

376 to blast over top in subscription campaign!

BY LOUIS MARTIN

Three hundred seventy-six to go! The international 2013 spring campaign to sell 2,800 *Militant* subscriptions and hundreds of books on revolutionary working-class politics is heading toward a successful completion by the end of the day July 2.

Local distributors have adopted plans for each of the remaining days of the drive.

Militant supporters in New York City are gearing up to go over the 96 subscriptions they need to meet their 425 quota. “We’ve mapped out a day-by-day battle plan to take the paper to workers door to door in every borough of the city,” Deborah Liatos, organizer of the drive there, said.

“Then all those involved are planning a picnic July 4 in Morningside Park in Harlem to celebrate,” she said.

Mary Lou DeLeon, who drove a school bus in the Spring Branch area

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Spring ‘Militant’ subscription campaign May 4 - July 2 (week 7)

Country	quota	sold	%	2,800
UNITED STATES				Should be 2424
Seattle	160	166	104%	
Twin Cities	140	139	99%	
Chicago	180	171	95%	
Des Moines	140	131	94%	
Houston	140	131	94%	
Miami	90	84	93%	
Philadelphia	140	130	93%	
Lincoln	25	23	92%	
San Francisco	180	163	91%	
Los Angeles	175	158	90%	
Omaha	90	70	78%	
New York	425	329	77%	
Washington	90	62	69%	
Atlanta	160	108	68%	
Boston	65	42	65%	
Total U.S.	2,200	1,907	87%	
PRISONERS	15	11	73%	
UNITED KINGDOM				
London	160	159	99%	
Manchester	100	99	99%	
U.K. Total	260	258	99%	
CANADA	120	103	86%	
NEW ZEALAND	70	70	100%	
AUSTRALIA	80	75	94%	
Total	2,745	2,424	87%	
Should be	2,800	2,450	88%	

With no solution to capitalist crisis, US rulers debate gov’t ‘stimulus’

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Stock markets worldwide tumbled after Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke announced June 19 that the Fed may start slowing down its “quantitative easing” money-printing schemes later this year. As news reports swirled about the coming announcement, President Barack Obama publicly announced on the PBS Charlie Rose program June 17 that Bernanke’s tenure is up. “He’s already stayed a lot longer than he wanted or he was supposed to,” Obama said.

Divisions are growing among the U.S. rulers over whether to continue the Fed’s massive “stimulus” programs. On one hand, its proponents fear discontinuation would exacerbate the contraction of production and increase joblessness. On the other hand, the increasingly insistent opposition points to mounting government debt, lack of any progress toward the stated goal and fear of long-term inflationary pressures. While both sides identify real problems for capitalism, neither has any solution.

As head of the Federal Reserve over the past eight years, Bernanke has presided over an unprecedented

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Protests across Brazil target worsening social conditions

Gov’t backs off bus fare hikes, fails to stem actions



AP photo/Felipe Dana

More than a million people across Brazil have taken to the streets, sparked by government bus fare hike. Above, June 21 protest in Rio de Janeiro. Sign reads, “The people have awakened.”

BY SETH GALINSKY

The size of protests sweeping Brazil took both the government and initial organizers by surprise, revealing widespread discontent over worsening economic and social conditions.

The protests began in early June after the Sao Paulo city government announced transit fare hikes of 7 percent to about \$1.50 a ride and other city governments followed suit. On June 13 as many as 10,000 people protested in Sao Paulo and 2,000 in Rio de Ja-

neiro, as preliminary soccer competitions for next year’s World Cup were opening. Anger over the \$14 billion being spent on stadiums for the 2014 World Cup soccer games in Brazil, while health care and infrastructure deteriorate, helped fuel the protests.

