

THE MILITANT

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discusses overseas Chinese
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Public workers in UK carry out protest strike



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Protest strike in London June 30 against government attack on public workers' pensions

BY ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ

LONDON—Several hundred thousand teachers and civil servants participated in a one-day protest strike here June 30 to oppose government plans to cut pensions and raise the retirement age of public sector employees. Thousands of strikers and others joined marches and rallies across the country.

The protest was called by the National Union of Teachers, University and College Union, Association of Teacher and Lecturers (ATL), and

the Public and Commercial Services Union. The turnout was spurred by the grinding effects of the capitalist crisis and early stages of the government's stepped-up attacks on workers' living and job conditions.

The government is pressing ahead with plans to cut pensions by basing them not on final income at retirement but the average over a work life; to raise the deductions from workers' wages paid into the pension fund; and to raise the retirement age for work-

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Coal, oil field workers discuss safety and boom-and-bust cycle

BY PAUL MAILHOT

FARMINGTON, New Mexico—"Why do you call that paper the *Militant*?" asked a Navajo woman, who works at the Four Corners power plant near here when two socialist workers stopped by her house to talk about subscribing.

In the early days of the labor movement in the United States, we replied,

"militant" was commonly used to describe the most self-sacrificing working-class fighters, and the *Militant* newspaper has been a socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people since the late 1920s. With that explanation, her initial suspicion turned to curiosity.

After a wide-ranging exchange of

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Militant/John Naubert

Selling *Militant* outside coal mine in Kemmerer, Wyoming, June 24. A total of 177 subscriptions were sold during recent two-and-a-half-week effort in coal-field regions of eastern and western United States.

Socialist Workers run in N.Y. special election

Campaigners hit streets to get on ballot

BY STEVE CLARK

NEW YORK, July 6—"The Socialist Workers Party campaign will be in the streets and on picket lines with fellow workers who are trying to find ways to fight the impact on our living and job conditions of today's crisis-ridden world capitalist system," said Chris Hoeppe in announcing

"Solidarity, not fringe benefits, is road forward for working class . . ."

his candidacy on the SWP ticket in the September 13 special election in New York's ninth congressional district.

The district, covering much of Queens and parts of Brooklyn, was left without a member of Congress last month by the resignation of the seven-term Democratic Party incumbent.

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Militant/David Rosenfeld

CHRIS HOEPPNER, center, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 9th Congressional District, at rally in Seattle of Ash Grove Cement workers fighting to organize union, June 2005, while he was party's candidate for mayor there.

Washington extends drone assassinations to Somalia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington has expanded assassinations by aerial drones to Somalia, in addition to those it has carried out in at least five other countries—Pakistan, Afghanistan, Libya, Yemen, and Iraq.

The June 23 airstrike in Somalia was aimed at two leaders of the Mujahideen Youth Movement, commonly referred to as al-Shabab (the youth). The Islamist group controls large parts of Somalia's southern and central regions and portions of the capital, Mogadishu.

An unnamed U.S. military official told the *Washington Post* that those targeted had "direct ties" with New Mexico-born Anwar al-Awlaki, a U.S. citizen living in southern Yemen, whom President Barack Obama has openly declared is a target for assassination. Washington failed to kill al-Awlaki in a drone missile strike in Yemen May 5.

Immediately after the Somalia strike, U.S. military forces landed in Kismayo on the country's southern coast to pick up the dead and injured. Residents reported helicopters hovering overhead that night.

According to the *Post*, a U.S. official claimed two of those killed in the airstrike in Somalia "were looking to conduct attacks in Europe."

Washington has not stationed force-

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March opposes Georgia gov't assault on immigrants

BY JACOB PERASSO

ATLANTA—More than 10,000 people took to the streets July 2 here to protest the anti-immigrant legislation HB 87 that took effect in Georgia the day before.

"We came in a caravan of two buses, vans, and cars," said Juan Díaz, who helped organize 150 people to attend the rally from Tifton, in the center of Georgia's agricultural region. "The two main industries we work in are agriculture and construction. The

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Drought tightens capitalist squeeze on UK farmers

BY HUGH ROBERTSON

EAST ANGLIA, England—A severe drought here has had a devastating impact on working farmers. Some areas have only received 10 percent of the normal rainfall since March, but the government has done little else than urge farmers to use water more efficiently and reduce evaporation.

The situation threatens to ruin small farmers, whose livelihoods have become increasingly precarious as the capitalist crisis deepens. Large agricultural companies have little problem weathering the drought.

“The drought is having a very bad effect on winter crops, they are just germinating now. They won’t grow much from there, so yield will be seriously affected,” said Simon Steel, a vegetable farmer with 55 acres.

“Irrigation costs are very high,” he added. “You need a license from DEFRA (the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) to draw water, but fuel costs for the pumps are also very high. The license costs are less if you have a reservoir, but my operation is too small for such a thing.”

“They tell you to build a reservoir, but the outlay needed starts at £100,000,” said James Winter, who owns a ranch with 50 cattle in Huntingdon (£1=US\$1.60).

Martin Downs, a tenant grain farmer who works 65 acres in Lincolnshire, said his landlord, Castle Cement, doubled his rent a few years ago. “We used to have land with a reservoir on it,” he said, “but that part

was taken over for a quarry owned by Castle Cement.”

Most farmers have already sold their crops on forward contracts, based on predictions of the future price. If they don’t have enough harvest to deliver on the agreement, they have to buy from elsewhere to cover it. The only way out of the contract is to pay large fines, which few can afford.

The drought adds to a tightening squeeze on working farmers. Youleite Parkes, who farms in Reigate, Surrey, says she and her husband receive 23–24 pence per liter, but the costs of production are 30 pence. James Winter said he knew fellow pig farmers who were losing £22 for every animal they breed.

The National Farmers Union, dominated by large wealthy farmers, has done little to challenge the government’s indifference to the im-



Militant/Hugh Robertson

Tenant grain farmer Martin Downs, left, explains to *Militant* reporter Paul Davies that landlord not only doubled his rent a few years ago, but took over land where he had a reservoir.

pact on small farmers. “The government is talking about what it can do to help. But short of doing a rain dance, there’s not much that can be done,”

Jenny Bashford, the group’s water policy advisor, told the press.

Paul Davies contributed to this article.

Action set to defend Maryland abortion clinic

BY JANICE LYNN

Defenders of women’s right to choose abortion are mobilizing to respond to “Summer of Mercy” demonstrations July 30–August 7 in Germantown, Maryland, organized by Operation Rescue and other rightist groups dedicated to ending access to legal abortion.

The nine days of anti–women’s rights actions are directed at Dr. LeRoy Carhart, one of a small handful of doctors who perform abortions beyond the 21st week of pregnancy.

Rightist actions will include “street rallies” and “prayer events,” says Operation Rescue’s website. “The event

will culminate on Sunday, August 7 at 2:00 p.m. with attendees forming a unique ‘Cross 4 Life’ along the streets near Carhart’s late-term abortion clinic in Germantown.”

Carhart has been performing abortions at the Germantown Reproductive Health Services clinic since early December. He worked with Dr. George Tiller for 11 years until Tiller was murdered in May 2009 by rightist Scott Roeder.

Some 400 opponents of a woman’s right to choose picketed the clinic last January 23. The rightists were answered by about two dozen pro-choice demonstrators.

The 45th national conference of the

National Organization for Women, held in Tampa, Florida, June 24–26, adopted a resolution backing the Maryland abortion rights actions and similar activities in Orlando, Florida, July 16–23, where Operation Rescue has also announced demonstrations.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party found interest among a layer of the 400 participants at the conference in discussing the fight for women’s liberation as a fundamental part of the working-class struggle to replace the crisis-ridden system of capitalist rule with that of working people. Seventeen signed up for subscriptions and two dozen bought single copies.

