

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Olga Salanueva, wife of Cuban 5 revolutionary, on years in US — part II
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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 76/NO. 27 JULY 23, 2012

Imperialist embargo takes toll on Iran toilers

BY LOUIS MARTIN

The imperialist drive against Iran has intensified with the kicking in of U.S. sanctions against oil transactions through Iranian banks on June 28 and the European Union's embargo of Iranian oil that began July 1.

These steps are the latest in a yearslong effort by Washington and its allies to force Tehran to abandon its nuclear program, which they claim could be used to produce nuclear weapons. Tehran maintains the program is aimed at generating electric power and medical isotopes.

The imperialist pressure has included military threats, cyberwar assaults on computer networks at Iran's nuclear facilities, and assassinations of scientists.

At the same time, negotiations between Tehran and representatives of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Russia,

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Metropolis, Ill., Steelworkers back Caterpillar, sugar workers

BY ALYSON KENNEDY AND BETSY FARLEY

On July 2-4, four workers who had been part of a 14-month battle against a lockout by Honeywell at its uranium plant in Metropolis, Ill., drove 1,100 miles to bring solidarity and exchange experiences with sugar workers in Minnesota's and North Dakota's Red River Valley who have been locked out by American Crystal Sugar since Aug. 1, 2011, as well as workers on strike for the last two months against Caterpillar in Joliet, Ill.

The four, members of United Steelworkers Local 7-669, included local President Stephen Lech, Rick McConnell, Luckie Atkinson and Christian Mussleman. McConnell is one of six workers fired on frame-up allegations by Honeywell. The union is fighting to get him reinstated.

"We came to bring solidarity and encouragement to our brothers and sisters fighting for a contract at

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Socialist Workers: join us, join fights, build solidarity

Workers' response to campaign best in years



Militant/Dan Fein

Maura DeLuca (left), Socialist Workers candidate for vice president, talks with working people in Newark, N.J., July 7. More than 1,800 signed petitions July 7-8 to put party on ballot in state.

BY JOHN STUDER

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign received an enthusiastic response over the July 7-8 weekend from working people in New Jersey, reflecting interest in a fighting working-class perspective in response to the deepening crisis of capitalism.

In working-class neighborhoods from Newark and Camden to Jersey City and Trenton, some 1,840 people signed petitions to put James Harris and Maura DeLuca, SWP candidates for U.S. president and vice president, on the ballot in that state, well over the goal and in less time than projected. The state requires 800 signatures.

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Endorse, use campaign!

The Socialist Workers Party candidates—James Harris for president, Maura DeLuca for vice president and the 34 state and local candidates across the country—are finding inter-

EDITORIAL

est in the working class, labor, socialist campaign on a scale not seen in years.

The SWP campaign is a part of broader efforts by a developing van-

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Locked-out workers stand up to Con Edison union busting



Militant/Seth Galinsky

July 10 picket line in Brooklyn, N.Y., one week after Con Edison locked out 8,500 workers.

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK—"It's a shame, the way they make billions of dollars in profit, then lock us out and bring in contractors from out of state to do our jobs. They pay them as much or more than they pay us," said Eddy Gomez, 39, one of 8,500 workers locked out by the Con Edison electric utility here July 1. "They're trying to bust the union."

More than 500 locked-out members of Utility Workers Union Local 1-2 joined the picket line at Con Edison's Brooklyn office July 10, whistling, playing drums and chanting. The honks of

support from drivers on busy Flatbush Avenue were almost non-stop.

In 1983 Con Ed employed more than 16,000 hourly workers. Today it's down to more than 8,500 workers and 5,000 supervisors.

The company claims they locked the workers out because union officials refused to agree to Con Edison's demand that the union give the company seven days notice before going on strike after the current contract expired.

During negotiations Con Edison proposed replacing the fixed pensions with

Continued on page 11

Egypt: Brotherhood wins election, workers', farmers' fights continue

BY SETH GALINSKY

Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi took office as president of Egypt June 29, less than a year and a half after the Supreme Military Council ousted President Hosni Mubarak in the midst of growing pro-

tests against his dictatorship.

"There is no room now for the language of confrontation," declared Morsi, the candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party, after the vote. His message was

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Supreme Court backs 'Obamacare' as just another tax on working people

BY EMMA JOHNSON

The Supreme Court ruling June 28 that by 2014 all U.S. residents must have health insurance or pay a penalty imposes yet another regressive tax on the backs of working

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UK protest: Cop ‘just shot my son, no questions asked’

BY DAG TIRSEN
AND HUGO WILS

MANCHESTER, England—“On the third of March 2012 my son was executed by an armed response officer. I want this officer charged with murder,” announced Marina Schofield-Ahmed to a protest of 200 here on Father’s Day, June 17, called by the Justice for Grainger campaign. Anthony Grainger, 36, was the father of two.

Grainger was sitting at the wheel of a parked car in Culcheth when another car screeched to a halt in front of him and a specialist officer shot him through the windscreen.

Two other men in the car with Grainger were arrested on the scene, and a third the day after. All three are charged with “conspiracy” to commit robbery. Police recovered no weapons.

Grainger and the other men had been under cop surveillance for six weeks.

“They just shot him no questions asked,” Tony Grainger, Anthony Grainger’s father, told the *Militant*.

A statement by the family pointed out that there is no video footage of the incident. There “were 16 armed officers involved as well as other unarmed officers and a large number of hi-tech, highly equipped police vehicles and equipment at the scene,” said the statement. “We fear a cover-up.”

The government’s Independent Police Complaints Commission announced April 4 that it would pursue a criminal investigation against the officer who shot Grainger.

Between 2000 and 2011, the IPCC investigated 333 deaths in police custody,

and recommended that 24 cops be prosecuted. None were convicted.

Some media have smeared Grainger. The *Telegraph*, for example, described him as “an odd jobs man” and pointed to his criminal record.

On the day of the protest a spirited crowd assembled at Piccadilly Gardens. Banners and placards read, “No more executions by terror cops,” “Justice 4 Anthony Grainger murdered by the police” and “Bring Anthony Grainger’s killers to justice,” among others.

Speeches by members of the family, various campaign groups and political parties followed. A minute of silence was held in memory of those who died during contact with the police. The protest then marched to the police station on Bootle Street. Protesters handed out leaflets about the case to passersby.

“There is a ‘law’ in this country,” said Janet Adler at the rally, “that police officers will not be prosecuted, no matter what. This ‘law’ needs to change but it can only be changed by the people.” Janet Adler is the sister of Christopher Adler, who died in police custody.

“Growing police brutality, harassment and imprisonment is part of the broader attack on the working class today, on our wages, our living conditions, and our dignity,” Andrés Mendoza, from the Communist League, told the crowd.

Nyamekye Simms, a participant at the protest, said cops “patrol the streets, harass and probe people constantly” where she lives in Moss Side, an area with many Afro-Caribbean and immigrant workers.



Militant/Hugo Wils
Protest in Manchester, England, June 17, against execution-style police killing of Anthony Grainger in March. Participants hold names of people killed by cops in United Kingdom.

Bosses’ divide-and-conquer ‘blood money’ donated to party

Two recent donations to the Socialist Workers Party’s Capital Fund highlight the bosses’ drive to categorize more and more workers as “temporary” in their assault on our wages, working conditions and unions. The fund is used to help finance long-range work of the party.

An important source of regular contributions come from workers who send in money from so-called company bonuses. These workers commonly refer to the bonuses—in fact bribes to get us to accept speedup, not report injuries and sign concession contracts—as “blood money.”

Maura DeLuca, who worked for a staffing agency in Lincoln, Neb., sent in the note below with a check for \$134.40.

“This is blood money from an ‘attendance bonus’ for three weeks. The agency doesn’t give raises, but they tout the weekly bonus that you get if you don’t miss any work and aren’t late.

“I make a little more than half of what permanent workers make doing the same job. We are required to wear the agency’s T-shirts, which cost \$8 apiece. They give us one per month, but only if no accidents are reported. Since they raised the issue of safety, I asked for a protective welding jacket. They’d given one to a coworker, but I was told I was ‘not ready.’”

“I don’t plan on getting the attendance bonus every week. But when I get it, it’ll go towards building a movement that fights in the interest of workers.”

Jacob Perasso and Dave Ferguson in Atlanta work at a Yamaha plant. They sent in checks totaling \$907.93 from a production bonus. Perasso included the following note:

“Blood money is designed to get us regular workers to accept lower status for temporary workers. There are more than 100 in the plant. They receive 50 percent less pay and no benefits. Some have worked for years as temps.

“In charts hung on the walls, the company boasts about profits being made by not hiring these workers into regular positions. A typical one this week listed 13 eliminated jobs at an annual savings of \$400,000.

“Anyone who comes up with a successful proposal to eliminate jobs gets a special bonus, in addition to a possible promotion.

“I am glad there is a way to put the bonus to good use.”

Some 13 million temporary workers were hired last year, according to the American Staffing Association. “Since the beginning of 2012, temporary and contract employment has grown 24.2%,” reported ASA in May.

To make a contribution, contact *Militant* distributors listed on page 10.