In Sao Paulo police fired rubber bullets and tear gas, injuring at least 100, and arrested more than 120, according to CNN. But instead of intimidating protesters, actions grew

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Socialist Workers: ‘Labor must break from Democratic, Republican parties’



Militant/Candace Wagner

Barbershop owner Mel Walker listens to Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for New York mayor, right, while another barber tapes talk to play on shop’s video screen, June 23.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — “There are two New Yorks,” said Dan Fein, Socialist Worker Party candidate for mayor here. “That of the capitalists, whose interests are represented by the Democratic and Republican parties.

And that of the working class, whose interests my party represents.”

Fein was speaking to barbers and patrons at Finally Mel’s barbershop after being invited in by shop owner Mel Walker while campaigning door

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Minneapolis march demands ‘prosecute cops’ for killing youth

BY TOM FISKE

MINNEAPOLIS — Chanting “prosecute the cops,” some 150 people demonstrated in front of City Hall here June 13 in the third protest against the police killing of 22-year-old Terrance Franklin.

There is widespread skepticism

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Protests: ‘Prosecute cops’

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of the police version of the shooting among working people here. Weeks after Franklin was fatally shot May 10, police officials and the county attorney have released only a few sketchy details from their investigation into the killing.

Three members of the Minneapolis police SWAT team shot Franklin to death after they cornered him in the basement of a house in a working-class neighborhood of south Minneapolis. The police account only says Franklin was hit with “multiple gunshots.” Terrance Franklin’s father Walter Franklin and others who have seen the body say cops shot him five times in the back of the head and twice in the back.

Cops say they sought to arrest Franklin, who was unarmed, on a burglary charge. They claim that after they chased Franklin he attacked the cops, wresting a pistol from one and shooting two in the leg. According to the cop version of events, a third officer shot Franklin.

“Every time the story came on the news the police account changed,” Emma Mercer said at the June 13 rally. Mercer is one of seven friends of Franklin who initiated the first action with the Franklin family. “We want the police prosecuted and we won’t stop until that happens.”

“There were no bullets to the front of Terrance. How does that square with the cops’ story?” Walter Franklin told the *Militant*. “That pattern of gunshots is in line with an execution. When I arrived at the scene I asked to identify the body. They wouldn’t let me see him. I never saw the body until the day of the funeral, weeks later.”

“There are so many questions about

the cops’ story,” James Walton, Terrance Franklin’s uncle, told the *Militant*. “If Terrance had no weapon, why would he resist? Why wouldn’t the cops shoot to wound, not shoot to kill? The SWAT teams are supposed to initiate a peaceful solution if possible. The cops could have done a number of things short of going in and killing him.”

Police officials publicly claim that in the wake of the killing they offered to meet with Franklin’s family. But Walter Franklin said he was never contacted.

Disbelief also surrounds the official police account of the killing of Ivan Romero, a 24-year-old bakery worker whose motorcycle collided with a police car driving through a red light to the scene of the Franklin shooting a half hour after Franklin was killed. According to the local media, a number of witnesses say the police car was speeding. The police deny this.

One cop, who allegedly was shot in the leg by Franklin, was released from the hospital three days later. It wasn’t until weeks after his release that police investigators interviewed him about the incident.

The Minneapolis *Star Tribune* has published an editorial on “the lack of transparency by the police.” Police chief Janeé Harteau had recently been making numerous public speeches touting “transparency” as a top priority.

Those active in the fight to prosecute the cops have formed the Justice for Terrance Franklin Committee. Their next march will take place June 28 in north Minneapolis.

“Continuing the demonstrations is the only way to force the authorities to prosecute the police,” said Walter Franklin.



Militant photos by Diana Newberry

Above, June 13 demonstration at Minneapolis City Hall demands prosecution of cops who killed Terrance Franklin on May 10. Inset, from left, his uncles James Walton and Willie Walton and his father Walter Franklin.

Quebec Soccer Federation forced to reverse chauvinist turban ban

BY JOE YOUNG

MONTREAL — After 12 days of protests here, FIFA, world soccer’s governing body, overturned a ban on turbans that had been imposed June 2 by the Quebec Soccer Federation. “Safety” was the pretext under which players were suddenly barred from wearing Sikh turbans, patkas and keskis on the field.