Books on fight for women’s rights



Abortion Is a Woman’s Right! by Pat Grogan

Why abortion rights are central not only to the fight for the full emancipation of women, but to forging a united and fighting labor movement. \$6

- **Problems of Women’s Liberation** by Evelyn Reed \$15

- **Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women** By Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, and Mary-Alice Waters \$15

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THE MILITANT

Free the Cuban Five!

The ‘Militant’ backs the fight to free the Cuban Five, revolutionaries framed up by the U.S. government and jailed since 1998. They remain in prison with sentences raging from 15 years to double life plus 15 years as part of punishing Cuba for remaining an example of living socialist revolution.



In cartoon by Gerardo Hernández, one of Cuban Five, Uncle Sam says: “Cuba sure hurts” as he can’t swallow the island.

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Boom-and-bust cycle

Continued from front page
views about immigration and the militarization of the U.S. borders, the impact of the capitalist economic crisis on working people, how the *Militant* has supported coal miners in the fight for safety, and why socialists decided to sell the paper in this area, she said, “Welcome to the reservation.” She got a single issue of the paper and said she would consider subscribing.

Over the past three weeks, members of the Socialist Workers Party have met hundreds of workers in coal-field areas across the country eager to discuss how working people can defend ourselves and fight for political power to end capitalist rule along with its wars and social crises that are devastating workers’ lives. Some have welcomed our support for the right of women to choose abortion and for legalization of immigrant workers, while we’ve debated these questions with others.

In late June teams with the *Militant* visited the coal and oil fields of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Wyoming. Members of the Socialist Workers Party sold introductory subscriptions to 42 workers, along with 93 single copies of the paper and six books offered at a special discount to new readers.

Those results bring to 177 the total subscriptions sold during the two-and-a-half-week effort in the coalfield regions, which also included Alabama, southwestern Pennsylvania, southern West Virginia, southern Illinois, and Utah. More than 325 single issues of the paper were sold, along with 35 books.

At the portal of the McKinley Mine on the Navajo Nation in Window Rock, Arizona, 15 coal miners stopped to pick up the paper, and one bought an introductory subscription. The mine owners are in the process of closing the mine and have already laid off some 300 workers. Some of these laid-off miners are now working at a mine in Kemmerer, Wyoming, where another team of socialist workers selling the paper met a few of them. Eleven copies of the *Militant* and one subscription were sold at the Kemmerer Mine.

In Rangely, Colorado, most of the dozen subscriptions sold were to young workers with jobs in the “oil patch.” One worker, who bought a subscription outside his apartment after a long day of work, described the

grueling pace of the job, as well as the boom-and-bust cycle. The oil companies sometimes push the mostly young workforce 70 or more hours a week, and then cut hours to the point where workers can barely make it.

Many younger workers in the oil fields said they are making \$12–\$14 an hour for dangerous and difficult work. Many told us they get no health coverage.

We learned through experience to sell later in the day in order to reach more of these workers coming home from the job. Going door to door with the paper earlier in the day, the percentage of workers we met who are retired or unemployed was considerably higher.

Mining and oil extraction companies are hiring in the western coalfield areas. Workers point to a relentless push for production, as the companies try to rake in as much profit as possible while there is a market for energy products—safety be damned. Meanwhile, as in other states, public workers face mounting job losses and cuts in pay, as local governments put the burden of the capitalist crisis on the backs of working people.

Following up on the spring subscription campaign and the coalfield teams, Socialist Workers Party branches are organizing discussions with those who are interested in revolutionary working-class politics. As SWP members get in touch with these workers about renewing their subscriptions, we are talking with them about joining us in political events, bringing solidarity to union picket lines, participating in social protests. We’re working with some of them to organize a discussion about socialist perspectives with coworkers or friends in their neighborhoods or cities and together to visit other workers to talk about the *Militant*.

Party branches take up where circulation director left off

BY STEVE CLARK

This spring the *Militant* established a circulation director and asked Paul Mailhot to take on that responsibility. Mailhot traveled to Wisconsin and other parts of the Midwest, to the Pacific Coast, and elsewhere to help step up efforts to respond to the growing openness the Socialist Workers Party is finding among workers this year to a revolutionary working-class course.

Mailhot’s front-page article describes results over the past few weeks of the teams of party members and supporters he helped organize to sell subscriptions and books on revolutionary working-class politics to workers in the coalfields of both the eastern and western United States.

At this point in that ongoing political effort, Socialist Workers Party branches are organizing to take the next steps, and the *Militant* will no longer have a circulation director. As part of the SWP branch in New York, Mailhot will now join with others working jobs there to extend the reach of the *Militant* and recruit to the communist movement.

Greek workers protest gov’t layoffs, wage cuts



Militant/Georges Mehrabian

ATHENS, Greece—Thousands of workers marched on the Greek parliament June 28 as part of a 48-hour strike called by the country’s union federations. Actions were held to protest a second round of austerity measures being pushed by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement-led government that include further wage cuts, layoffs, and reductions in pensions. The European Union and International Monetary Fund have made releasing loans designed to stave off a default in interest payments on Greek sovereign debt contingent on pushing through the austerity. Parliament voted by a slim majority June 29 to approve the measures.

—GEORGES MEHRABIAN

‘Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and Road to Workers Power’ out in Greek

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece—*Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes was recently released in Greek by the Athens-based publishing house Diethnes Vima (International Forum). The new book contains a selection of documents and photos from the English-language book published by Pathfinder Press with the same title. (See ad on this page.)

As of the end of June, 63 copies had been ordered by 12 bookstores in Ath-

ens and Thessaloniki.

Two copies of the book were picked up at a June 28 protest strike here against government austerity. Five other copies have been sold at strike actions over the past month.

Diethnes Vima is planning book launchings in Athens, Hania-Crete, and Thessaloniki this fall to promote the new book along with *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, published late last year.

Both books are available through Pathfinder Press.

—CALENDAR—

A film about the Cuban Five

Five Cuban revolutionaries—Gerardo Hernández, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, and Fernando González—held in U.S. jails on frame-up charges since 1998.

Screening of Documentary: *Will the Real Terrorist Please Stand Up.*
Q & A with director Saul Landau.

Tues., July 26, 7 p.m.
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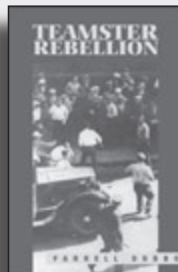
\$10 donation. *Laemmle’s Monica 4-Plex*, 1332 2nd St. Tel.: (323) 295-2600. Sponsored by Cinema Libre Studio, International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5, Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law.

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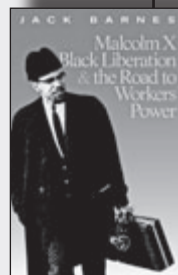
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The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

by Jack Barnes ~~\$3~~ **\$2 with subscription**

Contact distributors on page 6—subscription rates on page 2

Pathfinder Press

Canadian miners' union to investigate workers' deaths

BY JOE YOUNG

MONTREAL—Two miners—Jordan Fram, 26, and Jason Chenier, 35—were killed June 8 at Vale's Stobie nickel mine near Sudbury, Ontario, amid the company's drive for profit. The two miners were buried by a run of "muck," a mixture of loose rock and water, at one of the mine's ore passes, vertical openings where ore is dropped to a lower level for handling.

Some 3,000 members of United Steelworkers (USW) Local 6500 conducted a hard-fought one-year strike against Vale, a Brazil-based mining giant that operates a number of mines in Canada. The strike ended when the workers voted in July 2010 to accept a contract that included concessions the company was determined to impose. The new contract stripped workers' ability to file reports on safety concerns without approval from a company foreman. New hires were also given inferior pensions, creating a differentiation among miners—a question union-conscious miners have traditionally viewed as a safety question itself.

