INSIDE

Washington expands firepower in Asia-Pacific, targets China

VOL. 76/NO. 33 SEPTEMBER 10, 2012

'Undocumented' and unafraid,' line up across US

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOS ANGELES—"Undocumented and unafraid" chanted nearly 100 youth as they marched around the Miguel Contreras Learning Complex here Aug. 25. They had just attended a forum on how to apply for "deferred

LEGALIZATION FOR ALL **UNDOCUMENTED!** —See editorial, p. 11

action" status that would allow them

to stay in the U.S. for two years without facing deportation and obtain work permits.

Many had camped out overnight with their family members. By morning more than 500 were in line to attend one in a series of hourly forums and to get help in completing the paperwork.

An estimated 1.7 million youth under age 31 are eligible, if they came Continued on page 8

Int'l protests demand that immigrant youth | Moscow Free Pussy Riot'

BY EMMA JOHNSON

The conviction and sentencing for two years to a Russian penal colony of three members of the punk rock band Pussy Riot has put the spotlight on the fight for freedom of artistic and political expression—and the question of space for working people to practice politics—in Russia.

The three feminist punk musicians were railroaded to prison through an orchestrated show trial, denied the right to present the majority of their defense witnesses, and convicted for using art to speak out against the reelection and new government of President Vladimir Putin.

Their imprisonment has led to protests in Russia and internationally, demanding "Free Pussy Riot."

A district court in Moscow convicted Maria Alyokhina, 24, Yekaterina Samutsevich, 30, and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, 22, on Aug. 17 of "hooliganism motivated by religious

Continued on page 5

Miners' strike in South Africa continues after police massacre



Aug. 23 memorial service in Marikana, South Africa, for striking platinum miners mowed down in a hail of police bullets Aug. 16. Miners are demanding higher wages and job safety.

BY SETH GALINSKY

Despite a police massacre that left 34 dead and 78 wounded, some 3,000 striking rock drillers at the Lonmin platinum mine in Marikana, South Africa, west of Pretoria, defied a company ultimatum to go back to work by Aug. 21 or face dismissal.

"We are going to protest until we get what we want." one miner told the Mail & Guardian Aug. 20. The strike began Aug. 10.

The massacre shocked people across the country and the world. Video of the cop assault was widely posted on media and other websites internationally.

Claiming that the miners were threatening them with spears, machetes, clubs and a handful of firearms, the cops opened fire with automatic weapons Aug. 16. The hail of gunfire aimed at the miners was so thick it kicked up clouds of yellow dust.

Police Chief Riah Phiyega told a press conference the next day that the Continued on page 11

'Socialist campaign starts with the world'

SWP vice pres. candidate tours in Montreal



Maura DeLuca, SWP vice presidential candidate, second from right, joins striking Hyatt Regency workers on picket line, Aug. 26 in Montreal, to learn about and back their struggle.

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL—"I told the lockedout Hyatt Regency Hotel workers on their picket line today that I would take what I learned about their struggle back to fighting workers in the United States," Socialist Workers Party vice presidential candidate Maura DeLuca told some 25 people at an Aug. 26 citywide campaign meeting here.

The panel included Michel Dugré, the Communist League candidate in the Sept. 4 Quebec provincial election, running in the Laurier-Dorion electoral constituency. Before the forum, DeLuca and Dugré joined some 30 of the 300 hotel workers on their picket line. The workers were locked out July 25 after they rejected concessions in working conditions demanded by the bosses.

"When I told people in the United States I was bringing my campaign to Montreal some asked me why? I told

Continued on page 6

Obama or Ryan health scheme: either way workers go to the wall

BY SETH GALINSKY

When Mitt Romney named Paul Ryan as his vice presidential running mate Aug. 11, political columnists proclaimed the race had been transformed into a "battle of ideas" that centers around Medicare, the role of government in health care, and financial "responsibility."

The debate over President Barack Obama's and Ryan's competing ance at all, look for the cheapest plans they can get and push more of the cost onto their employees.

Premiums on those plans have nearly doubled since 2000. A November 2011 report by eHealth, Inc., states that the premium for individuals now average \$2,196 a year; for families it's

Deductibles, the amount that patients have to pay before their health insurance kicks in, are also rising.

Continued on page 3

COMMENTARY

schemes has been sharp, but upon closer examination the differences are not as deep as the campaign rhetoric makes it seem.

According to CNN, 49.9 million people in the U.S. had no health insurance in 2010, 16.3 percent of the population. For those ages 25 to 34 the percentage climbs to 28.4 percent. More than a quarter of those who earned less than \$25,000 a year are uninsured.

Looking to shore up their profits, private companies, if they offer insur-

Also Inside:

Rosa Aurora Freijanes, wife of 1 of Cuban 5, speaks in Mexico 2

Ravenswood, W.Va., strikers: 'One day longer'

Washington unionist endorses Socialist Workers campaign

Milwaukee workers strike for union: 'no justice, no pizza' 8

'Political struggle is way to gain freedom for Cuban 5'

Rosa Freijanes, wife of Fernando González, speaks in Mexico

BY BETSEY STONE

TIJUANA, Mexico—Rosa Aurora Freijanes, wife of Fernando González, one of the Cuban Five, was the featured speaker at a "Solidarity Evening with the Cuban Five" held here Aug. 17.

The five Cuban revolutionaries—Fernando González, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero and René González—were arrested in 1998 and framed up on charges that included failure to register as an agent of a foreign government and various "conspiracy" charges. Fernando González is serving a 17-year prison term. All five received the maximum sentence for their convictions.

What the five were doing, Freijanes explained to the more than 80 people at the event, was monitoring counterrevolutionary groups in southern Florida that for decades have carried out attacks on Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution and enjoy tacit backing from Washington.

Freijanes pointed to the 1976 bombing of a Cubana Airlines plane that killed 73 people as an example in a long list of violent counterrevolutionary actions against Cuba.

The legal appeals in the case of the five are almost exhausted, she explained. "We'll continue with legal steps, but you can't have confidence in the courts of the United States.

"The way toward winning freedom for the five is through a political struggle, including actions in the streets," she said. "We have to take the case to those who can really fight, to workers everywhere, the ones who suffer the most, who are fighting against abuses. It's working people who have the experience, and the resources, for this struggle.

"It was millions who demanded freedom for Nelson Mandela. We Cubans were part of that struggle. And we are proud of that," Freijanes added.

Appearing on a panel along with Freijanes were Gloria Verdieu of the San Diego Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal; Cristina Vázquez, international vice president of Workers United; and Cindy Sheehan, anti-war activist and Peace and Freedom Party vice-presidential candidate. Alicia Jrapko, coordinator of the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban Five, chaired the meeting.

The program included an excerpt from the documentary film *Esencias* about the tour of the U.S. by the National Children's Theatre of Cuba, La Colmenita. The clip from the film showed a meeting of the children with René González, the only one of the five who has been released from prison. González has been prevented from returning to Cuba, forced to serve a three-year term of "supervised release" in the U.S.

Meanwhile, attorney Martin Garbus filed Aug. 20 a 90-page brief in Federal District Court in Miami calling for the conviction of Hernández—sentenced to two life terms plus 15 years on charges that include conspiracy to gather and



Rosa Aurora Freijanes, wife of Fernando González, one of Cuban Five framed up and jailed by U.S. government, being interviewed Aug. 17 by Telemundo TV network in Tijuana, Mexico.

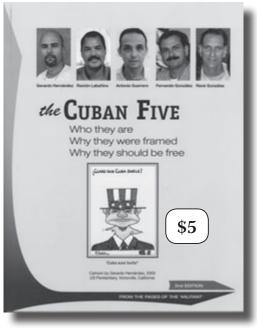
transmit national defense information and conspiracy to commit murder—to be overturned. Garbus joined the Cuban Five's legal team in April.

The brief details a secret campaign organized by the U.S. government to

fund Miami-area journalists, to the tune of millions of dollars, to flood the local media with stories critical of the five between 1998 and 2001. The campaign by Washington "violated the integrity of the trial," the brief states.

Coming Soon ...

Expanded edition



"We're fortunate persons. We're five soldiers, conscious and proud occupants of a trench, five men who have chosen to stand up for something rather than fall for nothing."

René González Message to the Cuban People, June 2009

Includes timeline along with new articles, interviews and speeches reprinted from the *Militant*.

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THE MILITANT

Covering workers' fights around the globe

Workers from Korea to Africa, from Europe to the U.S. face similar challenges: bosses refusing to give temp workers permanent positions, wage and benefit cuts, union-busting drives. The 'Militant' covers the fights, large and small, of workers around the globe.



Seong joon Cho/Bloomberg via Getty Images Hyundai strike July 13 in Ulsan, S. Korea.

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*'s views. These are expressed in editorials.

'Obamacare': bonanza for health 'industry,' cuts in care

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

President Barack Obama and his supporters say passage of his administration's Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, better known as "Obamacare," will address the growing crisis in health care for working people by increasing the proportion of the population with health insurance. While the plan may prop up the profit-driven health care "industry," it does nothing to stem the declining quality of care for working people and its ruinous consequences on health and well-being.