—EMMA JOHNSON

THE MILITANT

Oppose cop harassment, brutality!

The ‘Militant’ covers the fight to oppose “stop and frisk” and other cop harassment and brutality directed disproportionately against young Black and Latino men and aimed above all at keeping working people “in their place.”



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
June 17 NY protest against “stop and frisk.”

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Socialist Workers

Continued from front page

The SWP has already been confirmed for the ballot in Colorado.

"I am really glad that you are out here," John Rodrigues told DeLuca as he signed a petition in downtown Newark to put the working-class, labor, socialist ticket on the ballot in New Jersey. Telling DeLuca that he had been reading the *Militant* newspaper for years, he said "the *Militant* should be everywhere."

Jane Jordan, formerly a machine operator at a plastics company in Piscataway, N.J., was laid off in 2008 when the company moved production to Canada. "Because I haven't been able to find a job, I was thrown off unemployment last year," she said as she signed the petition.

"I am really concerned about what will happen to thousands of others when extensions of unemployment run out July 7 in New Jersey," she told DeLuca. Across the country, extended federal unemployment payments are scheduled to end by the end of the year.

The socialist campaign calls for a massive government-funded public works program to put millions to work at union-scale wages, building high-quality housing and safe and convenient public transportation affordable for workers, as well as schools, child care centers, recreational facilities and other infrastructure to improve the living conditions of working people.

When DeLuca approached K.A. Kareem, she wouldn't sign. "This is America, no to socialism, no to communism," she said.

DeLuca explained how the campaign was joining in solidarity with workers resisting growing attacks from the bosses and their government, and campaigning for a real jobs program to lessen competition among working people and put us in a stronger position to effectively fight for our class interests.

"You may promise jobs now," Kareem said, "but they all say that and after they get elected, they don't do anything."

"This campaign is about fighting together, what we can do, not what someone else will do for you," DeLuca said. Pointing to the coverage in the *Militant* of Con Edison workers fighting a lockout in New York, DeLuca added, "they need your solidarity, they are standing up and fighting. It's about uniting work-

ing people. We need to get rid of this profit-driven system through revolutionary struggle like they did in Cuba."

"Where do I sign?" Kareem asked, taking the pen.

Saturday evening, DeLuca was joined by Róger Calero, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Harlem's 13th Congressional District, and Dan Fein, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, at a meeting in midtown Manhattan.

"My first stop on the campaign trail was the National Organization for Women's national conference," DeLuca said. "One of the biggest discussions there was on the so-called Affordable Health Care Act, which has nothing to do with health care but is rather a boon for the insurance companies and a regressive tax on workers. One woman who came by the campaign table put it well. She said, replace the 1,900-plus page document with three words: 'health care for all.'"

"Many of the workers we talked to today are wondering what is the root cause of the deep economic crisis we are facing, and what is the way out of it," the socialist candidate told the meeting. "These discussions, combined with struggles against the bosses, are the starting point for building a fighting vanguard movement that can advance the interests of working people and move toward the conquest of political power by the working class.

"As workers join in struggles and extend solidarity, we break down competition with each other. We can build a labor movement that champions social struggles, from the fight to defend a woman's right to choose abortion, equal rights for immigrant workers, against police brutality," she said. "This is the road to building a self-conscious and self-confident working class, that knows its own interests."

Harris campaigns in Iowa

Dozens of campaign supporters also fanned out across Iowa.

More than 1,000 workers and others from around the state signed petitions over the July 7-8 weekend to put the

Des Moines Sunday Register | Metro Edition

Socialists begin to collect signatures for Iowa ballot

By JASON NOBLE
jnoble2@dmreg.com

A barbecue in Des Moines on Saturday served as the kickoff for a Socialist Workers Party effort to place its presidential candidate on the Iowa ballot.

The party's candidate is James Harris, 64, a long-time activist on issues relating to civil rights, police brutality, immigration and organized labor. He previ-



Socialist Workers Party 2012 presidential candidate James Harris was on the ticket twice before. SPECIAL TO THE REGISTER

Article in July 8 Sunday edition of the *Des Moines Register*, which interviewed James Harris.

presidential ticket on the ballot there. The ballot drive plans to gather 2,400 signatures by July 15.

Nearly 400 signed to place David Rosenfeld, the party's candidate for U.S. Congress in Iowa's 3rd District, on the ballot as well.

Eighty signatures were gathered in Keokuk, in eastern Iowa where 240 members of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers Local 48G fought a 10-month lockout by Roquette America that ended last July.

"As we were petitioning in Keokuk, we led with the campaign's support to all workers resisting the attacks of the bosses," Helen Meyers told the *Militant*. "Many signed immediately and a number said they would like to meet Harris when he comes back to campaign and speak in Keokuk next Saturday."

The *Des Moines Register*, the largest circulation paper in the state, printed an interview with Harris in its Sunday July 8 edition.

"Elections become less important than the experiences that workers begin to go through to organize themselves to learn about politics and discuss politics," Harris was quoted as saying in the *Register*. "And we're finding much more

receptiv[ity] to that idea than we've had in years."

Harris spoke at a barbecue held after the first day of petitioning, along with Rosenfeld and Callie Miaoulis, 20, the SWP's candidate for the Nebraska State Legislature in Lincoln.

Miaoulis described some of her experiences as a new, young worker in a factory there. "A coworker spent extra time teaching me how to do the job not only right but safely after the boss yelled at me," she said. "He was especially happy to do it after he heard that I was running as a candidate for the SWP, the same party that Maura DeLuca is in, who had sold him a subscription to the *Militant* while going door to door in his neighborhood a few weeks earlier.

"If workers are capable of reaching out to each other in this way to stand up for someone new on the job, then imagine the type of safety and production we would be capable of without capitalism," said Miaoulis.

If you are interested in helping the Socialist Workers Party campaign get a hearing or in volunteering to put the party on the ballot, contact the campaign through a *Militant* distributor in your area listed on page 10.

Socialist Workers candidates across US

California

Gerardo Sánchez, US Senate
Carole Lesnick, Congress, 12th CD
Arlene Rubinstein, Congress, 33rd CD
Ellie García, Congress, 34th CD

Florida

Naomi Craine, US Senate
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Dennis Richter, Congress, 7th CD
Alyson Kennedy, Cook County Atty

Iowa

David Rosenfeld, Congress, 3rd CD
Maggie Trowe, State Senate, District 18
Helen Meyers, Iowa House, District 36

Massachusetts

Laura Garza, US Senate

Minnesota

Frank Forrestal, US Senate
Tony Lane, Congress, 5th CD

Nebraska

Joe Swanson, US Senate
Callie Miaoulis, 29th District Neb. Legis.

New York

Dan Fein, US Senate
Róger Calero, Congress, 13th CD

Pennsylvania

Osborne Hart, US Senate
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The working class, labor, socialist campaign

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Maceo Dixon: 4 decades in struggle for socialism

Helped lead SWP into new openings in industry, unions

BY JANICE LYNN

CLARKSTON, Ga.—A meeting to celebrate the life and political contributions of Maceo Dixon, a leader and later supporter of the Socialist Workers Party for more than four decades, took place at the Clarkston Community Center June 10. Dixon died May 30 at the age of 62. He had been hospitalized since early March after collapsing at his job as a machinist.

In attendance were members of the communist movement and others Dixon worked with in politics over the years, his wife Andrea, family, friends and coworkers.

More than 30 people sent messages to the meeting. A collection among the 75 people in attendance raised more than \$1,000 for the Socialist Workers Party.

Dixon joined the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in the early 1970s in Detroit where he was active in a number of political struggles, including helping lead a fight to abolish a plainclothes unit of the Detroit Police Department called STRESS (Stop the Robberies-Enjoy Safe Streets).

In 1974-75 Dixon, then a party lead-

er, was a central leader of the school desegregation battle in Boston and of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. That fight was at the center of a broader national struggle in defense of Black rights.

Dixon was part of a generation that led the party's turn to industry beginning in the late 1970s in response to a new ruling class offensive and changing attitudes among working people. In face of new political opportunities, SWP members organized to get jobs in basic industry in order to carry out collective work in the trade unions and strengthen the proletarian character and composition of the party and its work.

As a party supporter during the last decade of his life, Dixon volunteered at the Pathfinder Distribution Center in Atlanta where he helped lead the effort to get books on revolutionary politics distributed throughout the world.

Boston school desegregation fight

Sam Manuel, a longtime leader of the SWP, opened and co-chaired the meeting. Manuel, who lives in Atlanta, was part of the same political generation as



Militant photos, above, Bob Braxon, Inset, Dave Wulp
Participants in June 10 meeting in Atlanta celebrating the life and political contributions of Maceo Dixon over the past several decades. Inset, Maceo Dixon at Pathfinder Distribution Center in Atlanta in 2008, where he helped lead volunteers in shipping and distributing revolutionary literature to workers and others around the world.

Dixon and the two worked together in many fights. Manuel explained how in 1974 a violent campaign to stop the busing of Black children into South Boston schools in defiance of a desegregation order was organized right out of the Boston City Council.