One miner, who asked not to be identified for fear of company reprisal, said there has been a significant increase in on-the-job injuries since the end of the strike.

The union announced June 29 that it decided to conduct its own investigation of the Stobie deaths, independent of the company, a departure from previous practice. "The USW believes the rights of the families and members will be better served if we investigate

independently as the final company proposal for a joint investigation would limit our ability to investigate to our standards and expectations," said local president Rick Bertrand.

During mining, loose material including rock and sand are produced. If the material gets mixed with water it becomes a viscous and potentially dangerous mass of muck.

Following the miners' deaths, the Ontario Ministry of Labour issued nine orders at the Stobie mine, including three stop-work injunctions. One order says that the ore pass where the miners died cannot be used until the source of water that entered it has been determined and any hazards to workers eliminated. The ministry has one year to issue its report on the deaths.



Strike rally by Vale nickel miners and smelters in Sudbury, Ontario, January 2010. After one-year strike company eliminated workers' right to file safety reports on their own. Two miners were killed at mine June 8 amid what workers describe as deteriorating safety conditions.

Workers in Illinois coalfields snatch up 'Militant'

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

SALINE COUNTY, Illinois—The question of safety in the mines was among the main concerns expressed by working people in this coal region when visited by a *Militant* sales team June 23–25. Twenty people signed up for subscriptions to the paper and more than 50 bought single copies.

"Are they going to shut that mine down?" a coal hauler asked as he pulled his loaded truck to the side of the road to buy a *Militant* near the Willow Lake Mine north of Equality. "These companies are all the same," he said, recounting press reports that the Peabody-owned mine could be shut down for safety violations.

A Willow Lake supervisor was killed in an underground haulage incident last year. The mine is among 15 across the country that were cited June 28 for serious safety violations by the Mine Safety and Health Administration.

The 444 miners at Willow Lake voted by a narrow margin in May to organize into the United Mine Workers of America in their fight to establish a contract with a pension plan and safety provisions, including a union safety committee. Peabody is appeal-

ing the union vote.

"The company has told us they will give us a \$5 raise to \$28 an hour, as soon as we get the union out," a miner told the *Militant*. "They say they already have the money for us. The only thing standing in their way is the union."

Some of the miners at Willow Lake work for third-party contractors, a common practice today designed to sow divisions and thereby undermine workers' capacity to fight around safety and other questions. "The contracting company I work for gets \$55 an hour to provide cheap labor for Peabody, but we only get \$12 an hour," explained a miner in his 20s. "Even if the union wins, it won't affect those of us working for contractors."

Working people in Johnson City, already hard hit by the economic crisis and the devastating effects of recent flooding, were angry about this week's announcement by Mayor Jim Mitchell that all but a "skeleton crew" of city workers will no longer have their jobs.

A woman whose husband works

in a nearby mine told us that they already pay for private garbage collection, and high taxes "for everything, including the repaired porch you are standing on."

"My father was a union miner," she said, as she bought a copy of the paper. "To this day he still won't cross a picket line. But the mines opening now aren't union."

A retired worker who invited us into his home to talk said that his son had been a miner, but "now he does those inspections. He doesn't like it, though, because it seems that all they do is write up safety violations and nothing is done about them."

A construction worker who said he was "glad to see that the Willow Lake miners voted the UMWA in" was among those who subscribed to the paper in the town of Harrisburg. After looking at *El Militante*, the Spanish-language section of the paper, his friend tried to talk him out of subscribing. "It's for *them*!" she exclaimed. "It's for *us*—working people," he responded as he filled out the subscription card.

China: 3 die, dozens trapped in coal mines

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Two coal mine disasters in China July 2 killed at least three workers. Some 40 others remain trapped underground.

After a cave-in at a mine in the southeastern city of Heshan, rescue workers found the bodies of three miners. Another 19 are still trapped "in a difficult-to-reach section of a mine shaft" more than 1,200 feet below ground, reported Xinhua, the official Chinese government news agency, July 2. About 50 miners were working underground at the time of the collapse.

In the other incident, 21 miners were trapped following a flood inside the Niupeng coal mine in Guizhou Province. According to Xinhua, 29 workers were underground when the mine was inundated, with eight making it to the surface safely.

Poor safety conditions in both state-run and private mines in China kill or maim thousands of workers each year. According to government statistics, 2,433 miners died in 2010 while working in coal mines, a rate of more than six workers a day.

From March through June of this year 203 miners were killed in 26 different incidents, most as a result of explosions and floods.

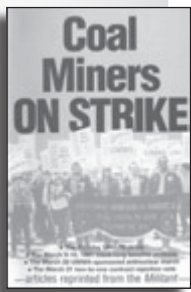
COAL MINERS ON STRIKE

By Andy Rose, Nancy Cole

Articles on the 111-day 1977–78 miners' strike, the 1981 strike and contract rejection vote, and the fight for health benefits and compensation to black lung victims, and more.—\$7

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San Francisco drivers pressed to work under rejected contract

BY BETSEY STONE

SAN FRANCISCO—Bus, light rail, and cable car drivers for the Municipal Transportation Agency (Muni) here are being forced to work under a takeback contract recently negotiated by union officials and Muni management.

Members of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A rejected the contract June 8 by a vote of 994 to 488. But less than a week later they were overruled by a so-called "independent" arbitrator.

The system of binding arbitration for the 2,200 transit workers was put in place with passage last November of Proposition G, a ballot measure funded by big-business interests in the city. The capitalist media campaigned in favor of Proposition G, blaming the drivers for chronic transit funding shortages and deterioration of the system.

At bus barns here drivers expressed outrage at the vilification they face in the media. While their pay is being frozen for three years, they said their main concern is the new work rules.

A driver with 32 years' experience, who like others did not want his name used for fear of company reprisal, explained that management now has complete control over schedules, assignment of runs, suspensions, firings, and the outcome of accident investigations, with no union input.

"It's like they are standing above us with an ax over our head," said another worker. "There are going to be accidents. With the crowded streets, the congestion."

"The way they try to tweak these runs, you can end up working many hours without a break or lunch," he pointed out.

Also troubling, many drivers said, was the contract's opening of the floodgates to hiring part-timers as part of instituting more "flexible" work schedules and cutting back non-rush-hour service. "Workers need full-time jobs to make it," one commented.

One of the drivers subscribed to the *Militant*; 27 have bought single copies.

Protest strike in UK

Continued from front page
ers in the public sector from 60 to 66. Demonstrators carried signs, printed and hand-written, reading, “Pay more, work longer, get less,” “Work till you die or strike till you win,” and “No cuts.”
“I’m marching with the rest of the country because I don’t think we should have our pensions cut in this way by the government,” Peter Austin, a music teacher at Hornsey School and a member of the ATL, told the *Militant*.

Leaders of the government parties—the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats—and of the opposition Labour Party all condemned the protest. Prime Minister David Cameron called the actions “irresponsible” and “wrong for the good of the country.”

Edward Miliband, leader of the Labour Party, called on the unions to call off the work stoppage and urged Labour members of parliament to cross the picket lines to go to work that day. These strikes “are wrong at a time when negotiations are still going on,” he told the BBC. Supporting measures of his own to cut state spending on the backs of workers, Miliband says the government is moving “too far, too fast.” Many marchers expressed anger over the Labour Party leader’s stand.

As in the United States and across Europe, the government here is seeking to divide public workers from those who work for private capitalists. Bourgeois politicians say that “taxpayers” should not subsidize “privileged” public sector workers, pointing to the fact that many businesses long ago abandoned similar pensions schemes. While some buy into this argument, many other workers reject these divisive claims.

“I’m happy that workers from the private sector are here in support and solidarity,” said Lynn, a teacher in Tower Hamlets. “The government tries to divide public and private workers, and it makes all of us weaker,” she added.