When asked at a press conference June 3 what she would tell a five-year-old boy in a turban who wanted to play, QSF director general Brigitte Frot replied, “They can play in their backyard. But not with official referees, not in the official rules of soccer. They have no choice.” She acknowledged she knew of no injuries caused by turbans.

Fern da Silva, president of the Pierrefonds Soccer Association, rejected the ban. “In the club, we’ve decided that we’re going to do whatever we feel is right,” da Silva said. The Canadian Soccer Association suspended the Quebec Federation June 10 over the ban.

On June 12 a soccer team in Montreal wore orange head coverings during a game to show their opposition to the ban. Coach Ihab Leheta told Can-

ada AM that the team, which has no Sikh players, felt it was important to show solidarity with players directly targeted by the rule.

A range of bourgeois politicians from all the main parties in the federal parliament in Ottawa opposed the ban.

The bourgeois nationalist Parti Quebecois government of Quebec backed the ban and insisted it was a provincial matter, not a federal one. “The Quebec federation has the right to make its own rules,” Quebec Premier Pauline Marois said June 11. “It’s autonomous, it’s not bound by the Canadian federation.”

Samir Ghrib, technical director of Royal-Select Beauport, a top Quebec amateur club, supported the ban. “Religion doesn’t have a place on sports fields,” he said.

A day after FIFA weighed in, the Quebec Federation reversed its decision.

“I think the community is happy and relieved that Quebec children can go back to playing soccer,” Prem Vinning of the World Sikh Organization of Canada told CTV News Channel June 15.

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

THE MILITANT

‘Militant’ covers fights for democratic rights worldwide

In early June the Turkish government was surprised by mass protests sparked by its crackdown on small demonstrations protesting demolition of a city park. The ‘Militant’ covers battles for rights worldwide that help carve out political space for workers to organize and fight.



AFP/Getty Images/Ozan Kose

June 11 demonstration in Izmir, Turkey.

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Subscription campaign

Continued from front page
of Houston for more than 30 years, and her granddaughter Cynthia Matlage, a waitress, invited Steve Warshell and Jacquie Henderson, SWP candidates for Houston City Council and Controller, to come into the house and talk when they knocked on her door.

“What you point to in the paper about coal companies like Patriot going after the miners’ contracts and the retirees’ health and pension plans is something more and more companies are doing,” DeLeon said. “We have to stand together.”

Matlage bought a subscription, saying the whole family will share it.

One highlight of week seven of the drive is the three subscriptions we received from workers behind bars, two from Florida and the other from Texas. This brings us to 11 on a goal of 15.

“Just recently, I was introduced to the *Militant* newspaper and immediately became very much interested. Honestly, my financial status is a bit unfortunate. Looking forward to a lifetime membership and hopefully a great association,” wrote one of the new Florida subscribers.

The Militant Prisoners’ Fund makes it possible for inmates, often with help from friends or family, to subscribe at a reduced rate of \$6 for six months. Subscriptions are also offered free of charge for those with no means to pay.

Militant supporters in Seattle sold 21 subscriptions last week, putting the campaign ahead of schedule there. This included six subscriptions and one renewal sold at an expanded picket line and barbecue in solidarity with the 62 members of Machinists Local 79 on strike since March 25 against Belshaw Adamatic Bakery in Auburn, Wash.

Militant supporters from Sydney, Australia, went for the second time to Mussellbrook in the coal mining Hunter Valley June 15, selling five subscriptions door to door, wrote Joanne Kuniarsky. “There now are nine *Militant* subscribers in that town, including four coal miners,” she said.

The final subscription chart for the drive will be printed in next week’s issue.