The key feature of the bill was the decision *not* to set up a universal health care system funded by general government revenues. Instead, the government's bloating health insurance bureaucracy will provide incentives for employers to offer some kind of insurance and subsidize plans for families with the lowest incomes who don't get crummy plans from a boss.

Government funds will come from cutting payments to doctors and hospitals and fines levied on the uninsured. Insurance companies will rake in profits from millions of healthy people who will pay to be insured, which the White House says will keep down prices for the sick, elderly and infirm. Meanwhile, already inflated prices for care rise, government programs are slashed, and workers' insurance covers less and less.

"Obamacare," passed in March 2010, was upheld largely intact by the Supreme Court in June, which ruled that the administration has the right to force workers to buy private insurance or be shackled with mandatory fines, which the court characterized as a "tax." By 2016 the tax penalty will rise to 2.5 percent of household income, at least \$695 and as much as \$2,085 per family.

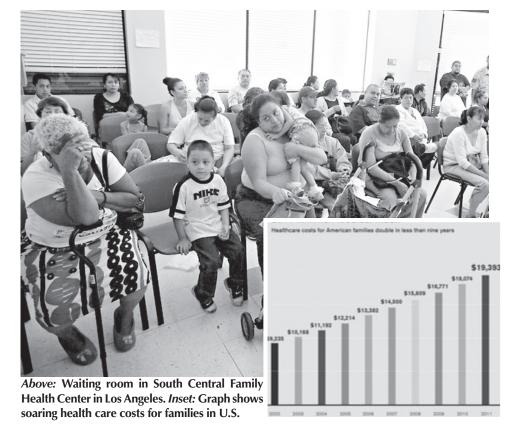
As bosses slash wages and benefits and health costs continue to rise, insurance behemoths are responding by offering shoddier plans. The *Wall Street Journal* explained Aug. 2 that they are racing to install "tiered" coverage, limiting the choice of doctors and hospitals covered under their lower price plans and requiring referrals from primary

care physicians before you can see specialists, as well as prior authorization from insurance companies before covering a number of medical procedures.

Health insurance premiums increased about 9 percent last year, according to *Forbes*.

The act considers employer-sponsored insurance "affordable" if workers pay out-of-pocket 9.5 percent or less of their household income. Above that amount, individuals can file paperwork to apply for subsidies and tax credits. But the Internal Revenue Service, which is responsible for implementing this part of the act, says this applies only to "self-only coverage," not the huge amounts workers are forced

Continued on page 11



Obama or Ryan scheme: either way, workers lose

Continued from front page

According to U.S. government figures, the average family deductible jumped 30 percent in just two years. Deductibles of \$2,000 or higher are more and more the norm along with increasing copays for each doctor's visit.

Roughly 96 million people receive either Medicare, the government health insurance for senior citizens, or Medicaid coverage, which provides insurance for disabled and low income people.

With or without Obamacare or Ryancare, deep cutbacks are already being implemented in Medicaid coverage, which varies state by state.

The latest is Illinois where Gov. Pat Quinn, a Democrat, cut \$1.6 billion of the state's \$15 billion Medicaid budget last month, eliminating most of its dental coverage except for emergency tooth extractions. While Obama's health care law ostensibly prohibits states from restricting eligibility for Medicaid before 2014, they are allowed to cut "optional benefits" like dental, vision, and drug coverage.

Growing numbers of doctors refuse to take Medicaid or Medicare patients, because they can make more money with patients who have private insurance or pay cash.

Will anything that Obama or Ryan propose change this picture of deteriorating health care for the better?

Democrats and Republicans alike highlight the annual budget deficit—more than \$1 trillion for the last four years—and say it must be trimmed or disaster looms.

Obama and Ryan both start with maintaining health care as a commodity and protecting the profits of insurance and pharmaceutical companies.

Both project cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, which together account for just over 20 percent of the federal budget.

Much of the debate has focused on Medicare for the elderly. Ryan and Romney point out that under so-called Obamacare the government makes the decisions about what kind of health care people can get and how much doctors, hospitals, and other health care providers can charge. Ryan calls the Independent Payment Advisory Board, set up by Obama to control Medicare costs, "a new rationing board" that will "start price-controlling Medicare to deny access to current seniors."

Their solution? The Republican candidates favor reducing government subsidies and letting the capitalist market determine who receives what kind of care. Can't afford good health care? Don't worry, the market will work it out.

In a speech to senior citizens in The Villages, Fla., Aug. 18, Ryan said he would not make any cuts to Medicare benefits for those who are currently 55 or older.

"Our plan does not affect the benefits for people who are in or near retirement," Ryan told the crowd. But in what amounts to a two-tier plan, Ryan said that for those under 55 "you have to reform it ... so it doesn't go bankrupt."

Under the Ryan plan, starting in 2023 seniors would be able to choose either

Medicare coverage—which of course would cover even less than it does now—or receive a voucher or tax credit that would go toward paying for private insurance. Ryan also proposes gradually raising the Medicare eligibility age from 65 to 67 by 2033.

Obama speaks of expanding government-managed entitlement programs to more people, while reducing costs. How this can be done without accelerating the declining quality of health care working people receive is left to one's imagination.

Ryan charges that \$716 billion in Medicare savings that Obama promises from reduced payments to health care providers will worsen care for seniors and be used to fund a bureaucratized Obamacare. But Ryan included those same \$716 billion in "savings" in his budget proposal.

Ryan proposes "constraining Medicaid's growing cost trajectory" by giving states a "block grant," instead of the roughly matching funds under the current system.

Either way, with the Obama or Ryan scheme, workers go to the wall.

The insurance giants, who favor Obamacare, don't seem too concerned on their future. They're betting on big profits no matter which of the two capitalist parties wins the White House.

According to the *New York Times*, Aetna just agreed to buy Coventry Health Care, a huge provider of Medicare and Medicaid programs, for \$5.7 billion. In July, WellPoint agreed to acquire Amerigroup for \$5 billion.

Recommended reading

-MILITANT LABOR FORUMS-

FLORIDA

Miami

Syria, the "Arab Spring" and the Working-Class Struggle for Political Space. Fri., Sept. 14, 7:30 p.m. 719 NE 79th St. Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Free Pussy Riot! Working People and Artistic Freedom—Why the Fight for Political Rights Is Part of the Continuity of the Communist Movement. Speaker: Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cook County State's Attorney. Sat., Sept. 1, 7 p.m. 806 W. Washington Blvd., second floor. Tel.: (312) 455-0111.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Today's Living, Fighting Revolution in Cuba. Speaker: Omari Musa, report from Havana conference on racism. Sat., Sept 1, 7:30 p.m. 3701 Pulaski Ave. Tel.: (215) 225-1270.

TEXAS

Houston

Free the Pussy Riot Prisoners! Speaker: Jacquie Henderson, Socialist Workers Party

candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas. Fri., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-50L. Tel.: (713) 688-4919.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Defending Immigrant Rights: No to E-Verify and 'Secure Communities'.Speaker: Clay Dennison, Socialist Workers
Party. Fri., Aug. 31, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5.
5418 Rainier Ave. S. Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Working Class, Labour, Socialist Campaign from the U.S. to Australia. Speakers: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, and Joanne Kuniansky, Communist League candidate for mayor of Canterbury. Sat., Sept. 8, 6 p.m. Donation: \$5. Upstairs, 281-7 Beamish St., Campsie. Tel.: (02) 9718-9698.

CANADA

Montreal

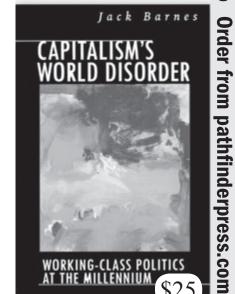
Support Farmers' Demands for Immediate Aid. Speaker: Joe Young, Communist League. Fri. Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. 7107 St-Denis, room 204. Tel.: (514) 272-5840.

-CALENDAR-

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Labor Day Immigration Rights Rally—We Are All Workers. Mon., Sept. 3, 11 a.m. Westlake Plaza, 4th and Pine Street Sponsors: El Comite Pro-Reforma Migratorio y Justicia Social and May 1 Action Coalition. Tel.: (206) 650-2106 and (253) 347-4229.



ON THE PICKET LINE

Washington Teamsters end 3-month strike

KENT, Wash.—Teamsters Local 117 members voted 33-22 Aug. 16 to accept a contract with the Davis Wire Company here. The workers had been on strike since May 21 over pay, benefits, safety and working conditions.

Prior to the strike, a typical work schedule was 12 days on and two off. Some worked 12-hour shifts and some worked more than 60 days straight without a day off. Amputated fingers and other injuries were not uncommon.

"When you step back and look at what happened I think this strike was a success," Robert Bruner, a shop steward, told the *Militant*. "We got a wage increase, a break room, which we never had before, and now we get to take breaks and lunches. The only drawback was that we had to accept the retention of eight scabs working in the plant for six months."