Marcher Chris Thurlby, a teacher at Riverly Primary in Leyton, told this reporter, “Today is about the pensions, but we all recognize that in the last year things are getting tighter. Everyone is being squeezed more and more.”
Despite talk of “recovery” by the government and big-business media, the squeeze described by Thurlby and many other workers on the march shows no sign of easing up.

Figures released July 1 show that manufacturing activity has slowed to a 21-month low. According to the Office of National Statistics, gross domestic product fell by 6.4 percent during this recession, substantially more than the 4.6 percent decline recorded in the downturn of the early 1980s and the 2.5 percent drop in 1991. Official unemployment stands at 7.7 percent, or 2.4 million workers, and at 19.4 percent for youth between ages 18 and 24. Not counted in those figures are 1.2 million people working part time because they can’t find a full-time job. Long-term unemployment—those out of work for more than two years—continues to rise.

Workers’ wages also buy less. Disposable income has dropped 2.7 percent in the last year, the biggest one-year drop since 1977. Earlier this year Mervyn King, governor of the Bank of England, forecast that by the end of 2011 real wages will have fallen for six consecutive years. The last time that happened was in the 1920s.

Britain: ‘Gov’t wants us to work until we drop’



Militant/Hugo Wils

Members and supporters of Communist League in London and Manchester engaged in discussions with hundreds of workers on June 30 United Kingdom demonstrations against austerity measures, as well as in workplaces and door to door in working-class neighborhoods. They sold 14 subscriptions to the *Militant* and books and pamphlets on revolutionary politics. Above, young worker signs up for subscription in Manchester.

“I support the strikes. The fight for a livable pension affects everyone,” said Jacek Mystkowski, a bakery worker in London who did not participate in the action. “The government wants us to work until we drop.”

Vanessa Martins, a factory worker who bought a subscription to the *Militant* at her home in Dagenham, pointed out that “back home in Portugal the government has been doing the same thing.”

—ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ

Washington extends drone strikes to Somalia

Continued from front page
es in Somalia since 18 U.S. troops were killed in the highly publicized “Black Hawk Down” battle in 1993 when U.S. forces were occupying the country.

Drone strikes rise in Pakistan

As of June 30, 213 drone strikes in Pakistan have reportedly been carried out under Obama. Some 46 drone strikes were launched between 2004 and early January 2009 under former president George W. Bush.

While Obama recently announced the withdrawal of 33,000 U.S. troops from Afghanistan by September 2012, the course of the White House

and Pentagon is to continue expanding hunter-killer operations and drone assassinations.

As of June 28, Washington had launched 42 drone attacks in Libya since its April announcement that it would end airstrikes there.

The Pentagon is providing a \$45 million package of military equipment to Uganda and Burundi—two African Union countries with about 9,000 troops patrolling Somalia. This includes four shoulder-launched unarmed Raven drones, surveillance systems, and “trainers.”

At the end of June, the Obama administration released its first “National Strategy for Counterterrorism.”

It calls for expanding special operations and drone strikes, in particular against Yemen-based al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and al-Shabab in Somalia.

“Our best offense won’t always be deploying large armies abroad but delivering targeted, surgical pressure,” stated John Brennan, President Obama’s counterterrorism advisor, in a speech June 29 elaborating on the document.

“We increased the size of our Special Forces, sped up the deployment of unique assets” (e.g. drones) and “ensured that our military and intelligence professionals are working more closely than ever before,” he said.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

U.S. and NATO Troops Out of Afghanistan! Hands Off Pakistan, Iraq, and Libya! Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Socialist Workers Party in New York Launches Election Campaign for U.S. Congress in the 9th Congressional District. Speakers: Chris Hoepfner, SWP candidate; Steve Clark, *Militant* editor. Sat., July 9. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 307 W 36th St., 10th floor (north elevators). Tel.: (212) 736-2540.

TEXAS

Houston

U.S. and NATO Troops Out of Afghanistan! No Attacks on Pakistan! Speaker: Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m. 4800 W 34th St., Suite C-50L. Tel.: (713) 688-4919.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Why Are Women Always Paid Less? Speaker: Annalucia Vermunt, Communist League. Fri., July 15, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged; \$2 unwaged. 4/125 Grafton Rd. Tel.: (09) 369-1223.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 18, 1986

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—In what government officials here call “the bloodiest terrorist action this year,” mercenaries financed by Washington blew up a truck filled with peasants July 3. Twelve children, 12 women, and 8 men were murdered. All 32 were civilians.

The same day other mercenaries opened fire on the passenger boat that ferries working people from the town of Rama in central Nicaragua to the port of Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast.

The July 3 slaughter in northern Nicaragua and on the boat to Bluefields occurred less than two weeks after the U.S. House of Representatives approved \$100 million for the mercenaries it claims are “freedom fighters.”



July 10 & 17, 1961

The fight to end racial segregation at the municipally owned swimming pool in Monroe, North Carolina, threatens to break into armed conflict. Teen-aged pickets, led by Robert F. Williams, local president of the NAACP, began picketing the pool June 18. Two days later city officials closed the pool for “repairs.” Williams announced that as soon as the pool re-opened “wade-in” action would be taken.

White supremacists threatened to kill any wade-in participants. Williams and other Monroe Negroes responded by openly carrying guns (legally permitted in N.C.) in areas where white racists are known to hang out. Shots were fired over the heads of pickets as the protest against racial segregation continued.



December 12, 1936

Mass delegations representing the American Federation of Government Employees and the Workers’ Alliance stormed the San Francisco Headquarters Saturday to protest the wholesale lay-offs of W.P.A. [Works Progress Administration] employees.

A delegation from the AFGE of about 200 members demand[ed] the reinstatement of those laid-off and withdrawal of the program for further curtailment of the personnel. Coupled with the militant action of the AFGE, a delegation of 300 members of the Workers’ Alliance, locally composed of WPA laborers, carried on a demonstration on its own part.

Some 300 members stormed the office of State Supervisor Wakefield with essentially the same demands.

Reaching out to GIs in fight against Vietnam War

Below is an excerpt from Out Now! A Participant's Account of the Movement in the United States against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead. It is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for July. From 1960 to 1975 Washington's military intervention—aimed at thwarting the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination—killed more than 2 million Indochinese and almost 60,000 U.S. soldiers. Reaching out to GIs was an important political component of building a mass movement against this war with the demand "Bring the Troops Home Now." Among those fighting for this perspective were the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), who insisted that GIs had a right to express their opinions on the war in Vietnam and organize against it. Copyright © 1978 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY FRED HALSTEAD

[As] antiwar activity among GIs became widespread and a number of soldiers who had been active YSAers in civilian life were prominently involved, it was assumed by many within the movement that the YSA had deliberately sent people into the army. This was never the case. They were drafted. Nor did the YSAers quietly allow themselves to be drafted. As a general rule, YSAers called by the draft would notify



Militant: left, Howard Petrick; right, David Warren
Left, Vietnam veterans against war march from Morristown, New Jersey, to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, September 1970. Right, 500 GIs join Oct. 12, 1968, march in San Francisco.

the authorities in writing of their antiwar position and declare their intention to maintain these views and express them within the army. . . .

The YSA and SWP preferred to keep their members in civilian life if possible, where they could organize freely and spend far more time on antiwar activity—not to mention socialist political work—than was possible in the army. They had no illusion that their own small forces could make a critical difference—except by occasional example—in activities within the army, which were tenuous and difficult at best.

The proletarian military policy was a political approach, not an adventure, not a fad, and certainly not a gimmick. It advocated pointing the antiwar movement toward the great mass of ordinary working class Americans, including those in the military, and including the 99 percent who were not opposed on principle to all military service.