Expanding the circulation of the socialist newsweekly is an ongoing effort that will continue long after the current campaign comes to a close. To join, call distributors in your area (see directory on page 8) or contact us at (212) 244-4899 or themilitant@mac.com.



Militant/Maggie Trowe
Ellen Brickley, SWP candidate for Des Moines city council, campaigning door to door June 14 speaks with retired machine operator Al Semple, who bought *Militant* subscription.

‘Militant’ supporters in Australia, Canada raise fund goals

BY LEA SHERMAN

Supporters of the Militant Fighting Fund are organizing to surpass the international goal of raising \$118,000 for the working-class newsweekly.

In Australia and Canada, *Militant* supporters recently raised their quotas by \$450 and \$500.

“In the last couple of weeks we got several donations from workers who contributed to the fund when they signed up for a subscription,” said Linda Harris, who organizes the fund effort in Sydney.

“It’s really important to defend the only paper that helps unite the working class in order to change the system,” said Philippe Tessier, 20, from Montreal. Tessier, who works as a delivery person, gave \$19 to the fund.

In Seattle more than 50 people attended a June 15 rally for the fund, held at the Bethany United Church of

Christ.

“We appreciate the coverage the *Militant* has given to our struggle and that you have regularly been down on the picket lines and gotten others there as well,” Cliff LaPlant, chief shop steward of Machinists Local 79 at Belshaw Adamatic Bakery Group in Auburn, Wash., told participants.

Bryce Phillips Horvath, 22, who is active in the anti-foreclosure group SAFE, described a recent 10-day blockade to prevent a worker’s home from being foreclosed. “The *Militant* takes all these fights — from the resistance of coal miners to people fighting evictions to the machinists in Auburn — and ties them together,” he said.

Other speakers included Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seattle mayor; and Edwin Fruit, SWP candidate for city council. John Naubert, SWP candidate for port com-

missioner, chaired the meeting.

Greetings to the event were read from Byron Jacobs, a member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 21, who was part of an eight-month union battle in 2011-2012 in Longview, Wash. A message was read from Syd Coe, a member of Teamsters Local 117 who was part of a three-month strike at Davis Wire in Kent, Wash., last year.

“With all the problems in our world, it’s time for worldwide workers’ solidarity,” wrote Jacobs. “The *Militant* is a way to build this solidarity.”

“The *Militant* gives me a sense of peace driven by purpose to fight for what is always right,” said Coe.

Over \$2,000 was collected at the meeting.

To contribute, contact distributors listed on page 8, or send a check to the *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

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See distributors
on page 8



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by Asela de los Santos, Mary-Alice Waters and others

\$3 with subscription (regular \$7)

Militant Fighting Fund			
May 4 - July 2 (week 6)			
Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
Lincoln	\$200	\$203	102%
Seattle	\$8,500	\$7,634	90%
New York	\$20,000	\$17,651	88%
San Francisco	\$13,500	\$11,656	86%
Des Moines	\$2,600	\$2,211	85%
Boston	\$3,500	\$2,840	81%
Atlanta	\$9,000	\$6,949	77%
Los Angeles	\$8,500	\$6,460	76%
Twin Cities	\$5,500	\$3,995	73%
Omaha	\$600	\$431	72%
Philadelphia	\$4,300	\$2,679	62%
Houston	\$4,000	\$2,367	59%
Miami	\$3,000	\$1,599	53%
Chicago	\$9,500	\$5,022	53%
Washington	\$7,800	\$3,769	48%
Other		\$1,250	
Total U.S.	\$100,500	\$76,716	76%
CANADA*	\$7,500	\$6,952	93%
NEW ZEALAND	\$5,500	\$4,920	89%
AUSTRALIA*	\$1,950	\$1,535	79%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	\$2,000	\$2,360	118%
Manchester	\$600	\$770	128%
Total U.K.	\$2,600	\$3,130	120%
FRANCE	\$350	\$398	114%
Total	\$118,400	\$93,651	79%
Should be	\$118,000	\$88,500	75%
*Raised Quota			

Whistleblowers neither heroes nor traitors for working class

BY JOHN STUDER

The Barack Obama administration's prosecution of Pfc. Bradley Manning on charges of "aiding the enemy" and leaks by Edward Snowden, a contractor who worked at the National Security Agency, revealing the agency's wide-ranging data-mining programs, have sparked debate in bourgeois politics over whether these individuals are whistleblower heroes or traitors.