He recounted how Dixon and another SWP leader, Mac Warren, were among the few individuals trusted by parents and students to ride with them on the buses through a gauntlet of stone-throwing racists, a testimony to the integrity of the party and respect it earned as part of the struggle.

The June 13 *Boston Globe* ran an obituary under the headline: "Maceo Dixon, rights activist during busing era."

Manuel read from a 1979 report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes printed in the Pathfinder Press book, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, which described the Boston desegregation battle as "the single most decisive political combat experience for an entire layer of the party leadership."

Manuel also pointed to a display, one of several at the meeting, on the book, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation,*

and the Road to Workers Power. It featured part of the book's introduction in which Barnes, the author, explains it "could never have come into being without the leadership collaboration over nearly half a century of proletarian cadres of the Socialist Workers Party who are Black. The book is a product of the disciplined efforts of these and other SWP cadres, including generations who have been leading the work since the mid-1970s to build a party that is working class in composition as well as program and action." It ends with a dedication to the proletarian party cadre "of African origin, who, in their lives and activity, remain true to their revolutionary convictions to this day."

Jim Rogers, a volunteer who worked closely with Dixon at the Pathfinder Distribution Center and the other co-chair of the meeting, read a message from Susan LaMont, an SWP leader from New York who worked with Dixon for many years in Boston and then Atlanta: "The Boston desegregation fight was one of the class-struggle developments that told us the working

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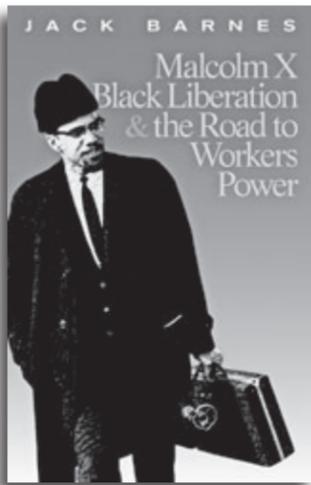


Demonstration in Boston, Dec. 14, 1974, demanding desegregation of public schools. Fight provided "decisive political combat experience for an entire layer of the party leadership."

Special offer

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

by Jack Barnes

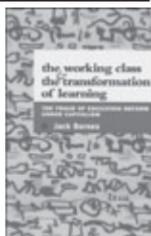


"Don't start with Blacks as an oppressed nationality. Start with the vanguard place and weight of workers who are Black in broad proletarian-led social and political struggles in the United States. From the Civil War to today, the record is mind-boggling. It's the strength and resilience, not the oppression, that bowls you over."

—Jack Barnes

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Actions set to defend clinics in Charlotte, NC, July 21-28

BY PAUL PEDERSON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Defenders of a woman's right to choose abortion will be going to Charlotte, N.C., July 21-28 to ensure that the city's three abortion clinics remain open during an eight-day conference and "clinic siege" by the rightist group Operation Rescue/Operation Save America.

At the National Organization for Women conference in Baltimore June 29-July 1 NOW activists passed out leaflets encouraging participation in the actions in Charlotte.

"I was part of defending the clinics in Charlotte as a student during a similar siege by Operation Save America in 2010," Sarah Shanks, a campus organizer with Feminist Majority Foundation told the *Militant*. "NOW is working with us to get folks from Virginia and D.C. to go down. We are expecting hundreds."

"We will be organizing people to come out, hold a picket sign and maintain a peaceful presence in front of the clinics. We will stay there until they

leave," Shanks said.

"The clinic's busiest time is Saturday morning and we expect the most activity outside the clinic on those two days, July 21 and 28," Cindy Thomson, a Charlotte-based NOW activist told the *Militant* in a phone interview.

Local activists are working to help arrange housing. Those driving in from out of state may also be able to carpool.

The focus of these anti-women organizations today is on a state-by-state effort to restrict access to abortion through legislation and other efforts to tie clinics up in red tape. A recently passed law in Mississippi is aimed at closing the only abortion clinic in that state. A federal judge temporarily blocked enforcement of that law July 1. In Ohio, a campaign to get enough signatures to change the state constitution to declare that life begins when an egg is fertilized failed July 3.

To join the defense teams in Charlotte, contact charlotteclinicdefenders@gmail.com.

www.pathfinderpress.com or see distributors on page 10

Workers' fights in Egypt

Continued from front page

aimed both at assuring the generals and warning workers and peasants, who have been using new political space since Mubarak's ouster to organize and advance their own interests.

Morsi won nearly 52 percent of the vote in the June 16-17 runoff election, defeating former general Ahmed Shafiq, Mubarak's last prime minister. Just 46 percent of eligible voters participated in the first round, where a range of bourgeois candidates vied against Morsi and Shafiq. The election commission said 51 percent voted in the second round.

On the eve of the runoff, the military command shut down the Islamist-dominated parliament, under the pretext of enforcing a supreme court order that a third of the body had been elected illegally. The military government reimposed martial law, but that decree was overturned by the courts.

Islamists seek deal with generals

Morsi has been negotiating behind the scenes with the generals. According to the online edition of *Al Masry Al Youm* newspaper, "an initial agreement entails that the army will maintain control over its budget and internal affairs" as well as the interior, defense and justice ministries. The military also owns substantial businesses and will remain the largest single employer in the country.

"The Freedom and Justice Party's economic platform would restrict the state's role to that of a motivator and coordinator for economic activity," said Hassan Malek, head of the Muslim Brotherhood-led Egyptian Society for Business Development," reported *Al Masry Al Youm* July 2, a reference to advantages given to military-run businesses against their capitalist competitors.

Despite conflicting interests between the Muslim Brotherhood and Supreme Military Council, recent developments represent a shift. The Brotherhood was formally banned in 1954 and more than 1,000 of its members were arrested in 2005 during a military crackdown.

"Instead of asking why confrontation is inevitable, perhaps the more appropriate question is why compromise is likely," *Al Ahram*, a government-owned newspaper, said July 3.

The Muslim Brotherhood is the largest, best organized party in the country with significant support among workers and farmers. Noting the group's influence, the paper said Morsi's victory was better for the military high command than a victory by Shafiq because "moderating collective action is one of the Brotherhood's major strengths."

The generals and the Muslim Brotherhood leadership need each other, *Al Ahram* said, because of their "mutual interest in sustaining competitive capitalism ... the regional status quo and global hegemonic order."

In one of Morsi's first statements on foreign affairs, he pledged to respect international treaties, a clear reference to treaties between the Egyptian and U.S. and Israeli governments.

The White House issued a statement congratulating Morsi on his victory and called on him to "advance national unity."

Among many workers and youth and those in Egypt's small middle class there is skepticism about the existing political parties and the military.

"I didn't vote in the first or second rounds," Maie Sherefay, a recent uni-

versity graduate who quit her job a year ago and has been unable to find work since, said in a phone interview from Cairo. "We don't trust the military and we don't trust the Ikhwan [the Muslim Brotherhood], but I prefer them to the old Mubarak regime.

"What really matters right now is to have a higher minimum wage, a better economy and to fight corruption," she said. "We've been waiting for a year and a half now and nothing happens."

Working people use political space

The most important consequences of developments in Egypt has been the new possibilities for working people to organize and resist.

Some 4,000 workers at the Cleopatra Ceramics Factory in Ain Sokhna, one of the largest in the Middle East, held a sit-in in front of government offices in Suez City to protest the company's attempt to renege on a pledge to pay bonuses and profit sharing and its suspension of free transportation to work. On May 22, after a 12-day standoff, management met the workers' demands.

On June 20 hundreds of workers from the Toshiba El Araby factory blocked the Cairo-Alexandria road protesting what they said was the refusal of the company to compensate the family of a coworker who died from electrocution on the job.

Even unions belonging to the government-financed Egyptian Trade Union



Meeting of peasant federation in Egypt, June 2011. In last 18 months, 50 new farmers associations have been formed as farmers fight for land, water and against government repression.

Federation, which functioned as a pillar of support for the Mubarak regime, have been taking action. ETUF workers at Alexandria Tire, owned by Italy-based Pirelli Corp., went on strike June 10.

Five workers were fired in retaliation, ETUF spokesman Mostafa Rostom told the *Militant* by phone July 1. "The company is playing a dirty game," he said.

In a statement sent to the *Militant* from Italy, Pirelli said the five were fired for "their active role in the promotion of the illegal strike." The company claimed that union requests for medical insurance to cover their families and for payment of school fees violate an agree-

ment that no new demands be made for three years.

The membership of the Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, which is independent of the government, has grown rapidly since Mubarak's ouster.

Peasants are also demanding rights to land and water for irrigation. According to the *New York Times*, 10 percent of Egyptian peasants lost their farms after a 1992 law was passed that overturned land distribution during the government of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1960s.

In one recent example cited by the *Times*, farmers in Fayoum took back land they were evicted from by the large landlord Wali family in 1997.

More than 100 Fayoum farmers demonstrated in Cairo in March demanding the release of eight farmers in prison for allegedly stealing crops, reported *Al Masry Al Youm*. The paper also reported that hundreds of farmers from three villages in the Nile Delta blocked a highway in April to demand the government release water into a canal.

