on African villages. An African



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Malcolm X speaking at Corn Hill Methodist Church in Rochester, New York, Feb. 16, 1965.

village has no defense against the bombs. And an African village is not sufficient threat that it has to be bombed! But planes were dropping bombs on African villages. When these bombs strike, they don't distinguish between enemy and friend. They don't distinguish between male and female. When these bombs are dropped on African villages in the Congo, they are dropped on Black women, Black children, Black babies. These human beings were blown to bits. I heard no outcry, no voice of compassion for these thousands of Black people who were slaughtered by planes. [Applause]

Why was there no outcry? Why was there no concern? Because, again, the press very skillfully made the victims look like they were the criminals, and the criminals look like they were the victims. [Applause]

They refer to the villages as "rebel held," you know. As if to say, because they are rebel-held villages, you can destroy the population, and it's okay. They also refer to the merchants of death as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." This made it okay. Because these pilots, these mercenaries—you know what a mercenary is, he's not a patriot. A mercenary is not someone who goes to war out of patriotism for his country. A mercenary is a hired killer. A person who kills, who draws blood for money, anybody's blood. You kill a human being as easily as you kill a cat or a dog or a chicken.

So these mercenaries, dropping bombs on African villages, caring nothing as to whether or not there are innocent, defenseless women and children and babies being destroyed by their bombs. But because they're called "mercenaries," given a glorified name, it doesn't excite you. Because they are referred to as "American-trained" pilots, because they are American-trained, that makes them okay. "Anti-Castro Cubans," that makes them okay. Castro's a monster, so anybody who's against Castro is all right with us, and anything they can do from there, that's all right with us. . . . They put your mind right in a bag and take it wherever they want, as well. [Applause]

But it's something that you have to look at and answer for. Because they are American planes, American bombs, escorted by American paratroopers, armed with machine guns. But, you know, they say they're not soldiers, they're just there as escorts, like they started out with some advisers in South Vietnam. Twenty thousand of themjust advisers. These are just "escorts." They're able to do all of this mass murder and get away with it by labeling it "humanitarian," an act of humanitarianism. Or "in the name of freedom," "in the name of liberty." All kinds of high-sounding slogans, but it's coldblooded murder, mass murder. And it's done so skillfully, so you and I, who call ourselves sophisticated in this twentieth century, are able to watch it, and put the stamp of approval upon it. Simply because it's being done to people with black skin, by people with white skin.

They take a man who is a cold-blooded murderer, named [Moise] Tshombe. You've heard of him, Uncle Tom Tshombe. [Laughter and applause] He

murdered the prime minister, the right-ful prime minister, [Patrice] Lumumba. He murdered him. [Applause] Now here's a man who's an international murderer, selected by the State Department and placed over the Congo and propped into position by your tax dollars. He's a killer. He's hired by our government. He's a hired killer. And to show the type of hired killer he is, as soon as he's in office, he hires more killers in South Africa to shoot down his own people. And you wonder why your American image abroad is so bankrupt. . . .

Remember how they referred to the hostages as "white hostages." Not "hostages." They said these "cannibals" in the Congo had "white hostages." Oh, and this got you all shook up. White nuns, white priests, white missionaries. What's the difference between a white hostage and a Black hostage? What's the difference between a white life and a Black life? You must think there's a difference, because your press specifies whiteness. "Nineteen white hostages" cause you to grieve in your heart. [Laughter and applause]

During the months when bombs were being dropped on Black people by the hundreds and the thousands, you said nothing. And you did nothing. But as soon as a few—a handful of white people who didn't have any business getting caught up in that thing in the first place—[Laughter and applause]—as soon as their lives became involved, you got concerned.

I was in Africa during the summer when they—when the mercenaries and the pilots were shooting down Black people in the Congo like flies. It wouldn't even get mentioned in the Western press. It wasn't mentioned. If it was mentioned, it was mentioned in the classified section of the newspaper. Someplace where you'd need a microscope to find it.

And at that time the African brothers, at first they weren't taking hostages. They only began to take hostages when they found that these pilots were bombing their villages. And then they took hostages, moved them into the village, and warned the pilots that if you drop bombs on the village, you'll hit your own people. It was a war maneuver. They were at war. They only held a hostage in a village to keep the mercenaries from murdering on a mass scale the people of those villages.

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End U.S. embargo of Cuba!