Nor did those of us in the YSA and SWP view GI antiwar activity as a substitute for building the antiwar movement in the civilian population. On the contrary, it was our view that the civilians were the key force. Without a mass antiwar movement in the civilian population the GI movement could never get beyond occasional isolated individual acts. There was, however, an important reciprocal factor. Any antiwar stand by

GIs carried great weight with the civilian population and cut, like nothing else could, through the "support our boys" demagoguery of the hawks. Conversely, the more massive the civilian movement, the easier it was for the GIs to express their own opposition to the war.

In addition, we in the SWP also had our hopes that a GI movement could develop which would have a direct effect on the war machine. We knew this was at least theoretically possible, because it had happened before. Not only in extreme situations of social collapse like Russia of 1917, but within the U.S. military itself in what was called the "going home movement" following World War II.

In late 1945 and early 1946 the huge U.S. overseas military machine had to be hastily demobilized, contrary to plan, because of a massive campaign by GIs which had broad support in the civilian population at home. This movement involved contact with trade union and other groups within the U.S., petitions to Congress, distribution of literature by the GIs themselves on military facilities, and even large demonstrations by men in uniform. These activities took place both in Europe and the Pacific.

Although this movement had been virtually ignored in history books, a dim memory of it remained and had been kept alive in particular in the SWP, which considered it an important his-

torical development. As an eighteen-year-old sailor in the U.S. Seventh Fleet in China waters, I had seen a part of this movement personally, though I had nothing to do with organizing it.

At the time the part of the fleet I was with was actually involved in the Chinese civil war—another fact rarely mentioned in the history books—ferrying Chiang Kai-shek's troops to Northern China to fight the Communists. The GIs I was acquainted with had by and large accepted the Second World War as some kind of necessity. But we knew nothing about the Chinese civil war until we found ourselves involved, and we wanted no part of it. It was not so much a political mood as a simple desire to go home, though I remember some of the GI orators using words like "imperialism" in their agitation. As I recall, the organizers were older than I was, usually noncommissioned officers with some sort of specialized skills and a background of trade union experience.

I remember that at the time it was considered no big thing for GIs to be painting banners or turning out leaflets on military mimeograph machines, or even requisitioning space on military airplanes to attend distant meetings. I observed one of these meetings at the Red Cross building in Shanghai, which was a gathering place for GIs in the area. The lobby had a big banner in it: "GIs Unite—We Want to Go Home!"

If the officers didn't like these goings-on, there was not much they could do about it. The sentiment was too widespread and they were too dependent in day-to-day life on the noncommissioned officers who were participating. The movement was finally halted by decree, but this was possible only because the rapid demobilization had already begun and was irreversible, at least as far as that body of men was concerned.

In 1965 and 1966 we in the SWP thought a lot about that earlier experience and described it on every possible occasion to other antiwar activists. Could anything like that develop among American GIs in Vietnam? We weren't sure, but we didn't exclude it. And we did what we could to press the point that GIs had a right—if anyone did—to express their opinions on the war in Vietnam, and to organize and demonstrate against it.

July BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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Socialists run in N.Y. election

Continued from front page
bent Anthony Weiner, previously a rising liberal star in the party.

Hoeppner announced that the SWP is organizing a one-week petitioning effort to collect the signatures necessary to place his name on the ballot as the party's candidate. The state's conditions to gain ballot status, implemented without complaint by Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo, are so onerous that the *New York Times* felt compelled to run a July 4 editorial headlined "New York's Especially Undemocratic Elections"—a rare criticism by the paper's editors of the state's recently elected and (in some Democratic Party circles) sainted chief executive.

With Cuomo's July 1 "proclamation" of the special election—made on the Friday of the Fourth of July weekend—and the deadline for filing nominating petitions set for Wednesday, July 13, the procedure is stacked from the outset to ensure that the Queens Democratic Party machine handpicks the party's candidate. "If an outsider wants to get on the ballot," the editorial said, "he or she will have to collect 3,500 signatures by July 13. Fat chance."

The Socialist Workers Party decided not to leave it to "chance," Hoeppner said. It is organizing supporters to hit the streets for four days between Friday, July 8, and Monday, July 11, in order to collect well over the required signatures. The party will run write-in candidates in one or more of four special elections in the city for the New York State Assembly, as well.

A revolutionary course

"We're taking our campaign to the working people of the district, many of whom have begun to consider that the cause of today's worsening conditions may be the capitalist system itself," Hoeppner said.

"We're reaching out to working people in these parts of Queens and Brooklyn, as well as others across the city interested in the special election, who welcome a discussion about why we must chart a revolutionary course to replace the bloated, blood-soaked government serving the interests of a handful of wealthy ruling families," Hoeppner said, "replace it with the state power of workers and farmers."

"In recent months," he said, "party members have found that growing numbers of workers are open to our explanation that a revolutionary struggle of this kind by the working class and our exploited allies is both inescapable and necessary."

Hoeppner, who works in an electronics assembly factory in the 9th C.D., was born and raised in Queens, the son of a New York City fireman. He has been active in the Socialist Workers Party and in social and political struggles defending the interests of the working class and unions for nearly 40 years.

Hoeppner said he and supporters of the SWP campaign are taking the *Militant* newsweekly and books and pamphlets about revolutionary working-class politics to workers across the district. "We're urging them to join us in taking part in political, social protest, and union activities here in New York and beyond. And to invite SWP representatives to come speak about the campaign at a house or apartment,

a community center, or a school or library basement."

Among other things, he said, supporters of the socialist campaign will be traveling to Germantown, Maryland, between July 31 and August 6 to join with others to defend a woman's right to choose abortion. Operation Rescue and other opponents of women's rights have announced plans to organize demonstrations targeting a clinic there.

"If women don't have the right to decide if and when to give birth to a child," the socialist candidate said, "then they can't take part as equals in social and political life. This is a decisive question for the working class."

Hoeppner said his supporters are helping to publicize and will participate in an annual July 26 celebration in New York to get out the truth about and defend the socialist revolution in Cuba. "What workers and farmers in Cuba did more than half a century ago in overturning capitalist rule and bringing to power a revolutionary government of working people," Hoeppner said, "is an example supporters of the SWP campaign will point to time and again."

Capitalist crisis

As shown by the breakdown of capitalist banking, production, and trade since 2007, Hoeppner said, each round of the crises of this profit-driven system since the 1970s "gets bigger—and more ruinous for working people—than the one that hit us before."

"Workers and farmers are *living*



Boeing workers strike over pensions and medical benefits in Long Beach, California, in May 2010. "There's no such thing as a 'secure retirement' or 'reliable medical plan' under capitalist rule," says socialist candidate Hoeppner.

this social disaster," he said. "Not only in Queens and Brooklyn but in small towns and rural areas across the country, from New York to the Dakotas to California," the socialist candidate said. "This is also what faces workers and farmers from Greece, to the United Kingdom, to Spain—and across the oppressed nations of the Americas, Africa, and Asia, where depression conditions continue to grow worse for the big majority."

As always, Hoeppner said, the propertied rulers—and their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans—accompany their stepped-up attacks on wages, on line speed, and on job safety with a tightening squeeze on

the political rights of workers and farmers.

"They go after our ability to speak, organize, and *act* to defend ourselves and to mobilize solidarity with other working people across the United States and around the world.

"With help from both houses of Congress," he said, "the Obama administration is extending the constriction of our rights by prior administrations. They are making it easier for FBI, CIA, and other spy agencies to tap our phones, email, and Internet communications, eroding any pretense of the privacy necessary for human dignity. They are making it

Continued on page 10

March against anti-immigrant law in Georgia

Continued from front page
law has a huge impact on us."

Under the new legislation, people convicted of using false identification to get a job in Georgia can face up to 15 years in prison and as much as \$250,000 in fines. Phased in over the next year and a half, HB 87 will require businesses with more than 10 employees to use the federal E-Verify system to check the immigration status of new hires.