Shadi, a spokesperson for the Land Center for Human Rights in Cairo, told the *Militant* in an email that 50 new farmers associations have been formed over the last year and a half. Among the biggest problems small farmers face, he said, are debts to the agricultural banks, lack of water, and access to land.



Gen. Mohamed Tantawi presents gift to new Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, June 30.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 31, 1987

OAK CREEK, Colo.—The United Mine Workers of America won contracts at a number of Western mines in May after hard-fought strikes. But, Colorado Yampa Coal Co. has refused to sign a contract.

Some 45 members of UMWA Local 1344 have been on strike since April 22.

Miners here told the *Militant* that CYCC is trying to get them to accept a union-busting scheme. The company will pay them \$18 an hour if the UMWA members agree to give up all rights to bid on jobs and to do away with job classifications and seniority.

Virtually every storefront window in Oak Creek prominently displays a "We support UMWA" sign. Wives of strikers and UMWA members from other locals are participating in the picket lines. Rail workers are refusing to drive coal trains to the mine.



July 30, 1962

After fighting bravely for eight weeks and marshalling unprecedented support behind their strikes for union recognition, the nonprofessional workers at two New York City hospitals returned to work July 18. Governor Nelson Rockefeller promised to support a bill at the next session of the legislature granting collective bargaining rights previously denied employees of "voluntary non-profit" hospitals. The proposed law would also ban strikes.

The strike at Beth-El began May 23 and at Manhattan Eye in mid-June. The strikers attracted active support from hundreds of youth, some of whom were arrested on the picket line and in mass sit-ins in the Beth-El corridors. A committee of leaders of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities rallied support and the Congress of Racial Equality threatened a sit-in in the governor's offices.



May 1, 1937

A reorganized and strengthened Four Hundred Defense Committee is rallying the support of all progressive unions in the Los Angeles area in this crucial test of sit-down rights.

The "Four Hundred," sit-downers and Douglas Aircraft strike leaders are charged under an eighty year old statute with the felony of "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor." From the start the case has been a national test of the right of workers to sit down on the property they built, made profitable, and which they alone can operate.

The defense committee realizes that acquittal depends on the united mass protest of all progressive labor, locally and nationally. Already a caravan of Bay Area aircraft workers is enroute to Los Angeles in autos covered with "Defend the 400" signs. A giant protest meeting in L.A. is planned before the trial date.

African-Americans hit hardest by persistently high joblessness

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The official June employment figures show persistently high unemployment and a worsening situation for workers who are African-American.

The official unemployment rate for June is 8.2 percent, unchanged from the previous month. For Blacks it rose to 14.4 percent from 13 percent two months earlier.

The real disparity is even greater, as a higher proportion of African-Americans are not officially considered part of the labor force and therefore not included in calculations of the joblessness rate. Among those not counted are “marginally attached” workers who, according to the Labor Department, haven’t looked for a job in the last four weeks.

As a result of these manipulations, the percentage of the working-age population counted in the labor force has declined overall from 65.7 percent in January 2009 to 63.8 percent this past June, masking the real state of joblessness. For Blacks, the official “labor force participation rate” stands at 62 percent, masking it even more.

“A comparison of jobs data between the start and end of 2011 shows the ranks of the unemployed fell by 822,000 while the number of people not in the labor force grew by a larger 1.24 million,” stated a July 6 *Wall Street Journal* article titled “Unemployment Line Longer Than It Looks.”

Last year the Las Vegas and Los Angeles areas had the highest Black unemployment rates, at 22.6 percent and 21.1 percent respectively, noted a report issued by the Economic Policy Institute in early July that examined the status of jobless African-Americans in 19 major metropolitan areas. Chicago’s rate was 19.1 percent and Detroit’s 18.1 percent.

Minneapolis-St. Paul has the largest Black-Caucasian unemployment rate disparity of all 19 areas. At 17.7 percent its Black unemployment rate is 3.3 times that for Caucasians.

In New York City, more than half of all working-age African-Americans have not had a job this year, according to the Labor Department. When Black workers lose jobs there, they spend a year, on average, trying to find new jobs, longer than any other category, reported the *New York Times*.

The nationwide unemployment figure has been above 8 percent for more than three years, while the Labor Department’s U-6 alternative unemployment rate—which includes

so-called discouraged workers and millions forced to work part-time—is much higher. In June it stood at 14.9 percent.

Meanwhile, unemployment payments for millions of workers could end in December with the cutoff of federal programs extending these benefits. In some states payments are already being cut off as state governments report unemployment rates too low to qualify for the federal extension.

In New Jersey, for example, where the official unemployment rate was 9.2 percent in May, payments were ended to 26,000 jobless workers the first week in July. Another 100,000 will be cut from the unemployment rolls there by the end of the year, reported the *New Jersey Star-Ledger*.

Official jobless figures will decline as a result because many of these workers will no longer be counted as part of the labor force after they stop receiving unemployment compensation.

Maceo Dixon: 4 decades in struggle for socialism

Continued from page 4

class was moving to the center stage of U.S. politics.” It helped prepare the party to respond to new openings for organizing growing party work among industrial workers and in the trade unions a few years later, she said.

“I came to Detroit in 1973 where Maceo was a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party,” Rachele Fruit, a leader of the party in Atlanta, told the meeting.

Fruit explained that Dixon ended up in jail for defending himself against a racist attack. He was allowed to go to work in a Detroit auto plant and do jail time on the weekends. “It was at this time he ran into someone with the *Militant*. He bought a copy and shortly thereafter joined the YSA and the party,” she said.

In his remarks, Manuel recalled how he and Dixon and another young leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism visited Rubin “Hurricane” Carter in jail as part of a campaign in the 1970s to win Carter’s freedom. Carter was a world middle-weight boxing contender, framed up and convicted along with another Black man for a triple murder in 1967. “Rubin was polite, but cautious at first,” said Manuel. “But when he heard how Maceo had ended up behind bars a sly smile came over his face and he became relaxed.”

Manuel described the work he and Dixon were part of in building an international communist movement: from the struggle against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, to support of African liberation movements, the international movement against the Vietnam War, the Irish fight against British colonial rule, and defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Holly Harkness, organizer of the work at the Pathfinder Distribution Center, spoke about Dixon’s role as a party supporter over the last decade.

Distributing Pathfinder books

Harkness described Dixon’s diligence in filling and shipping orders for



Jobs fair held at Cleveland State University in Ohio last August. While ranks of unemployed fell by 822,000 in 2011 those without jobs not counted in labor force rose by 1.24 million.

Pathfinder books and recounted how he also worked to get books into commercial bookstores, libraries and classrooms, and helped staff Pathfinder booths at conferences around the country as part of this effort.

Miguel Zarate, another volunteer at the Pathfinder Distribution Center, worked closely with Dixon in getting books to workers behind bars. “The U.S. has the highest incarceration rate in the world with 2.3 million prisoners behind bars,” he said. “Pathfinder Press offers free catalogs and 50 percent off books to prisoners.”

SWP National Committee member Mary-Alice Waters commented, in a message read by Manuel, how Dixon “followed through on every detail with proletarian professionalism, calling and corresponding with prison officials whenever there was a problem” and “there were none he cared more about than the five Cuban revolutionaries behind bars in the United States—Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, and René González.”

“The party we have today, its proletarian character, was built on the work of comrades over the last four decades, which Maceo was a part of,” said Dave Prince, a member of the SWP National Committee, who worked with Dixon as part of the leadership of the supporters’ work at the Distribution Center. “That accomplishment is the foundation on which the party can be strengthened today in response to working-class resistance to the crisis of capitalism. It is worth celebrating.”

Rogers read a letter to Andrea Dixon and to the meeting from Barnes: “In September 1988 Mark Curtis—a longtime cadre of the Socialist Workers Party and packinghouse worker militant in the Des Moines region—went on trial in Des Moines, Iowa, on frame-up charges of attempted rape of a minor and burglary.

“As the trial proceeded, it became necessary to help Mark get ready for the eventuality that he would serve extensive time in prison, like so many

working-class fighters before him. A small meeting was organized for Mark with Maceo Dixon, a fellow communist leader and himself an ex-con to prepare Mark for all the political, practical, personal, and sexual circumstances and dangers he would face—from guards, agents and fellow cons. . . .

“During that meeting, I saw a Maceo I had never quite known before, even though I had worked with him and served together in many leadership responsibilities since he had joined our movement nearly two decades earlier.”

Curtis was subsequently convicted of the trumped-up charges and spent nearly eight years in prison.

“Over that time, Mark conducted himself with exemplary dignity, integrity, and manliness,” Barnes continued. “He did so despite every danger, and every manner of harassment that Maceo had alerted him to. And Mark never wavered in face of the prison authorities’ standing offer of a substantially reduced sentence if, even implicitly, he submitted to their unrelenting pressure to ‘own his crime’ and take even one ‘class’ to treat his alleged ‘tendencies.’

“I’ve never doubted that Maceo’s discussion with Mark, and the connection established between them that day, never receded for Mark the entire time he kept on functioning as an exemplary communist and working-class militant behind bars. . . .