Bruner said the original company offer included no wage increases over a five-year period plus increases in payments for medical benefits.

Workers are still prosecuting a lawsuit against the company for unpaid breaks. "If we win that suit workers can get back pay for up to three years," Bruner added.

"We got a 2 percent pay increase but it is offset by the increase in what we pay for medical benefits," Teddy Thomas, who has worked at the plant nine years, said in an interview.

"We won some things and we lost some," Syd Coe told the *Militant*, explaining one of the biggest gains was the increased solidarity workers would take back to the shop floor. "We built a solidarity city with each other and we were unified against the company."

"I'm not happy that the scabs are left in the plant and that some workers may not be called back," said Tarik Ahmed, who has worked in the plant for 10 years and is originally from Iraqi Kurdistan. "The union contract at the company's other plant in Irwindale, Calif., expires in October. If we had held out a few more weeks, I think we could have gotten more."

"I couldn't have been prouder to be with my fellow Teamsters on the picket lines," said Derald Owen in a phone interview. He said he decided not to return to work after the strike because of unsafe working conditions.

—Edwin Fruit

NY Con Ed workers approve contract after 4-week lockout

NEW YORK—Utility Workers Union Local 1-2 announced Aug. 15 that

Con Edison workers had voted 93 percent in favor of accepting a new contract with the electric utility.

Some 8,000 union members locked out by Con Ed for nearly a month went back to work July 26 in a deal brokered by Gov. Andrew Cuomo. The company kept electricity flowing with about 5,000 supervisory personnel.

The contract includes two-tier pensions. Current employees are guaranteed no changes in their defined benefits pension plan before July 2037. New hires will be offered a "cash balance" plan, which does not guarantee pension amounts

The contract also includes an increase in medical insurance and a roughly 11 percent wage increase over the life of the four-year pact. Workers say the wage raise will not cover the higher health insurance costs.

"I think the lower pension for the new hires was inevitable," Mike Lombardo, 41, told the *Militant*, on his way into work prior to the vote. "That's the way all these companies are going."

During the lockout Con Ed workers organized boisterous picket lines and took part in labor rallies, wining support from working people across the city.

"I think we could've held up a little, maybe gotten a little better deal," said Fred Scott.

"I wished we had an agreement that didn't include a different pension for the new hires," Frank Rodriguez told the *Militant* after the contract was approved. "Going through what we were going through and getting support opened my eyes. It showed us we weren't alone in the fight. It made me more of a unionist."

—Deborah Liatos and Seth Galinsky

S. Carolina dockworkers fight union-busting probe

CHARLESTON, S.C.—Some 150 members of the International Longshoremen's Association picketed here Aug. 20 to protest the loading of munitions without ILA workers. Portus Stevedoring, which handles military cargo for the U.S. Marines in Jacksonville, Fla., is transporting workers to load at the Port of Charleston.

ILA members from ports in Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina took part in the action, along with members of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots union, who operate tugboats.

"This work has always been done by the ILA," Ken Riley, president of both ILA Local 1422 here and of the South Carolina AFL-CIO, told the *Militant*. He said that issues at stake include safety, working conditions, benefits and wages.



Militant/Betsey Stone

Members of United Farm Workers protest Aug. 21 outside Ace Tomato headquarters in Manteca, Calif., demanding that company implement wage raises stipulated in contract.

Ravenswood, W.Va., strikers: 'One day longer'



Militant/Linda Joyce

RAVENSWOOD, W.Va.—Under the banner "One Day Longer," more than 200 members and supporters of Steelworkers Local 5668 rallied here Aug. 23 to build solidarity for the union's strike against Constellium Rolled Products. The local represents nearly 700 workers at the aluminum rolling mill, which produces aluminum used in airplanes and cars. The workers have been picketing since Aug. 5, after voting to reject by a margin of 604 to 20 a company offer that took aim at health care benefits.

In addition to Steelworkers locals, unionists from the United Mine Workers of America, United Food and Commercial Workers, and others came to the rally from West Virginia and Ohio. Some brought truckloads of food; most came with donation checks for the strike fund.

The striking Steelworkers have announced a rally and benefit concert for Sept. 8 at the union hall starting at noon at 52 Nu Chance Drive, Ravenswood, WV 26164. Messages of support or donations can be mailed to the same address. Checks should be made out to USW LU#5668 Strike Fund.

—LINDA JOYCE AND TOM NICHOLS

Chris May, vice president of Portus Stevedoring, told the *Journal of Commerce*, a transport industry publication, that the company has contracted with the Marines to handle its cargo at Jacksonville and that the contract allows them to follow the work.

Riley said the ILA learned workers contracted by Portus, members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, were to travel with the ship from Jacksonville where it had taken on commercial cargo and would stay aboard while they load it in Charleston.

"The idea that these workers are being housed on the ship says a lot about the conditions they are working under," said Ron Just, a dockworker in Charleston for 12 years.

George Eberhardt, a retired member of United Auto Workers Local 5841, who worked at Mack Truck, joined the picket line. Asked why a retired autoworker had come to the protest, he responded, "It's on my sign!" The sign read, "Unions won't go away!"

—Sam Manuel

California farmworkers demand company implement wage raises

MANTECA, Calif.—With their red eagle United Farm Workers flags waving, dozens of farmworkers lined the road outside the headquarters of Ace Tomato here Aug. 21 demanding the company implement a contract.

"We're out here because we need a raise!" said Joel Pérez, who has worked for Ace Tomato for two years. After working for two hours in the morning, Pérez and a dozen other workers walked out of the fields to join the protest.

"I'm here to support the Ace workers because I know the abuses and injustices we confront from the contractors, supervisors and bosses," said another protester, Leopoldo Gonzalez, who has worked for various growers in the Manteca area.

The effort to win a union contract at Ace Tomato began in 1989 when the majority of workers voted to join the United

Farm Workers. For all these years, the company has refused to bargain. In March, the UFW petitioned the state's Agricultural Labor Relations Board, seeking mandatory mediation. On June 28, under union pressure, the mediator drew up a contract proposal that included wage increases. In July, the ALRB ordered the company to implement it. This order is now tied up in court.

"All these tomato companies are the same until we, the workers, start fighting for better conditions on the job, better pay and benefits," said José Sánchez Orrea who has worked at Ace Tomato for six years, and before that for eight years with Pacific Triple E where 800 workers recently won a contract with increased wages and benefits.

—Gerardo Sánchez and Betsey Stone

Quebec workers strike adhesive maker Mapei

LAVAL, Quebec—"They don't respect the union," said Armand, one of 115 workers on strike here against adhesive manufacturer Mapei, as he was walking the picket line Aug. 6. The strikers, members of the Union of Workers in Ceramic and other Products (SSPCA), have been on strike since May 4.

Mapei has 59 plants spread over five continents. Workers here say they feel the company is out to break the union.

Local President Eric Caron described the last two years in the plant. "The company harassed us constantly. They ridiculed the collective agreement." Mapei started ignoring seniority. They cut two minutes off each break and three minutes off the lunch break.

The company has used the courts to secure a number of injunctions limiting location and duration of pickets. Some production is being carried out through scab labor, according to strikers.

Daytime picketing continues Monday to Friday at 2900 Francis-Hughes, Laval.

—Annette Kouri

Protests: 'Free Pussy Riot'

Continued from front page hatred."

It took Judge Marina Syrova more than three hours to read the verdict. during which the defendants were kept standing and handcuffed. Syrova said they had committed a "grave violation of public order," displayed "obvious disrespect for society," and ruled that "considering the nature and degree of the danger posed by what was done, the defendants' correction is possible only through an actual punishment."

Syrova also said the women had psychological disorders and criticized them for embracing feminism, though she conceded this is not illegal.

On Feb. 21, 10 members of Pussy Riot protested against Putin in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. In a nearly empty church they mimed a song to silent guitars, asking the Virgin Mary to drive away Putin and criticizing Patriarch Kirill I for giving Putin the backing of the Russian Orthodox Church in the presidential election set for March 4. After less than a minute security guards removed them. Pussy Riot videotaped the protest, put words and music to it, and posted it on the Internet.

On March 3, the day before the presidential vote, the three women were arrested and kept in custody until their trial five months later.

The women testified that they did not intend to offend the Orthodox Church, but sought to make a political statement against Putin, and against the Patriarch for his backing of him. The church said the sentence was "a commensurate reaction ... to blasphemous acts," but under pressure called for leniency.

Alyokhina, Samutsevich Tolokonnikova showed no sign of being cowed. They were smiling and joking during the proceedings. Towards the end of Judge Syrova's condemnation, supporters outside played the band's new single "Putin Lights Up the Fires."

"The country is going into the streets boldly ... the country is going to bid farewell to the regime," the band members sang.

"We expect a guilty verdict," Samutsevich said in her closing statement at the trial. "Compared to the judicial machine, we are nobodies, and we have lost. On the other hand, we have won. The whole world now sees that the criminal case against us has been fabricated. The system cannot conceal the repressive nature of this trial."