In a January 14 statement cynically titled "Reaching Out to the Cuban People," the White House announced that President Barack Obama is lifting some restrictions on travel and remittances to Cuba.

Malcolm X once said, "You don't stick a knife in a man's back nine inches and then pull it out six inches and claim you are making progress."

The White House measures do nothing to end Washington's economic, commercial, and financial embargo of Cuba, nor does it "reinstitute the right to travel to Cuba for all U.S. citizens," as the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out.

The measures make it easier to send money from the United States to Cuba for "private economic activity." Washington hopes to stimulate petty capitalist commodity production as a counterweight to Cuba's state property, a conquest of the Cuban Revolution. After working people in Cuba took power out of the hands of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959, the revolutionary leadership implemented popular measures, from land reform and nationalization of industry under workers control, to banning racial discrimination, and offering solidarity to working class-struggles around the world

Washington soon realized it would not be so easy to overthrow the new revolutionary government by armed force. The U.S. rulers began a parallel policy, sometimes known as Track II, seeking to foster internal opposition to the revolution. They hope to advance those aims today amid Cuba's economic difficulties.

Defending Cuba's socialist revolution is in the interests of working people the world over. We need to demand: End the U.S. embargo of Cuba! End the travel ban!

Civil War and forging working class

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the overthrow and abolition of the slave power. *In order to conserve the conquests of the First American Revolution, it was found necessary to extend them through another.* A supplementary upheaval of social-economic relations was required to support the political overturn in 1860.

In the course of this Second Revolution, the most radical representatives of industrial capital and their plebeian allies completed the tasks initiated by their predecessors in the first. Placing themselves at the head of the antislavery forces, the Radicals took complete control of the federal government and concentrated its apparatus in their hands. They defeated the armies of the Confederacy on the battlefields of the Civil War; shattered the political and economic power of the slave oligarchy; consolidated the bourgeois dictatorship set up during the war; and remodeled the Republic into conformity

with their own class aims and interests.

This Second American Revolution not only installed a new governing class in office but, by abolishing chattel slavery, scrapped the principal form of property and labor in the South. The great political and social problem which had agitated the United States ever since the birth of the republic—how to dispose of the slave power and its "peculiar institution"—was definitively settled.

The Second Revolution also concluded the progressive political role of the American bourgeoisie. After it helped annihilate the slave power and slavery, its political usefulness was utterly exhausted. Like the plantation aristocracy before it, the new ruling capitalist oligarchy rapidly transformed itself into a thoroughly reactionary force, until it came to constitute the main obstacle to social progress not only within the United States but throughout the world.

Tunisia tyrant forced to flee country

Continued from page 4

winners in scooping up profits, with some 1,200 companies, representing 41 percent of foreign investment. Italian, German, Belgian, British, and Spanish firms jockeyed to make sure they got their share of the pie.

A 2010 guide published by the U.S. Department of Commerce said that "Tunisia is a small and politically stable country on the North African Coast. It has the most diversified economy in the region." Noting that its competitors in France, Italy, and Germany were ahead, the report said that the U.S. Embassy in Tunis would actively work so that U.S. firms "are able to successfully compete against better-established European companies."

Although direct U.S. economic interests were small, Ben Ali's regime was a valued U.S. ally in Washington's war on terror, cracking down on Islamists in Tunisia and closely cooperating with the CIA and FBI.

The Tunisian economy grew 5 percent a year between 2004 and 2008. The country boasts of a 74 percent literacy rate, one of the highest in North Africa and the Middle East, and has seven airports and eight commercial ports.

Youth unemployment at 52 percent

While business was good for Ben Ali, his cohorts, and foreign capitalists, working people and the middle classes were being battered by the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. Unemployment is officially at 14 percent, but among youth is 52 percent. More than 700,000 Tunisians live in France.

Ben Ali and his wife Leila Trabelsi are especially hated. They muscled in on virtually every local business, from cell phones and car dealerships to toothpaste and supermarkets, and flaunted their wealth. Protestors not only set fire to the offices of

the ruling political party, but ransacked luxurious villas and businesses linked to Ben Ali.

Hoping to put an end to the protests, Tunisian officials announced January 17 they were forming a national unity including three "opposition" parties to take the fallen dictator's place. The new government is headed by longtime Ben Ali ally Mohamed Ghannouchi as prime minister.