“The many of us who have worked closely with Maceo know he could be an angry man because of the racism, oppression, and exploitation that surround us and bear down on workers, especially young workers. He could be delightfully effective to an audience who’d come to learn something about how to fight. And Maceo was such a warm person. He was almost too easy to love—and to subtly underestimate.

“I share this particular experience with you, because that afternoon in Des Moines, Iowa, I recognized in Maceo Dixon a concentrated example of the inner character every single young working-class militant aspires to.”

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

UNITED KINGDOM
London

US Rulers Expand Military and Economic Clout in Africa, Asia and the Pacific: What it Means for Working People. Speaker: Alex Xezonakis, Communist League. Fri., July 20, 7 p.m. Donation: £3. First floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (entrance on Brick Lane), E2 6DG. Tel.: (020) 7613-2466.

ON THE PICKET LINE

Machinists end 10-week strike against Lockheed Martin

HOUSTON—After 10 weeks on strike, Machinists at Lockheed Martin Corp.'s plant in Fort Worth and testing facilities at Edwards Air Force Base in California and the Naval Air Station Patuxent River in Maryland began returning to work July 2. IAM Local 776 members approved a new contract by a four-to-one margin June 28.

An overwhelming majority had previously rejected the company's proposed contract, which included cutting pensions for new hires and increasing the cost of health insurance for all workers. The new contract replaces the pension for new hires with a 401(k) plan, but includes no increases in health insurance premiums.

"Even though we lost the pensions for new hires, we made a stand," said Maria Gupton, a composite binder, in a phone interview. "The company didn't break us down the way they thought they could."

"A lot of people were running out of money and felt pressed to settle," John Montana, a flight test mechanic, told the *Militant*.

"I voted for the contract because it was better than the first offer, and Lockheed Martin was preparing to hire many more replacements," said

LaDonna Fritchman, an electrical assembler.

"Lockheed Martin and the union agreed on a fair and competitive offer that is appropriate for the current defense business environment, with its increasing customer demands for affordability in our products," Joe Stout, company spokesman for the Fort Worth facility, told the *Militant* by email.

"We're pleased to have the union members back at work," said Stout. "The important thing now is to concentrate on the important work that's ahead for the company in the F-35 and F-16 aircraft programs."

Some workers described what it's like now back in the plant.

"Old work rules are being applied aggressively," said Fritchman. "People are being walked out for chewing gum and bathroom breaks are being timed. We're going to have to file some grievances in response to this hostile work environment."

"We should be able to work without threats and harassment," said Gary Barnes, a fire systems inspector. "Union members are being forced to change shifts and work out of classification."

The contract covers 3,600 workers making military aircraft in Fort



Members of Machinists union picket at Naval Air Station Patuxent River in Maryland during 10-week strike against Lockheed Martin. Unionists voted to go back to work June 28.

Worth and 350 more at Edwards Air Force Base and the Naval Air Station Patuxent River.

—Michael Fitzsimmons

Unionists strike construction agency in Quebec over cuts

MONTREAL—About 80 strikers and supporters demonstrated in front of the Quebec Construction Commission July 6 blowing whistles, beating pots and pans, and urging passing drivers to honk in solidarity. Many did.

The strike by the 600 members of Canadian Office and Professional Employees Union Local 573 began June 5 after unionists by an 86 percent margin voted a week earlier to walk out. Construction Commission bosses then locked out the workers for two days. The workers have been without a contract since December 2009.

The commission, a for-profit provincial government agency, oversees Quebec's construction industry. It is demanding 189 changes to the previous agreement, including a 15 percent wage cut and cutbacks to the pension plan.

—John Steele

Steelworkers back Caterpillar, sugar workers

Continued from front page
Caterpillar and American Crystal Sugar," Lech told the *Militant*.

The Steelworkers picketed and exchanged experiences with members of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers union battling American Crystal Sugar's lockout in Moorhead and East Grand Forks, Minn., and Hillsboro, N.D., July 3.

"When we heard you rejected by 63 percent [June 23] the company's latest union-busting contract proposal we decided we had to come up here to support your fight," Lech told Becki Jacobson, a leader of the locked-out workers in Moorhead.

"After 14 months we finally ratified a contract and returned to work, but we had to keep on fighting," he said, describing how Honeywell has tried to violate the contract, including replacing union members with scabs and eliminating paid breaks. One hundred of the Honeywell workers are still laid off after the company walked them out in May on the pretext of investigating the possibility of sabotage of equipment.

Jacobson talked about how much

American Crystal Sugar has spent on the lockout and how much of last year's sugar beet harvest was lost because it could not be processed by the scab workforce. The company has lost \$137 million in the last six months alone, according to the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*.

"The beet farmers are also losing money," Jacobson said. "They will only get \$59 per ton of beets this year, well below the \$73 for Minn-Dak, another beet farmer cooperative in the Red River Valley."

Visiting Machinists' picket line

On their way to the Red River Valley, the Steelworkers visited the picket line outside Caterpillar's plant in Joliet, where some 30 members of International Association of Machinists Local 851 were on duty July 2.

The Machinists have rejected two company offers. They are fighting for guaranteed wage increases for members hired after 2005, cost-of-living adjustments, a defined pension plan, and against attacks on seniority. During a discussion with the Steelworkers, picket captain Marion Modesitt explained that

the Caterpillar bosses want to be able to change anyone's shift without regard to seniority. She struggled to get and stay on day shift after 38 years.

Maintenance workers hired by Shaw Group are among the many contract employees in the plant, most of whom are non-union, said Modesitt. "The union laborers came out with us. The others are still working in the plant," she stated.

Shaw Group was Honeywell's main supplier of scabs during the lockout in Metropolis, noted Lech. "After the lockout, we had to work with them. We got to know them and talked to them about how what they were doing was helping these companies lower wages in a race to the bottom."

About 40 Machinists have crossed the picket line, according to strikers.

The Caterpillar strikers have set up a food pantry. A number of pickets said the United Auto Workers from Caterpillar's factory in Pontiac, Ill., recently brought a 17-foot trailer filled with food donations. UAW Local 719 members from Caterpillar's Electro-Motive Diesel plant in LaGrange, Ill., dropped off a truckload of food in June.

"Guys in the union for 50 years have fought for what we have," assembler Dave Hurd told the *Militant*. "I'm standing for my principles."

"We will be out for as long as it takes," said recently hired Caterpillar worker Joe Stachon, 25.

Messages of support and contributions for the sugar workers can be sent to BCTGM Local 167G, 100 N 3rd, Suite 50, Grand Forks, ND 58203. Make checks payable to BCTGM 167G with "2011 BCTGM lockout" in memo line.

For the Caterpillar workers, send messages and contributions to IAM 851, 23157 S. Thomas Dillon Dr., Channahon, IL 60410.

Laura Anderson contributed to this article.



Militant/Betsy Farley

Members of United Steelworkers Local 7-669 from Metropolis, Ill., visit picket line at American Crystal Sugar plant in East Grand Forks, Minn., during scabs' shift change July 3.

Ill. workers at bearings plant vote down union representation

HAMILTON, Ill.—Workers at NTN-Bower Corp., a manufacturer of bearings in nearby Macomb, voted 403 to 133 against representation by the United Steelworkers union, according to union supporters in the plant. The company had hired the Labor Relations Institute, a union-busting outfit, and held compulsory weekly meetings for employees for four weeks prior to the June 21-22 election.

"I think the Labor Relations Institute classes scared off a lot of people," Rex Sheetz, a mechanic, told the *Militant*.

The company made several statements recognizing there are problems in the plant and promised to make improvements. A number of workers who voted against the union said they wanted to "give the company a chance," Sheetz noted. Lack of seniority rights is one of the main issues.

NTN-Bower did not return calls from the *Militant* requesting comment.

—Helen Meyers

JACK BARNES
THE CHANGING FACE OF U.S. POLITICS
Working-class politics and the unions

\$24

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‘My years in US taught me about capitalism’

‘And made me value even more the gains of the Cuban Revolution,’ says Olga Salanueva

The following is the second half of an interview with Olga Salanueva on her experiences as an immigrant worker in the United States, where she lived and worked for four years before being deported back to Cuba. Salanueva’s husband, René González, is one of the five Cuban revolutionaries who were framed up and imprisoned by the U.S. government and are fighting for their freedom. (See box on this page.)

In the first part, published in last week’s issue, Salanueva told how she arrived in Miami in 1996 and was granted permanent residence status. She described her first jobs—at a nursing home and then doing telemarketing for a funeral home—and her firsthand experiences with the health care system under U.S. capitalism.

The interview was conducted Feb. 27, 2012, in Havana by Mary-Alice Waters, Martín Koppel, and Róger Calero. The translation is by the *Militant*.



MARY-ALICE WATERS: What were your other jobs like?

OLGA SALANUEVA: By the time René was arrested in September 1998, I wasn’t selling burial plots and cremation services anymore. When Ivette was born four months earlier I had to miss a month of work, and the funeral home fired me. There was no maternity leave at that company.