Defense lawyers said the three would appeal to higher courts in Russia and to the European Court of Human Rights, but would not ask Putin for any pardon. Russian police said they are searching for more members of the group in connection with the protest.

Pussy Riot has won support from prominent figures on the international music scene, including Paul McCartney and Sting. During a concert in Moscow in August, Madonna called for the release of the three band members.

Pussy Riot's performance came in the context of broader protests following elections to the Russian parliament, the Duma, Dec. 4. Tens of thousands of people have participated in rallies and demonstrations in the months since.

On Putin's inauguration May 7 thousands of riot police, backed by armored cars, were in the streets of Moscow. Hundreds of protesters were arrested.

On June 8, Putin signed a law that steeply hikes financial penalties for those who organize or take part in unsanctioned demonstrations—up \$9,000 for individuals, \$18,000 for organizers and more than \$30,000 for groups or companies. The average yearly salary in Russia is \$8,500.

In her closing remarks, Tolokonnikova said band members are students and heirs of Alexander Vvedensky, a poet and founder of Oberiu, an avant-garde performance group that existed between 1927 and 1930, before being shut down by the government and its leaders arrested. He died in Stalin's prisons in 1941 after his second political arrest.

Art and revolution in Russia

The 1917 Russian Revolution, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, provided enormous space and impetus to artistic expression: painting, literature, theater, film production, often experimental and avant-garde. The



Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, member of female punk rock band Pussy Riot, on her way into court hearing in Moscow Aug. 8. She and two other members were sentenced Aug. 17 to two years in prison for protest against President Vladimir Putin in Russian Orthodox Church.

Bolshevik leadership took care not to put artists under any state policy or decide what was permitted or not.

"Art, like science, not only does not seek orders, but by its very essence, cannot tolerate them," Leon Trotsky, a leader of the revolution, wrote in a 1938 article titled "Art and Revolution." "Artistic creation has its laws—even when it consciously serves a social movement. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with lies, hypocrisy and the spirit of conformity."

The revolution found itself isolated, due to the failure of Communist parties in Germany and elsewhere to conquer power in the midst of revolutionary battles in the 1920s, harsh economic conditions given the backward state of development inherited from tsardom, and attacks from counterrevolutionary forces and imperialist armies alike.

After the death of V.I. Lenin in 1924, a bureaucratic caste—spawned under these conditions and the grinding pressure of world capitalism gained strength. This privileged social layer, whose main spokesperson was Joseph Stalin, beat back those who advocated continuing the revolutionary course Lenin had fought for, and consolidated political power in the late

This counterrevolution imposed an increasingly authoritarian regime on the country and on Communist parties internationally. The working class in Russia and its affiliated republics that comprised the Soviet Union was driven out of politics. Art was placed under strict political rule and those who did not conform were driven underground, placed in mental asylums or eliminated.

Over the last few decades of the 20th century, as the power of the Stalinist murder machine began to fray, stirrings of resistance began, finding their first expressions in poetry and the arts. With the disintegration of the Stalinist regime, beginning at the end of the 1980s, space opened up for working people to move back into politics and the world.

The fight to free Pussy Riot is today at the center of defending freedom of expression and the space to practice politics in face of the attempts from the Russian rulers to close it down.

For Further Reading

Art and Revolution

by Leon Trotsky



One of the outstanding revolutionary leaders of the 20th century discusses questions of literature, art, and culture in a period of capitalist decline and working-class struggle.

New International A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

issue no. 11

Contrary to imperialism's hopes, the working class has not been crushed in countries across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in wake of the collapse of regimes

and parties in the early 1990s that claimed to be Communist. \$16

PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

September 11, 1987

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Nearly three years after the beginning of the United Mine Workers strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. and Samoyed Energy, five union members are facing a frame-up in federal court.

In early August, a federal grand jury in eastern Kentucky charged United Mine Workers of America Local 2496 President Donnie Thornsbury, his cousin David Thornsbury, James and Irving Smith, and Arnold Heightland with "conspiracy to damage and disable motor vehicles used in interstate commerce." The frame-up stems from the shooting death of Hayes West, a nonunion truck driver, on May 29, 1985.

These miners are targeted for being activists in the 1984-85 strikes against Massey and against Samoyed. Massey hired an army of gun thugs and scabs to try to break the strike at its mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

September 10, 1962

Never, save, perhaps in Hitlerite Germany, has a public been subjected to such a press campaign of crude lies and distortions designed to create a war psychosis as have the American people in the past two weeks.

Headlines screamed, "Castro Gets Red Missiles" and "Russian troops Mass in Cuba," while senators from both bigbusiness parties clamored for immediate invasion of the revolutionary island.

The vast propaganda machine for mass producing lies was put into high gear because Cuba had obtained largescale assistance in strengthening its antiaircraft and shore defenses.

In view of the U.S.-launched invasion of April 1961, continued U.S. support of counter-revolutionaries, and talk in Washington that Cuba's economic difficulties make it ripe for another invasion, the Castro government is perfectly justified in taking all the military aid it can get.

SOCIALIST

September 11, 1937

In contrast to the early days of the rise of progressive trade unionists to power locally, studded with spectacular strikes, the past half year has been more or less one of steady but relatively quiet growth. Many thousands of new workers, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota have been enrolled in the movement for the first time.

The spearhead of the organization campaign has been the North Central District Drivers Council, organized one year ago on the initiative of the leaders of General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis.

At the present time there are over 20,000 members, working in five states, enrolled in this Drivers Council. Locals have been revived and strengthened, other locals have been set up in about 20 cities. In every community, working conditions have been bettered, union contracts have been won.

SWP candidate in Montreal

Continued from front page

them that our campaign doesn't start with the United States, it starts with the world," DeLuca explained.

"The capitalist ruling classes in every country have only one answer to the crisis of their system," DeLuca said. "They keep pounding away at us, to lower our wages and working conditions, and attack our social and political rights. They try to divide us, to get us to view workers at other companies as our competitors, to turn those born within U.S. borders against immigrants, women against men, employed against the unemployed, Caucasians against Blacks.

"We call straight out for the legalization of all workers without papers," DeLuca said. "You can't build a strong labor movement without this starting point. The unions have to lead this fight just like they have to fight to defend the right of a woman to decide if and when to bear children."

DeLuca explained that the SWP campaign proposes a fight for a massive government-funded public works program to provide jobs and rebuild the country's infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, child care centers and other facilities workers and working farmers need.

"This economic crisis is more global

than any previous capitalist crisis because throughout the world millions of toilers are being pushed into the capitalist labor market," DeLuca said. She pointed to the response by workers to attacks from their employers in Korea, China, India and Bangladesh.

"Our campaign stands with Syrian working people fighting to overthrow the brutal Assad regime, for democratic rights and the political space they need to organize," DeLuca continued. "We stand opposed to the efforts by the U.S. government to piece together a pro-imperialist regime there to put a lid on their struggle, the kind of government they are hoping to stabilize in Libya and Egypt.

"We raise the example of the Cuban Revolution in our campaign," said DeLuca. "The Cuban workers used the political power they won in the 1959 revolution to launch a massive literacy drive, outlaw racial discrimination, uproot discrimination against women and more. Today Cuba's workers and farmers are an example for working people around the world.

"This fighting perspective is the alternative to the bosses' parties," said DeLuca. "Whether Barack Obama and Joe Biden or Mitt Romney and Paul



Militant/John Stool

Michel Dugré, Communist League candidate in Quebec provincial election in Laurier-Dorion electoral constituency, speaks at campaign meeting in Montreal Aug. 26.

Ryan are elected in the U.S., workers will go to the wall."

Canada not exempt from crisis

One of these questions workers in Canada ask is whether or not it is exempt from the world economic crisis, Michel Dugré told the crowd.

"Even though the unemployment rate right now is below that of the United States and other countries," Dugré explained, "the fundamental problems are the same. Over the past six or seven years, 20 percent of manufacturing jobs in Canada have disappeared. This is really evident in Montreal."

Dugré reported that when Mark

Carney, the governor of the Bank of Canada, spoke to the delegates at the Canadian Autoworkers Union convention last week, he criticized Canadian companies for hoarding billions of dollars in cash and not investing in new production.

"But they have no choice," Dugré said. "They don't invest in production because the rate of return on their investment is not sufficient.

"They will have to step up their attacks on workers here as elsewhere in hopes of boosting their profit rates," Dugré stated, and as a result we are finding increasing receptivity to what communist candidates raise.

Socialist candidates turn over bosses' 'blood money' bribes

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice president, James Harris and Maura DeLuca, are among recent "blood money" contributors to the Socialist Workers Party Capital Fund.

Blood money is a term communist workers use to describe bribes from bosses, which often come in the form of so-called bonuses and are designed to get us to accept speedup, wage cuts, grueling hours, concession contracts and dangerous working conditions.

Before beginning the campaign, DeLuca worked at Kawasaki in Lincoln, Neb. She sent in a check for \$50.40 with the following note: "I got this one last blood money attendance bonus before leaving the company."