A federal judge suspended two provisions of the law June 27. One is a section that would punish people who,

while committing another offense, "transport or harbor" undocumented immigrants or encourage them to come to the state. The other provision would authorize local cops to check the immigration status of "suspects" not carrying IDs.

On July 1, the day the law went into effect, many working people participated in a "day without immigrants" and skipped work.

"The store managers talked one-on-one with each worker to convince us individually to come in to work on July 1," said Fredy Huinil, who works at H-Mart

in Duluth, Georgia. "Even though they offered extra pay for those who worked, many of us took off anyway."

"We told the boss we would not be coming to work July 1 to protest the new law," said Elias Pérez, who works in a warehouse that distributes handbags in Suwanee, Georgia. "They threatened to fire those who didn't show up. Sixteen out of 20 of us didn't work and they fired us."

"Maybe they're not 'supposed to' be here, but when I see people fighting for their rights, I support that," said Lumie Tolbert, Jr., an unemployed heavy equipment operator from Newnan, Georgia, who attended the rally. Tolbert was among 60 participants who bought copies of the *Militant*, 10 of whom purchased subscriptions.

According to a recent survey requested by Georgia governor Nathan Deal, there are some 11,000 job openings in the state's agricultural sector, which relies heavily on immigrant workers as a source of superexploitable labor. Growers say the new law has contributed to a shortage of farm labor.

In a recent comment on the law, Deal suggested farmers should hire people on probation to toil in the fields instead.

Capitalist politicians are increasingly scapegoating immigrant workers for joblessness and seeking ways to undermine the solidarity of working people as the capitalist crisis deepens. "There are a lot of people out there that are desperate to feed their family," said state legislator Matt Ramsey, the author of HB 87. "People will do just about anything when times are tough."



Juan Liverance

More than 10,000 protest June 2 in Atlanta against Georgia state anti-immigrant law HB 87.

Hong Kong conference discusses overseas

Panel debates Obama's record, capitalist crisis, Chinese in Cuban R

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HONG KONG—Some 170 people attending an international conference here June 21–22 discussed the history and place of Chinese living in countries around the world.

The event, organized by the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) in conjunction with the Anthropology Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), drew participants from 23 countries. The largest numbers of researchers, students, and teachers were from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Many came from across East Asia—including Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, and Myanmar. Others were from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, Spain, and elsewhere in Europe.

The conference, held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, was one of the regional events ISSCO organizes in a different country almost every year. Previous locations have included Havana, Cuba; Pretoria, South Africa; and Auckland, New Zealand. The next regional gathering will be held in Seoul, South Korea, in June 2012. The organization held an international congress last year in Singapore; the next one is scheduled for 2013 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Participants were welcomed by ISSCO president Leo Suryadinata, director of the Chinese Heritage Centre of Singapore; ISSCO vice president and CUHK professor Tan Chee-Beng; and officials of the university. Charles Coppel of the University of Melbourne, Australia, gave a keynote speech focusing on Chinese of mixed ancestry and culture—known as Peranakan Chinese—in Indonesia as well as Malaysia and Singapore.

The three dozen panels held over two days, in either English or Chinese, took up the history and development of the Chinese populations in various countries.

The theme of the conference was “Overseas Chinese: Culture, Religions, and Worldview.”

In one panel, Teresita Ang See, secretary-treasurer of ISSCO and president of the Kaisa Heritage Center in Manila,



Leung Ming Wah
A lively debate on politics in United States and Cuba took place at June 22 panel discussion during conference of International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) held in Hong Kong. From left, moderator Sidney Cheung of the Chinese University of Hong Kong; Ling-chi Wang, retired professor at University of California in Berkeley; Evelyn Hu-DeHart of Brown University; and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press. Inset, ISSCO president Leo Suryadinata at June 21 opening of conference.

Philippines, described how Chinese in that country have combined Buddhist, Confucianist, Taoist, and folk practices with elements of Christianity—as seen, for example, in ceremonies devoted to a Chinese Virgin Mary. In another panel, Dwi Susanto of Sebelas Maret University in Indonesia discussed the development of Confucianism as a religion in that country.

There were panels on “Marriage and Changing Gender Roles among the Chinese Diaspora,” “Taiwan’s Changing Policy toward Citizens Abroad,” “Censoring the Chinese Press in the Netherlands Indies,” “Stereotypes and the Chinese Diaspora in Spain,” “Identity Challenges of the Chinese Muslims in Malaysia,” and “Family Transformation: ‘China Modern’ in 19th Century Hong Kong.”

In a panel on “Mississippi Chinese World War II Veterans’ Narratives,” Gwendolyn Gong, who teaches at CUHK, explained that her father was among dozens of Chinese who immigrated to Mississippi shortly before World War II and joined the U.S. armed forces, which allowed them to gain U.S. citizenship. In describing the research project, she detailed how difficult it was even to create a list of Mississippi Chinese who served in World War II because of the way county, state, and federal records were kept. In Mississippi under Jim Crow segregation, Chinese were often classified as “colored” or “nonwhite.”

China, Hong Kong, Taiwan

Some conference discussions touched on the history of Hong Kong, which the British seized as a colony at the end of the first Opium War in 1842. Today an international center of finance and maritime trade with a

population of 7 million, Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997. It became a “Special Administrative Region” that maintains the continuity of capitalist relations there—a setup the Chinese government calls “One Country, Two Systems.”

Hong Kong residents are issued a special Beijing-authorized passport, and many also hold a special British passport that classifies them as “British Nationals (Overseas)” with no automatic right to live or work in the United Kingdom. Sidney Cheung, one of the conference hosts from CUHK, got an appreciative laugh from the audience at the opening session when he noted that according to his passport he wasn’t Chinese but “Overseas British.”

Conference participants from the region described the accelerated migration from mainland China to Hong Kong since 1997, as well as the mushrooming travel—from family visits to daily commutes to and from work—between both sides. Several young people at the conference were CUHK students who grew up in Guangdong province in southern China; some planned to return home, while others hoped to get jobs in Hong Kong after graduation.

Participants from Taiwan noted that today there is also much more travel between mainland China and Taiwan—a consequence of the opening of the Chinese economy to foreign investment and the loosening of the grip of the Kuomintang-led regime in Taiwan. On June 28 the first airplane carrying individual tourists from the People’s Republic of China landed in Taipei; previously the government there allowed visits from the mainland only through organized tour groups. Trade relations have also expanded rapidly between the two territories, and Taiwanese work as consultants in numerous businesses on the mainland.

The status of Taiwan remains a point of conflict internationally. The Beijing government continues to demand the reincorporation of Taiwan, which was

seized by bourgeois forces led by Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) in their retreat from the mainland after they were defeated in the 1949 revolution that brought to power the People’s Republic of China. Taiwan’s independence is backed by Washington, London, Tokyo, and other imperialist powers.

Debate on politics in U.S. and Cuba

One of the panels sparked discussion and debate on politics in the United States and Cuba. The panelists were Ling-chi Wang, a retired professor of Asian American and ethnic studies at the University of California in Berkeley; Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press; and Evelyn Hu-DeHart, director of the Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in America at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. Sidney Cheung of CUHK chaired the session.

Wang, who more than any other in-

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President Barack Obama announces Gary Locke (left) as secretary of commerce, February 2009. Locke, who is Chinese American, has now been named U.S. ambassador to China. “Obama and Locke will continue to represent corporate interests,” said Ling-chi Wang at conference panel.

as Chinese Revolution

dividual was responsible for the 1992 founding of ISSCO, spoke on “2009 as the Defining Year of Chinese American Political Participation: Limits of Minority Participation in American Democracy.” He chronicled the record of the current U.S. administration, contrasting it with the illusions held by many Chinese Americans, Blacks, and others when Barack Obama was elected president. “Are African Americans any better off today with Obama?” he asked. “No.”