First I got another telemarketing job selling mortgages. Then a telemarketing job selling English-language learning programs to Spanish-speaking immigrants.

I worked from noon until after 11 p.m., Monday through Friday. We received a basic wage plus a sales commission.

WATERS: You were working from home?

SALANUEVA: I worked at an office during the week. On Saturdays I took work home with me.

The company put inserts promoting the language program in the giveaway



Prensa Latina/Sinay Céspedes Moreno

Olga Salanueva (right), wife of René González, and Magali Llor, mother of Fernando González, speaking in Caracas, Venezuela, September 2011. René and Fernando are two of five Cuban revolutionaries framed up and jailed on “conspiracy” charges by U.S. government.

Spanish-language newspapers. If you mailed the card back, they sent you a free “dictionary.” We called people who returned the cards and explained that they weren’t going to learn English with just a dictionary. That they needed a program with teachers and books. That they were very lucky to have contacted this English-language program, blah, blah, blah. And we’d try to sell it to them.

The dictionary was very small, just a pamphlet. When I sent it to René in prison, he told me, “It’s the first time in my life I’ve seen a dictionary in which I know all the words. It’s worthless. That’s why it’s free.”

The owners of the company taught you how to sell, how to manipulate potential buyers until they fell for it. They told you what words and tone of voice to use and not to use.

We received a commission after the customer made the first payment. If the customer missed a payment, they’d take back your commission. You had to call the customer and convince them to make a payment or you’d lose your commission.

We had to ask people questions: their name, address, where they were from. We were told that by knowing what country someone was from, you could tell if you were likely to sell to them or not.

Learned about workers’ lives

I ended up learning a lot about people’s lives. For example, I learned how immigrants from Central America and Mexico had crossed the border. How they lived together crowded into small apartments in the city. What their dreams were, their problems, why they had immigrated—it was always to help their families, to send a little money back home.

The complete program included audiotapes, videos, and a tape recorder. The audiotapes were the least expensive. When I’d hear the things people told me about their situation, I’d say, “Look, buy just the audiotapes—you really won’t have time to watch the videos.”

I told myself: If they catch me saying this, they’re going to fire me! But it was criminal to convince people who earn minimum wage to buy this program. It was worthless—no one learned English with it.

I hated the telemarketing jobs. That whole experience is why, to this day, I dislike telephones and don’t like to call people.

Most of the people we called were agricultural workers. I’ll never forget one of the responses. Among the questions I had to ask was, “Do you work? What’s your position?”

And this woman answered, “What’s my position? *Agachada*.” Bent over. She picked strawberries, stooped over all day. That’s what she thought I was asking!

Sometimes we asked, “Have you attended school?” I remember the answers were usually: “No, but I did study a little.” “My brothers never got the chance, but I did.” “I got to third grade.” And so on.

I learned that American businessmen go to Mexico and recruit laborers for six-month contracts to work in agriculture. They are put in a camp they can’t leave. Sometimes they aren’t paid in cash but in tokens that they have

to use in the store owned by the boss. This is something I remember from the history of the sugar mills in Cuba before the revolution. But in this day and age!

I asked one of them, “How did you find out about the English program?”

He said, “The bosses took me to the market one day, and I happened to see an ad in a newspaper. I need to learn English.” He asked, “What do you think I should do?”

I couldn’t help it. I said what I really thought. “If you want my advice, leave that place—escape. It’s better to be undocumented than a slave.”

Some undocumented workers had false papers, of course. We would say we just wanted to sell them a language program, and they could use whatever Social Security number they had to establish a credit account. That was one of the hooks—buying the program would help them establish a credit history.

When René and the others were arrested, the U.S. government made a big issue about some of them having false identification documents. They added several years to their prison sentences for having false documents.*

But there are millions of people in the U.S. with false ID. They need undocumented Latinos to work in the U.S. They do hard physical labor, working long hours at very low wages. And when, like now, they don’t need so many due to the economic situation, they just deport people on this or that pretext.

Arrested by ‘la migra’

WATERS: What happened after René was arrested?

SALANUEVA: René was taken to the Miami Federal Detention Center, where they kept him in the “hole”—in solitary confinement—for 17 months.

At first he was not allowed to see the two girls. Other inmates in solitary would be taken down to the visiting room when their children came to see them. But not René. They allowed the first visit only after nine months, when Ivette was already 13 months old.

In February 2000 they moved René out of the hole, and then I was able to visit him once a week for an hour, until August 13 of that year. On that visit—it was René’s birthday—he told me about a letter the district attorney had asked him to sign. If he entered a guilty plea and agreed to testify for the prosecution, he wouldn’t go to trial and would get a shorter sentence. The letter reminded him that I had permanent resident status and that they could revoke it. René refused to sign, of course.

Three days later, on August 16, I was arrested. They did it to put pressure

Continued on next page

Who are the Cuban Five

Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, and René González are Cuban revolutionaries who during the 1990s accepted assignments from the Cuban government to gather information on the activities of Cuban American counterrevolutionary groups operating in South Florida. These paramilitary outfits, organizing on U.S. soil with virtual impunity, have a long record of carrying out bombings, assassinations and other deadly attacks, both against targets in Cuba and against those in the United States and Puerto Rico who oppose Washington’s efforts to overthrow the Cuban Revolution.

On Sept. 12, 1998, the five were arrested by the FBI. They were framed up and convicted on a variety of charges, which included acting as unregistered agents of the Cuban government, possession of false identity documents, conspiracy to commit espionage, and conspiracy to commit murder. They were given prison terms of up to double life plus 15 years.

In August 2000, shortly before the trial was to begin, federal cops arrested Olga Salanueva, who is married to René González, and threatened to revoke her permanent resident status unless he agreed to testify against his four comrades. After he rejected this blackmail, U.S. officials deported Salanueva back to Cuba. She lives in Havana together with their two daughters, Irmita, 28, and Ivette, 14, who was born in Miami shortly before González’s arrest.

René González was convicted on trumped-up charges of not registering as an agent of a foreign government and conspiracy to act as an unregistered foreign agent. Incarcerated for more than 13 years, he was transferred from federal prison to “supervised release.” Currently living in Florida, he is ordered to remain in the United States under the control of the federal courts’ probation office until October 2014. He is denied the possibility of being reunited with his wife, who is permanently barred from entering the United States.

* On top of various “conspiracy” and other charges against the five Cuban revolutionaries, the three who are not U.S. citizens—Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, and Fernando González—were charged with having false ID documents. Conviction on those counts added five or more years to their sentences.



AP Photo/Luis M. Alvarez

Planting celery in Clewiston, Fla., January 2007. Salanueva learned about conditions of immigrants and other fellow workers during her four years in U.S. She was deported in 2000 after her husband, René González, refused to testify against his four comrades in frame-up trial.

Continued from previous page
on him before the trial.

Two agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service and one from the FBI came to the house. They confiscated my green card and took me to immigration, where they took my fingerprints and photographs. Then they put me in a car to take me to jail.

RÓGER CALERO: Were you in handcuffs?

SALANUEVA: Oh yes. A policewoman escorted me in the car. Her job was to play soft cop. She knew the hard times I'd gone through the past two years, she said. "A woman living alone, who just had a baby and has an older child. Has it been difficult for you?" Imagine! Of course, they knew everything.

Then the policewoman said, "You know, these things can be worked out, the charges can be reduced. But your husband hasn't been willing to cooperate."

She asked if I wanted to see René. I knew they were trying to manipulate me. But, I thought, this is my chance. "Yes, I want to see him," I said.

First they took me to the state prison in Fort Lauderdale, 30 miles up the coast. There they put me in a filthy, stained prison uniform and locked me in a cell. Fifteen minutes later they took me out of the cell, put me in a car, and took me back down to Miami, to the Federal Detention Center where René was. They just wanted me to see what it was going to be like in jail.

They dressed me in that orange prison uniform to try to shake up René. They brought him into a room and sat

us down facing each other, with all the FBI agents there. When I saw him I was overcome by emotion, because I felt it was going to be the last time I'd see him for a long time. It turned out to be true.

René hugged me and said, "You look good in orange."

When I told him I had been arrested by immigration agents, he said, "That means they will probably deport you to carry out the threat in the letter they handed me. We must be prepared for that."

WATERS: How long were you in the Fort Lauderdale prison?

SALANUEVA: Three months. It's a state prison, but they rent two cells to the federal government to hold immigrants and people on their way to federal court. They use it as a punishment facility for inmates from Krome, the immigration detention center in Miami.

My cell had no windows. The lights were on 24 hours a day, and a camera was taping you. The cell had four cots, a table, a toilet, a wash basin, and a shower with a curtain.

I shared the cell with Cuban women, a woman from Colombia, and women from Haiti, with whom I got along very well.

During these three months, René and I wrote to each other. I received his letters from prison. But none of my letters were delivered to him.

CALERO: What about the response of your coworkers? Didn't one of them help you and René communicate with each other while you were in jail?

SALANUEVA: Yes, that was Marina. She was from Peru, a hard worker. We

respected each other. She was very religious; she knew I wasn't a believer. When I was arrested she visited me in jail. She told me to be calm and gave me a Bible, with a beautiful dedication, which I still have.