The donation from presidential candidate Harris is part of a class-action settlement with the Hormel company. "It's been so long since the suit was filed that I can't remember the exact circumstances," Harris noted, "but the \$420 is definitely blood money."

Naomi Craine, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Florida, and Bill Arth in Los Angeles were part of the same settlement. Craine sent in \$872.80, noting she is not "quite sure which of the unpaid time they chiseled from our pay this is supposed to compensate for! But in the nearly three and a half years I worked at Farmer John (Hormel), they cheated us out of much more."

"There was a suit filed by some workers over break times, meal breaks, don and doff, etc," explained Arth, who sent in \$108.18. "We were fighting for a contract at that time. United Food and Commercial Workers officials negotiated a settlement that ended up being used as a bribe to get the workers to accept a bad contract."

Blood money donations are a political cornerstone of the Capital Fund, which finances long-range work of the party. To make a contribution, contact *Militant* distributors listed on page 10.

—EMMA JOHNSON

Communist League candidate in Australia defends asylum-seekers

BY RON POULSEN AND LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia—"Working people in Australia and around the world are bearing the brunt of a farreaching world capitalist economic crisis that is just getting under way," said Joanne Kuniansky, Communist League candidate for mayor of Canterbury, in announcing her candidacy. She is on the ballot for the Sept. 8 election. "Here as elsewhere, we are starting to see working people respond to the attacks on their livelihoods."

Kuniansky joined a Sydney protest Aug. 12 organized by the Refugee Action Coalition in defense of asylumseekers. "It is in the interests of the working class to defend freedom of entry for asylum-seekers and other wouldbe immigrants," she said. (See article on page 9.)

"My campaign condemns the bipartisan moves to hold asylum-seekers, who reach Australia by boat, on Pacific islands," Kuniansky said. "Mandatory detention of these refugees, whether off-

shore or in Australia, should be immediately ended."

Kuniansky was invited to speak on a panel during an Aug. 18-19 conference here on Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. She addressed the fight to free the Cuban Five—Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González and René González—Cuban revolutionaries framed up and imprisoned in the U.S. since 1998. They were living and working in Florida at the request of the Cuban government to monitor activities by Cuban-American counterrevolutionary groups with a long record of violent attacks on Cuba.

Kuniansky explained how the harsh treatment and long prison terms for the Cuban Five are a result of Washington's decades-long determination to overthrow Cuba's socialist revolution.

"The U.S. government will not let them out without a massive struggle," she said. "As Gerardo says, only a 'jury of millions' will free them. Our task is to continue to win new forces to that jury."

Join us, join with us – Socialist Workers Party in 2012! The working class, labor, socialist campaign

Yes, I urge workers and youth to give a hearing to the working class
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SWP candidates tour schedule Presidential candidate James Harris

Sept. 5-8 Australia

Sept. 11-13 New Zealand

Vice presidential candidate Maura DeLuca

Sept. 1-2 Omaha Sept. 5-7 Seattle Sept. 8 Vancouver, B.C. Sept. 12-13 San Francisco

SWP candidates confirmed on ballot in 7 states so far

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Campaign supporters Aug. 27 filed to place the Socialist Workers Party's presidential ticket on the ballot in Florida. Naomi Craine, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, presented the party's list of 29 electors and three alternates at the state Division of Elections.

The SWP presidential candidates were on the ballot in Florida in 2000, 2004, and 2008. A new election law adopted last year puts tighter restrictions on ballot access for "minor" political parties. "We have met the requirements, and it would be a violation of the rights of working people in this state to deny them the ability to vote for the working-class, labor, socialist campaign this year," Craine said.

Tom Flanigan of public radio station WFSU interviewed Craine outside the elections office. "One of the points our campaign stresses is that working people need to organize and act politically independent of the capitalist parties," Craine said.

"You mean because of all the corporate money that's in politics?" Flanigan asked.

"I mean the entire capitalist system," Craine replied. "Through our labor, workers produce all the wealth in society, but most of it is pocketed by the owners of capital. The Democrats and Republicans both defend their profits, as our wages, working conditions, and social and political rights are increasingly under attack. There is no 'lesser evil' between them."

—Anthony Dutrow



NEW YORK—Deborah Liatos, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 13th District, was joined by James Harris, the party's candidate for president, and Róger Calero, candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, when she submitted petitions with nearly 6,000 signatures—thousands over the 3,500 required—to the Board of Elections on Aug. 20. Four days later, the board informed Liatos she is on the ballot. Her district covers the Harlem, Washington Heights and Inwood neighborhoods of Manhattan, as well as parts of the Bronx.

The Socialist Workers Party is also



James Harris, SWP presidential candidate, visits Lookin' Good Beauty Salon in Philadelphia Aug. 18. Seated is owner Denine Boyd; standing with campaign button is stylist Shakira Pennick.

running Seth Galinsky in the 8th Congressional District and Nancy Boyasko in the 15th.

"Our experiences campaigning and petitioning to get on the ballot has confirmed that workers see the deepening assault on our wages, working conditions, and social and political rights," Liatos said at a press conference prior to turning in the petitions. "Many are looking for serious answers as to why this is happening and how we can fight effectively against these attacks."

—Sara Lobman



SEATTLE—The Socialist Workers Party was informed July 31 by the State Elections Division that the party's presidential slate is on the ballot here. Announcements appeared in newspapers across the state, including the *Seattle Times* and the *Olympian*.

"Longview signatures help Socialist Workers Party candidates make state ballot," read the headline in the Aug. 8 Longview *Daily News*.

"Between Longview and the Seattle area we were able to get more than twice the number of signatures on petitions (required) for ballot status,' said John Naubert of the Socialist Workers campaign," the *Daily News* reported. "Naubert is running as a write-in for the U.S. Senate and Mary Martin is a socialist workers write-in candidate for governor.

"DeLuca and Martin visited Longview July 11 to collect signatures and explain the platform," the article continued. "The candidates maintain that the Democratic and Republican parties are the parties of the ruling rich and that they will represent the middle class."

Longview was the battle-ground for the eight-month fight by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union against EGT Development's drive to run their grain terminal at the port there without Longshore labor.

The ILWU, backed by other unions and support in the surrounding area, defeated the company's union-busting effort. On February 1, EGT recognized ILWU Local 21.

—Edwin Fruit



The SWP presidential ticket has also been confirmed for the ballot in Colorado, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota and New Jersey.



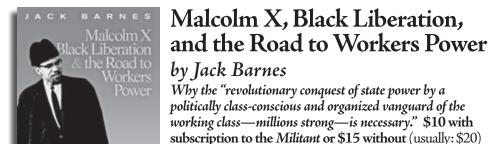
Militant/David Rosenfeld

Maura DeLuca, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president, speaking at soap box rally organized by the *Des Moines Register* at the Iowa State Fair, Aug. 17.

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Available from distributors, page 10

Washington unionist endorses SWP campaign: 'Bosses think we're dumb, but I see change coming'

Below is an Aug. 17 statement in support of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign by Sydney Coe, a member of Teamsters Local 117 in Kent, Wash.

Coe has been a stalwart of the fight by members of Teamsters Local 117 in their three-month strike against Davis Wire in Kent. The workers walked out May 21 over health insurance costs, working conditions and concerns over job safety. On Aug. 16 they approved a contract that granted a small wage increase. Some workers began returning to work Aug. 21.

Workers at Davis Wire will now continue our fight inside the plant. We have decided to accept this poor contract and "live to fight another day" is how I see it. I want to thank the Socialist Workers Party candidates and the *Militant* newspaper for their support during our strike.

I didn't expect presidential candidates to come to our picket lines. I wish Obama had come but he didn't. For James Harris to come to our picket lines was a shock really. Maura DeLuca came next and listened to me and asked me to come to her campaign rally and be part of the panel and tell our story to the audience.

I'm planning to vote for these candidates because they are true to life. They have fought struggles like the one I am going through. They have worked all their lives. James told me that at an early age he too got tired of "taking it" and decided to fight.

We workers are given labels. They call us "terrorists" when we stand up like when we stand up to Davis Wire. That's how they see us. They think we are dumb and will keep acting as martyrs for the millionaires. We keep making them billions and billions of dollars. But I see change coming.

The Socialist Workers campaign is great news for working people. Someone is listening to us and standing with us to protect our rights. We will continue to fight.

Milwaukee strikers fight for union: 'No justice, no pizza'

Protest firing of pro-union workers on immigration pretext

BY JOHN HAWKINS

MILWAUKEE—Dozens of workers have been on strike at Palermo's Pizza factory here since early June to protest the company's anti-immigrant and antiunion practices.

On freeway overpasses at night strikers hold vigils with lighted placards that spell out "Boycott Palermo's."

"Since November 2011 workers at the plant have been openly gathering support for a unionization election," Orlando Sosa, a leader of the strike and one of the initiators of the organizing effort, told the *Militant*.

On May 27, 150 workers met to sign a petition saying they wanted to unionize. Two days later they attempted to deliver it to management.