Likewise, Wang said, despite the significant number of Chinese Americans appointed by the Obama administration to judicial and executive positions—including three to the cabinet—and the recent election of mayors who are Chinese American in San Francisco; Oakland, California; and elsewhere, “there are severe limits for Chinese American participation in American democracy.

“We mock countries like China as being ruled by one party. Yet America is ruled by only one party. It’s the Capitalist Party, which is supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.”

He pointed to “Obama’s bailout of corporate America” and to the so-called comprehensive health-care reform, which he said benefits insurance and medical complexes, not those who need health care. And Obama had “promised to get us out of war, but now they’re involved in yet another war in Libya.”

He concluded that the only avenue for defending rights and seeking improved conditions for ethnic minorities is through local community struggles. As an example, he pointed to the struggle being waged to complete construction of a community college in San Francisco’s Chinatown.

“The focus now moves, from the world center of the party of capital, to the world center of the revolutionary struggle *against* the party of capital,” Waters said in opening her remarks on “The World View of Chinese in Cuba’s Revolutions.” She is the editor of *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution* by Armando Choy, Gustavo Chui, and Moisés Sio Wong.

Waters noted that Cuba is today unique in “the near absence of discrimination and virtual disappearance of prejudice against Cubans of Chinese descent,” who are integrated “at all levels of society, including the highest levels of responsibility in every arena.” The reason, she said, is that in Cuba workers and farmers took political power 50 years ago and carried out a socialist revolution.

She pointed to 150 years of revolutionary continuity in struggles there, going back to the independence wars against Spanish colonial rule and the international struggle to abolish slavery and bonded labor of all kinds. Chinese toilers—brought as indentured laborers in the mid-1800s—played a prominent role in that struggle. In the 1950s numerous Chinese Cubans participated in the revolutionary war against the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship.

After the 1959 revolutionary victory, many Chinese Cubans assumed leading responsibilities in the new government and in Cuba’s internationalist missions

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Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (left) and *Woman's Evolution*, both available in boxed set in Indonesian.

Preface to Indonesian edition of ‘Woman’s Evolution’

Below is the preface by Mary-Alice Waters to the Indonesian edition of Woman’s Evolution. Waters is president of Pathfinder Press and Evelyn Reed’s literary executor.

The publication of this classic work by Evelyn Reed on the origins of women’s oppression in the Indonesian language, the official tongue of the fourth most populous country in the world, is of great significance.

A scientific understanding of how women came to be “the second sex” is irreplaceable if we are to chart the course of struggle necessary to achieve equality and liberate the full creative and productive capacities of women and men alike.

Woman’s Evolution, which has now been published in at least seven languages, including English, French, Spanish, Turkish, Farsi, and Swedish, places this knowledge in our hands, enabling us to fight for that future—in every corner of the world.

With our best wishes,
Mary-Alice Waters

‘Woman’s Evolution’ is published in Indonesian

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Woman’s Evolution by Evelyn Reed and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* by Frederick Engels, with an introduction by Reed, have recently been published in Indonesia in an attractive boxed set.

The two books provide a Marxist explanation of how women came to be the oppressed sex with the rise of class-divided society several thousand years ago. Even more important, they explain the kind of revolutionary struggle it will take to overturn the capitalist rule and social relations that perpetuate the second-class status of women and make possible the fight by working people to win women’s full emancipation.

Woman’s Evolution was first published in English in 1975 by Pathfinder Press, some 90 years after Engels’s groundbreaking work. The Indonesian edition of *Woman’s Evolution* was launched April 26 by the Jakarta-based group Kalyanamitra. The back cover of the book says Kalyanamitra is a women’s organization working with other groups to “establish a social movement capable of liberating women from all forms of violence, ignorance, poverty and underdevelopment in order to create social and gender justice, and a democratic society in Indonesia.”

Made up of thousands of islands stretching from Asia to Australia, Indonesia has the fourth largest population in the world, 245 million. It has the world’s largest population of Muslims.

The appearance of *Woman’s Evolution* is striking confirmation of the political openings for working people and the oppressed in Indonesia, which a little more than a decade ago was in the grips of one of the bloodiest dictatorships in modern history.

In the early 1960s, as part of the rising struggle in the semicolonial world for

national liberation, there were massive mobilizations of workers and peasants in Indonesia. They occupied factories and land and demanded relief from inflation and the plunder of their country’s resources by imperialist-owned companies.

The Indonesian masses were betrayed by the Communist Party of Indonesia, which was linked to the Mao Zedong-led Communist Party of China. The Indonesian party was at that time the largest CP in the capitalist world, with 3 million members. Urging a political bloc with the “progressive” bourgeoisie against imperialism, the CP diverted workers from seizing political power and establishing their own government, paving the way for a military coup by Maj. Gen. Suharto in 1965. Workers and peasants organizations were crushed and hundreds of thousands of CP members and supporters—along with thousands of ethnic Chinese—were killed, the worst defeat for the workers movement since the triumph of German fascism in 1933.

It was only in 1998 that a popular uprising finally overthrew Suharto.

Kalyanamitra was founded during the Suharto dictatorship, in 1985, “in response to injustices faced by Indonesian women,” its website states. “We fight for oppressed women such as labourers, farmers, fisherwomen and informal sector workers.” The dictatorship banned a newsletter and comic strip for women put out by Kalyanamitra in 1994.

On this page we print the preface to the Indonesian edition of *Woman’s Evolution* by Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press. The books by Reed and by Engels, both in English and Indonesian, are available from Pathfinder (see ad below).



Joko Sulistyono

Above, participants in April 26 meeting in Jakarta, launching Indonesian edition of *Woman’s Evolution* by Evelyn Reed. Inset, speakers at event. From left, Ika Agustina, moderator; Ida Ruwaida, sociologist at Indonesian University, Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality; and Ruth Indiah Rahayu, women’s rights activist. Event was sponsored by women’s group Kalyanamitra, which published book.



Woman’s Evolution

From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family
by Evelyn Reed



An examination of prehistory from cannibalism to culture that uncovers the world of the ancient matriarchy. Reed reveals women’s leading and still largely unknown contributions to the development of civilization, and offers fresh insights on the struggle against women’s oppression and for the liberation of humanity. \$32

Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

by Frederick Engels



How the emergence of class-divided society gave rise to repressive state bodies and family structures that protect the property of the ruling layers and enable them to pass along wealth and privilege. Engels discusses the consequences for working people of these class institutions—from their original forms to their modern versions. \$18

Available in Indonesian: Boxed set of *Woman’s Evolution* and *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. \$35

In Farsi: Two volumes of *Woman’s Evolution*—“The Matriarchy” and “The Patriarchy.” \$16 each.

Pathfinderpress.com

Socialist Workers in N.Y. election

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easier for cops to burst into our apartments and houses, to stop and search us in our cars and on the street, and to deny us the right to keep silent when they haul us away.”

Washington’s reckless wars and military assaults are taking a bloody toll on working people from Afghanistan and Pakistan, to Iraq, Libya, and beyond, Hoeppner said. That is why Socialist Workers campaigners demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops—and a halt to Washington’s drone assassinations and other deadly assaults—anywhere its military operations are under way.

“It is young workers and farmers in uniform who are sent to fight and die in these brutal wars, not the sons and daughters of the rulers or well-off middle-class and professional ‘meritocrats.’

“Just as it is young people from working-class neighborhoods here in New York and across the country who pack the wretched cells and ‘dormitories’ of jails and prisons—some 2.3 million in the United States today, with another 5 million on probation and parole. With more than half held on drug-related charges, with longer and longer mandatory sentences.”