For many in Tunisia, that is not enough. That same day demonstrations took place against Ben Ali's Constitutional Democratic Rally party (RCD) in several towns. In Sidi Bouzid, demonstrators chanted "Bread and water and no RCD."

Arab regimes in the region are worried about the example of the Tunisian uprising. The Syrian government reversed course and increased subsidies for heating oil for public workers by 72 percent January 16. The Jordanian government announced \$125 million in fuel and food subsidies following protests last week.

Soon after the Tunisian dictator flew to Saudi Arabia, a small group held a demonstration in Cairo, Egypt, chanting, "Ben Ali tell Mubarak a plane is waiting for him too." Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak has been in power for nearly 30 years; like Ben Ali he has stifled opposition parties and newspapers.

Washington is also nervous. At a conference in Qatar January 13, U.S. secretary of State Hillary Clinton called for "reform" and warned Arab rulers that "people have grown tired of corrupt institutions and a stagnant political order. . . . It is time to see civil society not as a threat, but as a partner."

A few days later, Egyptian foreign minister Ahmed Aul Gheit said, "Western and European nations" should not interfere in Arab affairs. "The talk about the spread of what happened in Tunisia to other countries is nonsense," he added.

New York meeting

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the collapse of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s.

Meanwhile, at home, the Barack Obama administration is stepping up restrictions on freedom of speech and workers rights. It's adopting a harder and harder line against Cuba, seeking to take advantage of the difficult economic situation the revolutionary government faces there.

Under the pressures of the capitalist world economic crisis, the Cuban leadership is working to preserve the continuity of the revolution, while making necessary retreats, including opening up the economy to more private economic activity, Barnes explained in response to a question during the discussion.

Barnes commented on the debate over whether "vitriolic rhetoric" by Republicans and tea party supporters was partly to blame for the shooting spree by a mentally deranged man that killed six people in Arizona January 8. Democrats were forced to back down as their attempt to blame Sarah Palin for the shooting fell flat. In his speech at the memorial service for victims, Obama acknowledged that "a simple lack of civility" did not cause the shootings, noted Barnes.

Liberal Democrats and commentators frequently slander conservatives as "stupid," "crazy," or "paranoid," because they are unable to answer Republicans' arguments. It's also how they view workers or farmers who support one or another plank of the Republican platform.

Barnes pointed out that supporters of the *Militant* failed to organize sales to the hundreds of thousands who turned out for the "Restoring Honor" rally organized by Glenn Beck and others in Washington August 28. "We would have had no problems selling at that event and no Black person would have had a problem attending," Barnes said.

A lower percentage of those at the event would have been interested in buying the paper than at an AFL-CIO labor event like the October 2 march for jobs, Barnes noted, but there were many workers at the August 28 rally who would have given the socialists a hearing, debated the issues, and shown interest in the *Militant*. They were, after all, driven to come to Washington by the effects of the economic and social crisis that is unfolding and ruining their lives, just as those who marched October 2 were.

In the United States "the working class is stunned" by the severity of the attacks coming down, he said. "It has no class consciousness yet," giving the example of support among some workers for sharply reducing wages and benefits for public employees.

But "pockets of struggle do exist," Barnes went on, "and they are important." He noted that the workers at Jimmy John's sandwich shops in Minneapolis "came out stronger" by fighting to organize a union, even though they narrowly lost the vote. Now they're preparing for a second vote.

It's through these kinds of struggles that workers can acquire class consciousness and begin to see that it's not a question of winning a better contract or better labor legislation, but a revolutionary overturn of capitalism that's needed, Barnes said.

Financial support for party

Dave Prince, director of the Capital Fund, which accepts donations for the long-term political projects of the party, announced at the beginning of the meeting that this year's fund stood at \$105,000 so far. One of these was \$3,500 from a hospital worker at a facility where the health-care teams have been reduced by layoffs. The worker wrote that the boss should have appended a note: "Thanks for working at a killing pace."

By the end of the meeting the Capital Fund had grown to \$215,000.

Carole Caron, part of the leadership of the Supporters Monthly Appeal, announced that the appeal had surpassed its goal of raising \$55,000 by January 15. Contributors to this fund make a regular financial contribution to the party's political activity each month

A one-off appeal for donations by Angel Lariscy, *Militant* business manager and organizer of the New York Headquarters branch of the SWP, raised more than \$24,000 for the party at the meeting.