"The company refused to accept the petition," said Sosa. Instead, two days later Palmero's management gave letters to 89 immigrant workers requiring they verify that they have the right to work in the U.S. or face firing.

On June 1, more than 100 workers decided to strike against Palermo's attack on their unionization campaign.

"Leading up to the strike we knew something was up," Sosa said. "They had us training temporary workers to do our jobs. We were in the plant when the walkout started. The company locked the doors to try to keep people from leaving."

Palermo's bosses said they sent the letters at the insistence of Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials who were conducting an I-9 audit. But on June 7, after complaints from labor leaders that these actions were interfering in the unionizing effort, ICE wrote the company that it had temporarily suspended enforcement. Despite the letter Palermo's fired 80 workers the next day.

The issues in the strike, Sosa said, are decent working conditions, a wage raise, and dignity on the job.



Picket supporting immigrant workers fired from Palermo's Pizza amid union organizing drive.

"We got started in 2008," Sosa explained. "We had a lot of complaints about discrimination, pay, health and safety, and other things. Everybody starts at minimum wage." Workers are routinely scheduled to work seven days per week.

"When we complained, we were threatened. We started talking about what we could do and decided to call a meeting. One hundred fifty people showed up," said Sosa. "That was how we began. We decided on our own to get organized."

Since then workers from Palermo's have been meeting weekly at Voces de la Frontera, an immigrant workers center, and recently affiliated with the United Steelworkers union.

In response to the company's rejection of the petition demanding union recognition, the National Labor Relations Board scheduled an election, originally set for July 6, but currently on hold.

Meanwhile, the company has hired about 80 replacement workers who will be eligible to vote when the election takes place. Palermo's is seeking to exclude the fired workers from voting.

Palermo's did not return calls requesting comment.

Ninety workers are still on strike and picket daily for two hours to reach out and win workers still in the plant and inform others passing by. They chant, "No justice, no pizza."

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to Palermo's Workers Union, 1027 S. 5th Street, Milwaukee, WI 53204. Telephone: (414) 643-1620.

UndocuBus tours South for Jobs, justice, dignity'

BY JANICE LYNN

ATLANTA—Nearly 100 people greeted the "No Papers No Fear Ride for Justice" at a rally and press conference Aug. 24 at the Atlanta Detention Center, an immigration jail here.

Some 30 undocumented workers and youth are traveling on the "UndocuBus" across the southern U.S. to organize opposition to the deportations and firings of undocumented workers that are being carried out by the Barack Obama administration and against state antiimmigrant laws passed over the last several years. The bus began its trip in Phoenix Aug. 1.

"I am on the bus to help give people courage to come out of the shadows and to show the human face of who we are," Alejandro Guizar, 19, who joined the ride in Memphis, Tenn., told the Militant at the Plaza Fiesta Mall Aug. 25 where 150 Latino workers and youth gathered to hear him speak.

UndocuBus riders have traveled through Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, joining protests along the way. The trip will end in Charlotte, N.C., at the Democratic National Convention.

"We deserve jobs with justice and

dignity," rider Eleazar Castellanos, 45, told the Militant. A day laborer in Arizona, he has been unable to get other employment due to the federal E-Verify program that companies use to check work status of applicants before hiring.

"In Hoover, Ala., we met with day laborers who were facing harassment from police and landlords," Castellanos said. "We held a protest and the workers there gained confidence and are now organizing a workers center."

Just a few days before the bus arrived here, the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld sections of anti-immigrant laws passed last year in Georgia and Alabama that allow police to verify the immigration status of anyone they suspect is "illegal."

Speakers at the Atlanta Detention Center rally included bus riders, local church groups and the Atlanta chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. They decried the Aug. 20 ruling.

The court struck down other aspects of the anti-immigrant legislation, including provisions of the Alabama law that would have made it a crime for undocumented immigrants to apply for a job and for immigrants to be without their documents on their person, and requiring public schools to verify the status of students and their parents.

"I know that it will be a relief to be able to work legally and have a driver's license, but it is temporary," Nataly Cruz, 22, from Phoenix, said on the group's website referring to the Obama administration's decision to grant "deferred action"-a temporary reprieve from deportation—to some people.

"I also think about my sisters, cousins, my mom and my dad who still have no rights in this country. That is why I'm on the bus, and why I will continue to work for just and permanent solutions," she said.

For more information visit www.undocubus.org

'Undocumented and unafraid'

Continued from front page

to the U.S. before they were 16 years old and are in school, are high school graduates or veterans of the U.S military, and have no felonies or serious misdemeanors. They are being given one opportunity to submit an applica-

"This is not amnesty. This is not immunity. This is not a path to citizenship," President Barack Obama said when he announced in June the executive order for allowing the deferrals. "This is a temporary, stopgap measure."

"It makes me proud to see so many of my friends here," said volunteer Adriana Arredondo, 16, a senior at Miguel Contreras High School. Most of the school's seniors took shifts as volunteer organizers, answering questions, keeping the line running smoothly and staffing informational tables.

"I started marching for legalization when I was young," said Perla Ponce, 17, another student volunteer. "Those marches were amazing. But this is historic too. We're still out here going for what we need."

"A piece of paper is used to divide us, to exploit us," said Nancy Padillo, 17.

"Why stop at two years? Make it forever," said her classmate, Andy Flores.

According to updated guidelines, young workers who enroll in school by the date of their application will also be considered.

"We are here to live, but it's hard without papers. This will make it a little easier for us to survive," said Antonio Maldonado, a spa attendant.

"The most profound thing about this opportunity is unity," said Rafael Moya, a construction worker born in El Salvador.

Christian Torres, 25, a chef and member of UNITE HERE Local 11, was among the main presenters at the community forums. The former Pomona College dining hall worker was one of 17 fired from his job in December 2011 after the university conducted an immigration audit on the heels of a unionorganizing drive that won broad support among students.

The forums were sponsored by Dream Team L.A., Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, California Dream Network, United We Dream and others. Other community forums are being planned for September.

As a result of the new federal policy, the California Department of Motor Vehicles is now discussing issuing driver's licenses to 400,000 immigrants.



UndocuBus rider Fernando Lopez addresses rally outside immigration jail in Atlanta Aug. 24.

US expands firepower in Asia-Pacific, targets China

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Washington continues to focus increased political attention and military firepower in the Asia-Pacific region to counter China's growing influence and military capacities, as well as step up pressure on North Korea.

Washington is exploiting mounting tensions between Beijing and other governments in the region over territorial claims to islands and sea lanes. The latest involve China, Japan and South Korea.

The U.S. plans to deploy a powerful early-warning radar, known as an X-band, on a southern Japanese island, the *Wall Street Journal* reported Aug. 23. This would build on a 2006 radar installation on a northern Japanese island. The Barack Obama administration is also considering a third site in the Philippines. These moves would create a radar arc that could track any missile launched from North Korea and much of China.

"The U.S. is 'laying the foundations' for a regionwide missile defense system that would combine U.S. ballistic missile defenses with those of regional powers, particularly Japan, South Korea and Australia," Steven Hildreth, of the Congressional Research Service, told the *Journal*.

U.S. Marine Corps Commandant Gen. James Amos visited these countries and the Philippines in early August.

His visit coincided with war games July 27 to Aug. 17 run out of an Australian military base in Darwin, where a detachment of 2,500 U.S. troops is being built up. The drill involved 2,200 troops and more than 90 aircraft from Australia, the U.S., Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia.

This is the first time the Indonesian air force has given other nations access to its front-line Sukhoi jet fighters, made in Russia.

A senior U.S. official has confirmed that the U.S. intends to deploy one of four Marine task forces earmarked for the region in Australia. The U.S. is also considering basing a U.S. aircraft carrier group and nuclear submarines at the HMAS Stirling base south of Perth.

In a move to upgrade Philippine military capacity, Washington has transferred two naval vessels to the Philippine navy. Surface attack aircraft, attack helicopters, long-range patrol aircraft and radar equipment purchases are already in the pipeline.

In a meeting Aug. 5 between Japanese Defense Minister Satoshi Morimoto and U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, agreement was reached on deploying unmanned drones to monitor Chinese activity in waters surrounding Diaoyu Islands—called Senkaku by Tokyo—in the East China Sea. The islands are controlled by Japan, but also claimed by China and Taiwan.

Territorial disputes sharpen

Coinciding with the anniversary of Japan's surrender in World War II, Chinese activists landed on the islands. Japanese authorities arrested 14 of them Aug 15. Within hours Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Fu Ying summoned Japan's ambassador to China Uichiro Niwa and called her Japanese counterpart to protest the detention.

Dozens of people rallied outside the Japanese Embassy in Beijing and consulate in Hong Kong, demanding the activists' release, chanting anti-Japanese slogans. On Aug. 17 Japanese authorities deported the activists.

Adding to Tokyo's irritation, South Korean President Lee Myung-bak visited a set of islets in the Sea of Japan Aug. 10, also claimed by Japan, which called the visit "unacceptable" and recalled its ambassador from Seoul in protest.