The vast majority of the propertied rulers and their Democratic and Republican politicians say Manning and Snowden are traitors giving aid to Islamist enemies of the U.S. They are hard after them because the leaks exposed some of their secrets, caused them diplomatic difficulties and exacerbated distrust in their government. They want to set a strong precedent to deter others from doing likewise.

On June 21 federal prosecutors unsealed charges against Snowden filed in the U.S. District Court in Alexandria, Va., including violation of the Espionage Act of 1917 for "willful communication of classified communications intelligence information to an unauthorized person." The charges carry a total of 30 years in prison. U.S. officials are seeking to extradite Snowden, who had fled to Hong Kong before releasing his leaks and flew to Moscow June 23.

The liberal *New York Times* and rightist Patrick Buchanan agree the leakers should face jail time for their actions, but also say they are concerned about a growing Big Brother in Washington. Manning and Snowden are touted as heroes by some self-styled revolutionaries on the left, a layer of libertarians and some rightists.

Sen. Rand Paul, a libertarian from Kentucky, said Snowden is "practicing civil disobedience" in what he calls "a noble gesture."

"He is a hero!" Michael Savage, a well-known conservative talk-show host, said. "He should be winning a Nobel Prize for what he did."

"Manning should be renowned as a hero," Nicole Colson wrote in the International Socialist Organization's paper *Socialist Worker*.

Manning's leaks are "one of the most heroic and courageous actions in recent memory," the Revolutionary Communist Party's paper *Revolution* wrote in

December 2012.

Government efforts to punish whistleblowers are against the interests of the working class and should be opposed. But for working people, Manning and Snowden are neither heroes nor traitors.

Those who think that secret revelations from whistleblowers are the way workers find out about how capitalism and its war machine operates, or inspire mass action in defense of political rights, sow naïve and dangerous illusions about the source of the problem and the road to its solution.

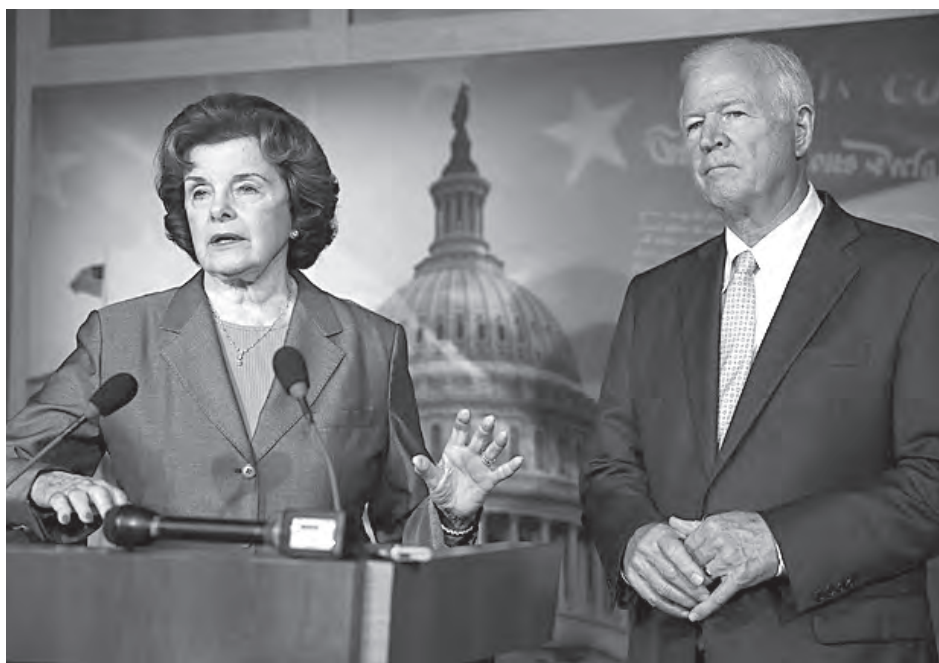
Manning and Snowden act on the premise that revelations will make some capitalist politicians come to their senses and do the right thing. "Obama's campaign promises and election gave me faith that he would lead us toward fixing the problems," Snowden said in an online forum on the London-based *Guardian* newspaper website June 17. "Unfortunately, shortly after assuming power, he closed the door."