On one visit she asked if I had spoken with René. I explained that you're not allowed to make calls from one prison to another.

Now, at the telemarketing company they gave us tape recorders to use during sales calls. We would ask the customer to say his name, give us some information, and state that he agreed to the terms of the contract.

Marina said, "Remember, I have a recorder at home. Let's have René call me. I'll accept the call and record René's message for you. Then you call me, I'll record you, and when René calls me again I'll play the recorder so he can hear your message. When you call again, you'll be able to listen to René's message."

Deported to Cuba

It turned out to be farewell messages to each other, because by then I was about to be deported.

They deported me on Nov. 22, 2000, just five days before the trial of the five began.

WATERS: On what basis did the U.S. government deport you?

SALANUEVA: In immigration court, no evidence was presented that implicated me in anything. The prosecutors said I knew about my husband's activity. The judge asked them to show proof that I belonged to this group of spies that had been arrested or that I knew what they were doing.

"The trial hasn't started yet," the prosecutor said. "I can only say she's part of the group, and her daughters are too."

The judge asked, "The daughters? How old are they?"

"Yes, yes, the daughters. One is 14 years old and the other is 2."

"But how can you say the daughters knew?"

"OK, not now, but in the future they could know," said the prosecutor.

It was hysterical. From that time on, we called Ivette the "baby spy."

The judge said, "Well, although I see no evidence, I have the authority, on the basis of suspicion, to revoke her residency and deport her." And that's what he did.

After the deportation hearing I asked to see René. They said no. Irmita was already in Cuba; she had come here on vacation before my arrest. I asked immigration to bring Ivette to the airport, so I could take her to Cuba with me.

They said no, Ivette was a U.S. citizen, and she was not subject to deportation.

"And how is she going to stay in the U.S. if I am going to be deported and René is in prison?" I asked.

They replied that we would have to find a relative to travel with Ivette and give that relative a power of attorney. As it happened, René's mother, Irma [Schwerer], had been granted a visa to visit René. So Ivette returned to Cuba with Irma the day after I was deported.

'Many in Cuba need to hear this'

MARTÍN KOPPEL: I understand that Irmita got support from some of her friends at school.

SALANUEVA: Yes, that was at the end of the trial. Irmita was back living in Cuba by then, and she traveled to Miami to attend the sentencing in December 2001.

Irmita's friends saw her in the newspapers and on television. Some of them defied all the hostile propaganda and went to the courtroom to support her.

I was in the United States for four years. In that brief time I learned what it meant to live and work in that country as just one more worker. These were my experiences, but there are millions of similar stories by immigrants in the United States.

In Cuba many people need to hear these things, both those of my generation—I was born in 1959—and today's youth. These are things that in Cuba you only read about in books or hear from your grandparents. You might think it's part of the past. That today capitalism isn't like that. But practical experiences like the ones I went through teach you more about life under capitalism than anything you can read. They show you why a revolution was necessary in Cuba.

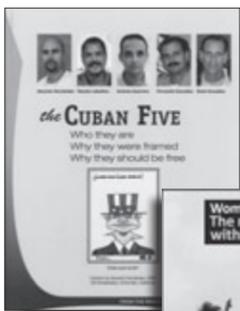
Having gone through these experiences, I value even more all that we've achieved in our country. Everything we cannot allow them to take away from us. The gains we can never give up. That's what the five are defending; it's why they keep them in jail. And it's why we will never stop fighting to free them.



Bill Hackwell

René González following his release in October 2011. After 13 years in federal prison, he was ordered to remain in U.S. for three years under court "supervision."

More reading on the Cuban Five and the Cuban Revolution



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Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution

by Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, Yolanda Ferrer - \$15 (normally \$20)

United States vs. the Cuban Five: a Judicial Coverup

By Rodolfo Dávalos Fernández \$22

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Where to write to

Gerardo, Ramón, Antonio, and Fernando

(René González is on "supervised release" in Florida. For his safety his address is not available.)

Fernando González
Reg. #58733-004, F.C.I. Safford, P.O. Box 9000, Safford, AZ 85548
➤ Address envelope to "Rubén Campa"

Antonio Guerrero
Reg. #58741-004, Apache A, FCI Marianna P.O. Box 7007, Marianna, FL 32447-7007

Gerardo Hernández
Reg. #58739-004, U.S. Penitentiary, P.O. Box 3900, Adelanto, CA 92301

Ramón Labañino
Reg. #58734-004, FCI Jesup, 2680 301 South, Jesup, GA 31599
➤ Address envelope to "Luis Medina"

Che led with confidence in capacities of working people

Below is an excerpt from the introduction to *The Bolivian Diary* of Ernesto Che Guevara, one of *Pathfinder's Books of the Month* for July. Guevara's diary tells the story of the effort he led during the 11-month guerrilla campaign in late 1966 and 1967 in Bolivia to forge a fighting movement of workers and peasants that could open the socialist revolution on the South American continent. Copyright © 1994 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The socialist revolution, as Guevara repeatedly explained, marks the first time in history that expanding revolutionary consciousness and growing political domination by the working class becomes a necessity in order to advance the economic organization of society. The door is opened for working people to cease being the objects of blind economic laws that determine their living and working conditions and social relations, and instead to begin placing the organization of productive forces under their own conscious control.

This is not just one way among others that might be used following a successful popular revolution to advance the transition to socialism. The most committed and self-sacrificing vanguard of the working people, organized



Che Guevara doing voluntary work in Cuba in early 1960s. "Che organized along a course that made it possible for workers to transform themselves and their social and political consciousness as they collectively transformed the social relations under which they worked, produced, and lived," explains Waters in introduction to *Bolivian Diary*.

in a communist party, *must* lead growing layers of their class in taking more and more control over the political direction and administration of the state and economy.

In carrying out whatever leadership task he was assigned, Che organized along a course that made it possible for workers to transform themselves and their social and political consciousness as they collectively transformed the social relations under which they worked, produced, and lived.

He explained that this is the only way working people carrying out the revolutionary process can make the new social relations more transparent and direct and, at the same time, base these relations on human solidarity. It is the only way to tear away the veils and fetishes behind which the capitalist system hides the brutal consequences of its exploitation of working people and obscures the unique contribution labor makes to all social and cultural progress.

By the time the Cuban revolution conquered, the balance sheet of twentieth-century experience had demonstrated beyond any doubt that society will not—and cannot—advance toward socialism and communism along any other course.

If it is directed down any other road, it will become mired in bureaucratic

planning and management, fostering growing demoralization and alienation of working people from their labor. New privileged social layers will be spawned that ape the values and attitudes of the capitalist classes still dominant on a world scale. Willy-nilly, revolutionists will be turned into accomplices of the law of value and its corrosive social consequences. They will begin, at first even unconsciously, to seek support and collaboration from petty-bourgeois layers at home and from bourgeois forces internationally, as they turn their faces away from the toilers of the world, who are humanity's only salvation.

Along this road, a workers state will not only regress toward restoration of capitalism but, as Fidel Castro put it in 1986, "to a system worse than capitalism."

Recognizing the fundamentally political character of economic questions and decisions during the transition to socialism was central to everything Guevara did as a leader of the Cuban revolution. His experience had given him infinite confidence in the capacities of ordinary working people to understand these questions in the process of taking control over their labor and their lives, and, in fact, to become different human beings.

To this end, Guevara set the exam-

ple of consistent study and disciplined reading. He did so at the same time that he carried an immense political workload—including international travel, meetings with assemblies of factory workers, and frequent participation on days off in voluntary work mobilizations on priority social projects. ...

In the pages of Guevara's Bolivian diary that follow, as well as in the memoirs of his fellow combatants, this Che comes alive—the leader of men and women who challenged all of them to expand their cultural horizons and stretch themselves to take on responsibilities they never dreamed they were capable of. The library of 300–400 books the guerrillas rotated among themselves for reading and discussion; the study classes on political economy, history, mathematics, Quechua, Aymará, and French; Che's study of *The Young Hegel* and *Capital*—all are described in vivid detail here. ...

As Fidel Castro pointed out in his 1960 address to the United Nations General Assembly, the economic, social, and political conditions that made possible the first socialist country in the Americas were not unique to Cuba. The Cuban revolution was only the crest of the rising tide of mass struggles across the continent, which, in turn, registered a new level of energy and explosiveness in the wake of the Cuban victory.

Fear that the example of Cuba would spread and that other proimperialist regimes would be overthrown by mass revolutionary struggle underlay Washington's determination to crush the workers and farmers government in Cuba. At Wall Street's bidding, bourgeois governments throughout the hemisphere rushed to try to isolate the revolutionary regime. ...

Che thought and acted as an internationalist. He knew that the future of the Cuban revolution did not ultimately depend on the efforts and capacities of the communist leadership in Cuba of which he was part, however deep-going that revolution might be, however capable the leadership. Only new revolutionary victories elsewhere, especially new socialist advances in the Americas, would change the relationship of class forces internationally and break the isolation that weighed so heavily on Cuba.

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Endorse, use SWP campaign!