On June 21, China's state council approved the establishment of a new national prefecture headquartered in the Paracel Islands. Vietnam claims sovereignty over the islands, which China has controlled since a battle with Vietnam in 1974.

According to the Chinese news agency Xinhua, the new prefecture "administers over 200 islets" and "2

U.S.-led military drills aimed at North Korea



"South Korean jets and U.S. attack helicopters set the skies alight today as the two nations conducted spectacular live fire drills," the London *Daily Mail* reported June 22, "the biggest since the Korean War."

Two thousand South Korean and U.S. forces conducted the drills at Poncheon near the North Korean border, involving jet fighters, tanks, Apache attack helicopters, "tank-killer" aircraft and multiple rocket launchers. One of the operations had a North Korean flag as its target.

A second joint military exercise Aug. 20-31, called Ulchi Freedom Guardian, involved some 30,000 U.S. troops, more than 50,000 South Korean troops, and smaller contingents from seven countries that fought with them in the 1950-53 war against North Korea.

Pyongyang denounced the military provocations, calling them "an allout war rehearsal" against the North.

-EMMA JOHNSON

million square kilometers of water." On July 22, China's Central Military Commission announced that it would deploy a garrison of soldiers to guard the islands in the area.

The goal of the move "is to allow Beijing to 'exercise sovereignty over all land features inside the South China Sea,' including more than 40 islands," Wu Shicun, president of a Chinese government-sponsored research institute, told the *New York Times* Aug. 11.

The State Department criticized China's move, saying it would risk further inflaming tension.

The following day the Chinese government summoned the U.S. deputy chief of mission in Beijing, Robert Wang, to express "strong dissatisfaction and firm opposition" to the U.S. statement

"We can completely shout to the U.S.: Shut up," the overseas edition of the *People's Daily*, the Chinese Communist Party paper, said Aug. 6.

Australian gov't reopens offshore detention camps

BY LINDA HARRIS AND RON POULSEN

SYDNEY—In mid-August the federal parliament adopted a Labor government plan to reinstate offshore detention camps for refugees coming to Australia by boat. Most of the asylum seekers are from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran

They will be held for indefinite periods on the Pacific island of Nauru, as well as Papua New Guinea's Manus Island. The minority government of Prime Minister Julia Gillard secured

backing from the conservative opposition for the about-face.

The Australian-built immigration detention centers on Nauru and Manus islands were closed under the previous Labor government led by Kevin Rudd. Rudd had won the 2007 elections pledging to end the use of these off-shore camps, which had been introduced as part of the "Pacific Solution" in 2001 by the conservative government under John Howard.

Gillard's government has faced growing pressure as the capitalist media has headlined increasing numbers of asylum-seeker boats heading to remote Indian Ocean Australian territories, and opposition Liberal politicians have complained of the weakening of Australia's "border protection."

Gillard first attempted to reintroduce offshore processing in neighboring Timor Leste and then Malaysia. The Malaysian government agreed, but the Australian High Court ruled in August 2011 that the deal breached United Nations provisions.

The Gillard government set up an "expert panel," headed by former armed forces chief Angus Houston, that proposed Aug. 13 reopening the Nauru and Manus detention centers, and continu-

ing to explore the Malaysia option as well.

Tens of thousands apply for refugee status or attempt to get into the country every year. Houston's panel recommended that the annual quota for accepting refugees be boosted to 27,000 within five years, double the current quota of 13,750.

Asylum-seekers sent to Nauru will be stuck in tents until the derelict camp there, which closed down in 2007, is repaired. Nauru has a population of 9,000, with shortages of land and water.

In the past decade, almost 1,000 people have died at sea on overcrowded fishing boats in attempts to reach Australian territory. Some 20,000 succeeded in the perilous sea voyages, largely from neighboring Indonesia in the past 10 years. Boats now also embark from Sri Lanka across the Indian Ocean.

Nick Riemer, spokesperson for the Refugee Action Coalition, which has organized regular protests for refugee rights around the country, released a statement Aug. 13 denouncing "outsourcing Australia's responsibilities to poorer, less-equipped neighbours. People desperate enough to sacrifice everything to get on a boat ... should be welcomed into the community."

New International no. 12

"Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun"





Today's accelerating global capitalist slump accompanies a continuation of the most far-reaching shift in Washington's military policy and organization since the U.S. buildup toward World War II. Class-struggle-minded working people must face this historic turning point for imperialism, and chart a revolutionary course to confront it.

"Our Politics Start with the World" by Jack Barnes

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The huge economic and cultural inequalities between imperialist and semicolonial countries, and among classes within almost every country, are produced and accentuated by the workings of capitalism. For vanguard workers to build parties able to lead a successful revolutionary struggle for power in our own countries, our activity must be guided by a strategy to close this gap.

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Cuba 1959: revolutionary tribunals brought justice

Below is an excerpt from the Spanish edition of Soldier of the Cuban Revolution: From the Cane Fields of Oriente to General of the Revolutionary Armed Forces by Luis Alfonso Zayas. The title is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for September.

When the July 26 Movement won the revolutionary war in January 1959, Zayas was a member of the Rebel Army column led by Ernesto Che Guevara that occupied the military garrison La Cabaña in Havana. He was assigned to take charge of the prison there and attended the trials of many of the most notorious henchmen of the overthrown Batista regime. Copyright © 2011 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Waters: Did you leave Santa Clara for Havana with Che on January 1?

ZAYAS: No. Che had me stay to help organize the column. By then it was very large, with almost two thousand combatants, and it had to be taken to Havana. Che went on ahead with a group. ... On January 2, they took over the La Cabaña fortress, which dominates the entrance to Havana harbor. We arrived at 3:00 a.m. on January 3.



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Trial of Jesús Sosa Blanco, major in Batista's army, before revolutionary tribunal in Havana, February 1959. Tribunals brought order and rule of law to judgment of Batista henchmen.

As soon as Che occupied the garrison at La Cabaña, he put all the soldiers and officers of Batista's army quartered there on leave for a month. The soldiers' weapons were to be left behind, as well as all other state prop-

They left with just the clothes on their backs and a few personal items. The officers were allowed to keep their revolvers. A month later, when they came back from leave, they learned they'd all been discharged from the armed forces.

Che put me in charge of the military prison at La Cabaña. Running a jail was something I knew absolutely nothing about.

There weren't many prisoners at first, but they quickly started to arrive. On January 1, in response to Fidel's call for a general strike and a popular insurrection, police stations and garrisons all across the country had been taken, and in the days that followed many of the regime's henchmen were captured. I'm talking about the ones who didn't escape with Batista—the ones who had to pay for their crimes.

From all directions, at all hours of the day and night, patrol cars began to arrive at La Cabaña. In the end, more than a thousand of these thugs and murderers had been turned over.

included They Hernando Hernández, the head of the national police. ... There was also Ricardo José Grau, a general related to former Cuban president Grau San Martín, and other officers of the navy, the police, and the army. Ernesto de la Fe, Batista's mafia-style information minister, was brought in. There were all kinds of people who had commit-

This may have been the only revolution in which the main war criminals were tried and brought to justice, the only revolution that didn't rob or steal, didn't drag people through the streets, didn't take revenge, didn't take justice into its own hands. No one was ever lynched here. Not that some people wouldn't have liked to. Because the crimes committed by Batista's thugs and henchmen, those people who thought they could get away with anything, had been horrible. And if there were no lynchings, no bloodbaths it was because of our insistence and our promise: "War criminals will be brought to justice and punished, as examples."

FIDEL CASTRO, 2006

ted every type of atrocity.

One of the most notorious criminals captured and tried was Jesús Sosa Blanco. This was a man who had set fire to houses with families inside. So many victims demanded to testify against Sosa Blanco that the trial was held in the Ciudad Deportiva stadium. It was open to the public and televised.

WATERS: In the United States and elsewhere at that time, a campaign attacking these trials as violations of human rights began immediately. The charge was that the revolution simply executed its enemies without due pro-

ZAYAS: All kinds of accusations were made by enemies of the revolution. But no one was executed without having a trial with all established guarantees.

Charges were brought against these criminals by the victims of their outrages, including some whose families had been murdered. Torture victims came to testify: "This man tortured me. See the scar on my back from the beatings." Or "That man tore out my fingernails." Some victims had had their eyes gouged out.

As prison chief at La Cabaña, I attended the trials of these murderers. ...

WATERS: In the book Cien horas con Fidel [One Hundred Hours with Fidel], journalist Ignacio Ramonet asks Fidel about these trials. Fidel's answer was very good. Some mistakes were made in the way a few of the trials were conducted, Fidel said mistakes the revolutionary leadership rapidly corrected.

But the revolutionary tribunals, he explained, were established precisely to prevent the criminals from being dragged through the streets by angry mobs and executed without due process. The truth is the opposite of what Washington charged. The revolutionary tribunals brought order and the rule of law.

ZAYAS: Had these individuals been released, they would have been lynched in the street. We had to protect them from the population. The people wanted justice for the deaths of their family members, their loved

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Legalize undocumented workers!