By-product of revolutionary struggle

As we organize to build a mass social movement to fight for workers power, Hoeppner said, working people defend ourselves against attacks by the em-

ployers—and from the normal operations of capitalism itself—that intensify competition among us, block solidarity and class consciousness, and sap our determination and capacity for struggle.

“Whatever concessions we win along the way,” he said, “are a by-product of uncompromising revolutionary struggle.”

In face of record levels of long-term unemployment, the Socialist Workers Party candidate called for federal action to cut the workweek with no reduction in pay to provide jobs for all who are out of work.

“Working people also need to fight for a massive program of government-funded public works to provide jobs building housing, roads, bridges, hospitals, public transportation, child-care centers, and facilities to meet other needs of the working class,” Hoeppner said.

Class interests, not ‘fringes’

The working class today is taking bigger and bigger blows, the socialist candidate said, as a result of the union officialdom’s decades-long class-collaborationist course of negotiating “fringe benefits”—company by company, industry by industry—that are dependent on the bosses’ profits and on pension and health care funds “vested” in stocks and bonds.

“While finding safer spots for their own pensions,” Hoeppner said, “the procapitalist bureaucrats have refused to organize a union-led social movement to fight



Militant/Naomi Craine

American Apparel workers march in Los Angeles, July 2009 to protest mass firings of workers based on ‘no-match’ letters. “Unless labor movement organizes to fight Obama administration’s E-verify ‘immigration audits’ and deportations,” Hoppener said, “bosses’s salami tactics against working people cannot be stopped.”

for the needs of the working class as a whole—from livable pensions and lifetime health care, to jobless benefits that don’t “run out,” to disability compensation and other needs.

“These are not ‘welfare’ or ‘transfer payments,’” he said, “let alone charity. It’s a matter of taking a bigger portion of the surplus wealth working people in city and country—and only working people—produce with our labor, in order to strengthen class solidarity and combativity in face of capitalism’s grinding toll.”

This is also necessary, he pointed out, to cut across the drive by the rulers and their government to divide the working class by pitting workers whose fringe benefits are today under siege—both public employees, and those working for a private boss—against the growing majority of workers who have few or no retirement, medical, or other protections of any kind.

“As the working class is finding out from assaults on Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid by both Democratic and Republican politicians,” the socialist candidate said, “there’s no such thing as ‘a secure retirement’ or ‘reliable medical plan’ under capitalist rule. As the crisis of the profit system deepens, all these can be, and *are being*, taken away by legislative vote, the pen stroke of a governor or president, or a judge’s gavel.”

Organizing immigrant workers, “with or without ‘papers,’ into the labor movement is a life-or-death question for the unions,” Hoeppner said. The hard-fought gains workers won in forging industrial unions in the 1930s have been pushed back for more than 75 years by the officialdom’s political subordination to the bosses’ two-party system and refusal to mount a militant campaign to organize the unorganized. Today the percentage of union workers employed by a private owner is lower than any time since the 1920s, and still sliding.

“Unless the labor movement—as part of a broader working-class-led mobilization to rebuild our unions—organizes to fight the Obama administration’s E-verify ‘immigration audits’ and ongoing deportations, the bosses’ salami tactics against working people cannot be stopped,” Hoeppner said.

For the same reason, the SWP campaign rejects the fake trade-off presented by the capitalists between higher taxes, on the one hand, and, on the other, layoffs of public employees and cuts in government programs needed by working people.

“We don’t have a ‘choice,’” he said. “There will be both higher taxes *and* cuts and layoffs. The bosses are pressing ahead on all fronts. The workers go to the wall either way.”

The Socialist Workers Party, Hoeppner explained, is on the lookout for fighters, for those who are attracted to being part of a revolutionary working-class movement to end capitalist rule, establish workers power, and open the road for the final struggle by working people here and the world over to eliminate exploitation, oppression, and wars once and for all.

To find out how to get involved in the SWP congressional campaign, call 212-736-2540. Or write or stop by the campaign headquarters at 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

Conference discusses overseas Chinese

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backing anti-imperialist struggles in Latin America and Africa, especially in Angola.

Waters pointed to the class divisions among Chinese Cubans before the revolution, noting that they had no single “world view,” nor could have. “The Chinese owner of a sugar mill had a different world outlook from a Chinese cane cutter or street peddler,” she said. After 1959, in line with these divisions, capitalist businessmen who were Chinese left Cuba for the United States and elsewhere, in proportions similar to their non-Chinese peers.

In her talk on “Rethinking the History of Asians in the Americas,” Hu-DeHart focused on the fact that Chinese arrived in the Americas long before the large-scale migrations from China that began in the 1840s. The first Chinese settlements were established in the 1560s as the trans-Pacific galleon trade developed between the Spanish colonies in present-day Mexico and the Philippines.

She began her remarks, however, by urging that Obama be embraced as the first “Asian American” president, noting that he spent part of his childhood in Indonesia, his half-sister is part Indonesian, and his brother-in-law is Chinese Canadian. “Obama is Asian American,” she told a largely sympathetic audience.

During the discussion period, Dean Chen of the University of California in Santa Barbara disputed Lingchi Wang’s conclusions about Obama, arguing that his election had “important symbolic value.” Wang replied that this was true “but symbolism doesn’t put food on the table or create jobs.” He noted that many Blacks who voted for Obama, especially among the majority who are today in worse shape economically, are “turned off” by his administration’s record. While many will cast a ballot to reelect him, large numbers will join “the fastest-growing party in the United States, the party of nonvoters.”

Hu-DeHart disagreed sharply with remarks by the other two panelists. “Asians in both the U.S. and Cuba are for the most part conservative,” she argued. Taking issue with Waters, Hu-DeHart said that in Cuba

“most Chinese did not support [Fidel] Castro. They were petty-bourgeois elements who fled the revolution and went to the U.S. They were shopkeepers and small business owners. They were people for whom socialism was not convenient.”

In response to Wang, Hu-DeHart argued that Chinese Americans “are overwhelmingly opposed to affirmative action” and that “most of them want to join the ranks of corporate America.” Later she added that in the United States “racism doesn’t come from the propertied classes. It comes from the white working class.”

The most important fact about U.S. politics today, Waters insisted, “is how much of a change there’s been in the thinking of working people hit by the economic crisis over the past three years, including the loss of homes, jobs, medical coverage, savings.” Today we see an openness to a clear explanation that the problem is capitalism itself. “This is something new.”

Waters responded that she disagreed with Hu-DeHart that most Chinese Cubans fled the revolution. Contrary to the oft-repeated misperception that there are no Chinese in Cuba anymore, “there are hundreds of thousands of Cubans of Chinese ancestry—overwhelmingly working-class—living in Cuba today. A minority of Chinese Cubans, predominantly from the layers involved in commerce, left the island,” Waters noted.

Wang replied to those who had taken issue with his presentation. “The Chinese American population is bifurcated,” he said. “One part is well off, while another part exists at the margins.” The problem is that Democratic politicians such as Obama and U.S. commerce secretary Gary Locke, who is Chinese American and was recently appointed U.S. ambassador to China, will “continue to represent corporate interests,” Wang said.

The chairperson extended the lively debate beyond the allotted time, but there were still many hands in the air when he announced that time was up. The informal discussion continued into the lunch break.

Following the Hong Kong gathering, two groups of conference participants took part in multiday tours of historic sites in southern China. One visited the city of Quanzhou in Fujian province; the other traveled to the cities of Guangzhou (formerly Canton) and Kaiping in Guangdong province. Both tours focused on places from which many Chinese emigrated to cities around the world and the impact on their native villages as they returned.

Patrick Brown, Linda Harris, and Mary-Alice Waters contributed to this article.

New opening, new schedule

In order to cover the Socialist Workers Party congressional campaign in the special New York election called July 1, we will not publish biweekly in July, as reported in the previous issue. We will publish four issues this month.