Continued from front page

guard in the working class to organize effective resistance to the assaults of the bosses and their government. Like other groups of militant workers, the campaign seeks to link up with and build solidarity with workers' struggles whenever and wherever they emerge.

The campaign is getting out the truth about these fights as it also tells the truth about the long road of struggle ahead and the character of the crisis for which the propertied rulers have no solution. What we confront is a systemic crisis of capitalism, which has only just begun. This will pose the need for a revolutionary struggle to wrest power from the propertied rulers and replace it with the political rule of the working class.

The Socialist Workers campaign seeks to give a voice to those under attack, from big cities to small towns; from the picket lines and the factory floors to those without work; from small farmers, families whose homes have been foreclosed and others saddled with unpayable debt burdens to those protesting police

brutality, attacks on immigrant workers, or U.S. wars.

The dog-eat-dog social values propagated by capitalism foster competition and myriad divisions among working people—within national borders and as an international class. Through collective struggle, we can come to both recognize our self-worth and break down these divisions. This is the lesson of the mighty battles workers and toilers have fought—from the proletarian Black rights movement of the 1950s and '60s to the Cuban Revolution of 1959.

We urge other fighters to see this campaign as their own. Use it as a tribune of the working class and its allies. Use it to help spread solidarity. Use it as an opportunity to engage in a discussion on how we can advance the interests of working people against those of the capitalist class and their political parties. Sign up on the endorser card and help the Socialist Workers candidates meet others you know. Volunteer to help in one of the petition drives to put them on the ballot. Make a donation to help the candidates join the struggles as they tour across the country.

Supreme Court approves 'Obamacare' tax

Continued from front page

people.

It allows the central provisions of President Barack Obama's self-proclaimed Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, signed into law in March 2010, to stand.

By forcing all workers to buy health insurance by 2014 under penalty of fines, the one thing "Obamacare" will guarantee is a profit bonanza to insurance, drug and hospital corporations.

In the 5-4 vote, Chief Justice John Roberts, appointed by former President George W. Bush, joined with those on the court associated with the Democratic Party in backing the government.

The "requirement that certain individuals pay a financial penalty for not obtaining health insurance may reasonably be characterized as a tax" and therefore falls within Congress' power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises," Roberts wrote in the majority ruling. He added that taxing people to influence their conduct is nothing new, citing taxes on tobacco and sawed-off shotguns as examples.

"It is not our job to protect the people from the consequences of their political choices," Roberts wrote.

But the role delegated to the Supreme Court is to enforce the Constitution against actions by Congress and the president that violate the protections it affords.

The vote "shocked the nation and jolted the presidential campaign," the *New York Daily News* commented the following day.

The Roberts-led decision reflected intense political pressure. "The fate of health care shouldn't come down to 9 justices. Try 19," was the headline of an article by Jonathan Turley in the June 22 *Washington Post*. Pointing to moves by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to pack the Supreme Court with six additional appointees in 1937 to get rulings he wanted, Turley argued for Obama to take similar steps today.

Ironically, Obama has repeatedly argued that the penalty to be imposed on anyone who could or would not buy insurance under the law was not a tax.

Supporters of the law, such as Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, claimed the power to force everyone to buy insurance came from the Constitution's commerce clause, arguing that "the market for medical care is one in which all individuals inevitably participate." The court's ruling rejected this argument.

In 2016 the tax will amount to 2.5 percent of household income—at least \$695. By 2017 it is expected to bring in \$4 billion in federal revenue.

Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote in dissent that taxing people for what they *don't* do, like failure to buy insurance, is "to extend federal power to virtually all human activity."

Some 50 million people in the U.S. had no health insurance in 2009. More than 60 percent of them either visited a doctor or in many cases an emergency room, the one place that supposedly cannot turn them away regardless of their ability to pay.

Going after working people who "irresponsibly" seek needed hospital treatment they can't afford is a major aspect of the bill. Judges Ginsburg and Sonia Sotomayor express this most bluntly in a separate opinion backing the ruling. Without the bill the uninsured get a "free ride," they say, and distort the whole health care market.

The market is massive. In 2009 people spent collectively \$2.5 trillion on health care, 17.6 percent of the gross national product. By 2020 it is expected to reach nearly 20 percent, at \$4.6 trillion. The average cost per individual was \$7,000 in 2010.

The law will inflate the bloated federal bureaucracy, a growing army of overseers appointed to "help people" and exact penalties against those who can't pay for the compulsory insurance.

At the same time, the number of people with employer-based health insurance has been falling fast. It was 44.5 percent at the end of 2011 compared to 70 percent in 2001. The process has accelerated since the capitalist economic crisis deepened in 2008, with companies shifting more premiums onto workers.

Many unionists who have been locked out or forced out on strike over the past few years know that the question of health care coverage has been one of the main issues.

Medicare, Medicaid cuts

Medicare is on the chopping block in the act. It imposes cuts to providers of \$575 billion in the first 10 years. An Independent Payment Advisory Board will regulate the Medicare budget and be responsible for making the cuts.

In a 7-2 vote, the Supreme Court also struck down the act's expansion of Medicaid as a violation of the Constitution. The Affordable Care Act would have extended Medicaid to cover the entire non-elderly population with an income up to 133 percent of the poverty level of \$23,050 for a family of four. States that didn't comply would have lost their Medicaid funding.

Medicaid, which more than 58 million people rely on, has been continually cut in recent years. "From New Jersey to California ... states are cutting Medicaid payments to doctors and hospitals, limiting benefits to Medicaid recipients" and "requiring beneficiaries to pay larger co-payments," the *New York Times* noted last year.

After the court ruling, a number of state government officials, including the governor of Texas and attorney general of Maine announced they will refuse to expand Medicaid and are considering eliminating more people from the program.

Kathleen Sebelius, the administration's health secretary, has urged state governments not to cut people off, instead suggesting they save money by "cutting back on benefits," the *Wall Street Journal* reported.

The court left untouched the law's exclusion of any coverage for undocumented workers, and abortion services are not covered by the act at all.

Embargo on Iran

Continued from front page

United Kingdom, and the U.S.—and Germany continue.

Both sides have recently refrained from provocative statements. This includes the Israeli government, which had earlier threatened airstrikes on Iran's nuclear plants.

According to Reuters, as a result of the new sanctions Iran's oil exports in July could fall to below 1.1 million barrels per day from a 2.2 million average in 2011. This would amount to "a loss of around \$3.4 billion in monthly government revenue compared to a year ago," the press agency said.

Iran relies on oil exports for 80 percent of its national budget.

Tehran "has been reluctant to reduce its oil production, fearing that doing so could damage its wells," the *New York Times* reported July 4. "So while it furiously works to build storage capacity on shore," it has been using some 65 tankers as floating storage facilities.

Imperialist sanctions have had a devastating impact on working people in Iran. "Unemployment in Iran's industrial heartland has soared to an unofficially estimated 35%," said a July 1 article in Britain's daily *Telegraph*, because factories are unable to import vital materials and equipment and are laying off workers.

The article reports that the prices of 10 basic foods have risen by an average of 70 percent since March in several supermarkets and government food distribution centers in Tehran because of increased transportation costs.

The *New York Times* reported July 3 that in an effort "to deter the Iranian military from any possible attempt to shut the Strait of Hormuz," Washington has moved four additional minesweepers into the region as well as a converted amphibious transport and docking ship that will serve as a logistics and operations hub for mine clearing. The strait is a narrow waterway between Iran and the Arabian Peninsula where about one-third of world oil tanker shipments transit.

The Pentagon also plans to hold a major mine countermeasure exercise in the Arab-Persian Gulf with 19 countries in September.

Con Ed workers

Continued from front page

a "cash balance" plan and doubling the cost workers will pay for health insurance, workers say.

"With the fixed pension, I can retire and know how much I'll be getting," Fred Scott, 48, told the *Militant*. "But with Con Ed's plan, they're not letting me know. What if I live to 80 or 90?"

In a July 10 press release Con Edison said it had made a new offer that would maintain the pensions for current employees, but give the "cash balance" plan to new hires.

Union spokesperson John Melia told the *Militant* the union would not agree to a plan that would sacrifice the benefits of new workers.

Workers on the picket line said Con Ed had been training supervisors to do their jobs and started getting in touch with management retirees months ago in preparation for the contract fight.

Since the lockout began, Con Ed has brought in contractors from Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia and other states to cross the picket lines, said Gomez.

Many workers were taken by surprise when Con Edison locked them out.

"I'm still in shock," said Gerardo Giannattasio, 30, who has worked at Con Edison for four years. "I got escorted off the property. As of July 3 they terminated the medical benefits for my family. And they're even withholding our last week of pay."

"In hindsight, I should've known what they were up to," said Jared Peterson, 43, with 24 years seniority. He added that several years ago the company doubled the number of supervisors. "I think they were planning for something like this for years."

The lockout has spurred some union members to learn more about struggles other workers are facing. "As soon as we were locked out, I started surfing the Internet for information on lockouts," Scott said. "That's how I found out about the workers locked out by American Crystal in the Midwest for almost a year. It's happening all across America."