Undocumented workers have faced record "forced removals," increased firings, more barriers to getting a job, more criminal charges, and more jail time simply for not having work and residency papers since Barack Obama assumed the presidency on promises of "immigration reform."

Now, heading into presidential elections, the incumbent is presenting himself as the lesser evil with a program that opens the door for a two-year reprieve from the threat of deportation for some 1.7 million immigrants and for work permits for those who meet certain criteria.

Even with all its restrictions, this represents an important victory. It comes in the context of struggles by undocumented workers and supporters of immigrant rights and working-class unity in recent years.

Over the past two weeks, tens of thousands of undocumented workers and students have lined up to apply under the program. Some 13,000 showed up for applications at Chicago's Navy Pier alone Aug. 15.

The show of confidence of those on the lines, sometimes breaking out into chants, shows their continued determination to fight.

Their struggle, show of resolve and sense of self-worth wins respect and sympathy from millions of workers—Black, Latino, Asian and Caucasian.

The propertied rulers need immigrant workers. They exploit them as a source of cheap labor and superprofits and to drive down the wages and working conditions of all workers.

The union fight at Palermo's Pizza in Milwaukee illustrates two key points: One, how the bosses use the government's imposition of pariah status on those of us without papers as a weapon against efforts to organize and win better conditions. Two, the combativity of this section of our class, which strengthens the ranks of labor.

The bosses scapegoat immigrants, seeking to brand them as responsible for unemployment and other ills of working people. Their aim is to disguise their relentless drive to foist the burden of the capitalist crisis onto our backs, to divide workers and weaken our ability to mount an effective fight.

Championing the fight of immigrant workers in the U.S. is a life and death question for the labor movement. Our solidarity across the capitalists' national borders is the answer to their trap of pitting worker against worker.

Similar questions are posed everywhere the class struggle heats up, from Australia to Greece.

Threat of deportations and firings will continue for the millions of immigrant workers who fall outside this program. In a number of states, including Arizona, Texas and Nebraska, state officials have announced that they will continue to deny driver's licenses, unemployment pay and more to immigrants without papers, including those given "deferred action."

Legalization for undocumented workers now! An injury to one is an injury to all!

Miners' strike in South Africa continues

Continued from front page

police "were forced to utilize maximum force to defend themselves." The cops arrested 259 workers following the clash, who face charges ranging from public violence and malicious damage to property to armed robbery and murder.

For 18 years the African National Congress, which led the liberation fight that dismantled apartheid, has been in power. While the police are now majority black, like the rest of the government, and there is a new layer of black capitalists and black middle class layers, economic disparities for the country's black majority have worsened. Some 8.7 million of South Africa's 50 million people earn \$1.25 a day or less.

Led by the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union, the rock drillers are demanding a 300 percent increase in the base wage from 4,000 rand (\$480) a month to 12,500 (\$1,500), safer working conditions, and overtime pay.

Rock drilling, a dangerous job

The rock drillers, mostly from the Eastern Cape and Lesotho, are among the lowest paid in the mine, which has some 28,000 workers, and do some of the hardest, most dangerous work. Because they have many different native languages, the miners often communicate in a dialect they have devised—Fanagalo, a mix of Zulu, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans.

According to an August report by the Bench Marks Foundation, the number of "fatal accidents" at the Lonmin mines has doubled since January 2011.

There had been no electricity for a month in a section of company housing when the Bench Marks delegation visited. Many workers live in nearby shanty-towns to get a company "living-out allowance" and avoid staying in overcrowded company hostels.

Prior to the strike "workers had bypassed the set of procedures that the companies and unions have agreed to and went straight to management," Emma Crawshaw, Lonmin spokeswoman said from London Aug. 24. "There are talks going on now to get the miners back to work, but these are not wage negotiations."

Crawshaw claimed the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union was "trying to win new members by promising high wages and through intimidation and violence." Eight workers and two policemen died prior to the massacre.

The National Union of Mineworkers, which organizes about 50 percent of the workers at the Lonmin mine, is looked at with suspicion by many of the strik-

ers, who view it as too close to management and the government.

An Aug. 16 statement by the National Union of Mineworkers condemned the strike and called on miners to go back to work and for the cops to "ensure successful prosecution of those arrested."

The South African Communist Party, which has ministers in the government, also attacked the striking workers, calling on the police "to act swiftly and bring to book these hooligans who have substituted reason and dialogue for bullets." It also demanded that the government investigate the "pseudo-trade union AMCU" and arrest its central leaders.

Unionists debate role of the cops

"COSATU condemns both sides in Marikana," Solly Phetoe, northwest provincial secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, told the *Militant* by phone.

"We recognize that we need to close the wage gap," he said. "But the police needed to be there to find a solution to cool down the workers, but not to shoot."

Some COSATU unions have a different view.

"The killing of 37 workers, regardless of which Union they belong to, or their demands, or the way that they have conducted their dispute is still a shocking attack on the working class, and especially organised workers," the South African Municipal Workers' Union said in an Aug. 23 statement. "We hope that the whole of the trade union movement and civil society will join with us and demand that armed battalions of the police have no role to play in settling industrial disputes. ... An Injury To One is An Injury To All."

"While the miners make more than most other unskilled workers, they are left with very little and it's hard to make a living," Municipal Workers press spokesman Tahir Sema said in a phone interview with the *Militant* from Johannesburg. "But the mining sector makes profits far in excess of what any other sector of the country makes. And other mining concerns have recently given their workers big bonuses."

South Africa President Jacob Zuma has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the massacre, adding that now is not the time for "finger-pointing and recrimination." Zuma did not visit the striking miners until Aug. 22. "It is not acceptable for people to die where talks can be held," Zuma told the crowd, which listened to him mostly in silence.

Zuma said he would convey the miners' wage demands to the company.

'Obamacare'

Continued from page 3

to shell out for family coverage.

A 2011 study by the Kaiser Family Foundation said that most workers on company insurance plans pay an average of \$920 annually for individual coverage and \$4,130 for family coverage.

Medicaid and Medicare cuts

The Affordable Patient Act cuts Medicare by \$716 billion over the next decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office. It empowers a 15-member appointed Medicare Independent Payment Advisory Board to implement these cuts and more.

How will this work under Obamacare? asks an Aug. 17 *Journal* editorial titled "The Mediscare Boomerang."

"The government will do things like arbitrarily commanding providers to deliver the exact same benefits except for \$716 billion less," the paper said. "When that doesn't work, as it surely won't, the feds will take control of the case-by-case decisions currently made between patients and doctors and substitute the judgment of technocrats."

As Obamacare takes aim at federal Medicaid spending, it stipulated that state governments, which are slashing expenses across the board, had to extend Medicaid to those who earn below 133 percent of the federal poverty line or lose federal funding. The June 28 Supreme Court ruling that upheld Obamacare struck down that requirement. Even before the lawsuit, a growing number of state governments had been reducing what Medicaid covers and kicking people off the program, which 58 million people rely on.

In Maine, authorities are moving to eliminate 30,000 patients from Medicaid. Another 12 states are reducing benefits, tightening eligibility or paying doctors less, according to Kaiser Health News. In Illinois, more than 25,000 adults have been cut from Medicaid. In Florida, funding to hospitals that treat Medicaid patients has been cut by 18 percent over the past year.

Hospital corporations are also cutting back on health services. HCA, for example, which controls 163 hospitals from New Hampshire to California, has decided to not treat patients who come to emergency rooms if their conditions are considered "nonurgent."

One doctor "was told to turn away a young boy with a deep cut in his arm because it was not bleeding profusely and he therefore did not meet the criteria," reported the *New York Times*.

"Before the Affordable Care Act was passed, hospitals would get reimbursed every time a patient was readmitted to a hospital even if they were readmitted continuously for the same underlying condition," Rep. Chris Van Hollen, the top Democrat on the House Budget Committee, told the *Washington Post* Aug. 18.

In other words, if you had a heart condition, each time it made you sick enough to go to the hospital, Medicare would pay. No more. "We're now changing the model so hospitals don't get reimbursed every time the patient gets readmitted," Hollen said, adding this will give hospitals "financial incentive" to cut costs.

Government bureaucracy

On June 24, 2009, as the congressional debate over Obamacare was taking place, Obama participated in an ABC News-sponsored Town Hall meeting on health care. Jane Sturm spoke about how her 100-year-old mother had needed a pacemaker, but some doctors said she was too old. Five years after the pacemaker was installed her mother was still alive. Sturm questioned how decisions like this would be made under the Obama plan.

After disingenuously saying that he was loath to have bureaucrats make such decisions, Obama replied, "If they're not being made under Medicare and Medicaid, they're being made by private insurers. We often make those decisions by just letting people run out of money or making the deductibles so high or the out-of-pocket expenses so onerous that they just can't afford the cure."

Obama said that having government intervene can help rule out "additional tests and additional drugs that the evidence shows is not necessarily going to improve care."

The bottom line? "Maybe you're better off not having the surgery, but taking the painkiller," Obama said.