But the Democrats and Republicans act in the class interests of the propertied rulers in both their domestic and foreign policy. They won't "wake up."

There has never been a time in modern class society where the ruling class doesn't target its enemies, competitors and ultimately the working class, which in times of mass class battles the capitalists recognize as the main threat to their exploitative and oppressive rule.

Under bourgeois democracy, exposure of their methods may cause them to pause, but after a bit they just start up again. And they only pause under pressure of mass working-class action.

In 1973 the Socialist Workers Party launched a political campaign and lawsuit that exposed decades of FBI spying and disruption against the labor movement, Black rights fighters and the party, and pushed the snoops back. It succeeded because it built on the mass proletarian



Senate Intelligence Committee Chair Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Vice Chair Republican Saxby Chambliss speaking at news conference June 6 denouncing leaks by Edward Snowden. Both have joined bipartisan chorus calling to punish Snowden as a traitor.

ian mobilizations that overthrew Jim Crow segregation and millions-strong demonstrations opposing the U.S. imperialist war against Vietnamese workers and farmers fighting for independence.

The Obama administration's drive to prosecute whistleblowers and journalists who publish leaks aims to strengthen the rulers' increasing use of executive power shielded from public view.

At the same time, they push for "transparency" about the activities of the working class — such as campaign disclosure laws aimed at parties like the SWP and more broadly against workers taking the road to independent political action.

No 'big brother'

Media coverage on the bourgeois left as well as in the libertarian rightist press has been conjuring up conspiracy theories about a looming "Big Brother" or "1984" — a book by George Orwell that paints a picture of a world with an all-powerful state and no rights.

But there is no push for Big Brother repression. Spying by the propertied rulers isn't currently directed against the entire population, nor is it primarily aimed today at working-class militants.

The data-mining programs Snowden leaked details on are aimed at Islamist-jihadist terrorists.

Down the road, the rulers will use all the power of its spies and cops, night riders, Pinkerton-style thugs, National Guard and other violent means in an effort to smash workers' struggles — this is what class battles teach.

Today the bosses are dealing blows to workers without having to resort to overt state violence. They are using lockouts, bankruptcies, government cutbacks and union-busting efforts to deal bitter blows to our wages, job conditions and social rights.

Revelations like those of Manning and Snowden do not point a road forward for the working class. They foster conspiracy theories and paranoia that divert and demobilize us.

What workers need is to fight against the bosses and their government, see the need to do so independent of their political parties, whether it be for jobs, an end to imperialist wars or in defense of our political rights. These experiences will give us the confidence, political clarity and feeling of self-worth needed to overthrow the capitalists and build a workers and farmers government.

Court martial opens for leaker Pfc. Bradley Manning

BY JOHN STUDER

The court martial of Pfc. Bradley Manning, a former Army intelligence analyst who has been held in military confinement for nearly three years, began June 3. Manning faces charges of leaking hundreds of thousands of secret government documents that were then published by WikiLeaks. Charges include "aiding the enemy," which carries a life sentence.

The trial opened as media worldwide carried front-page stories on National Security Agency programs to collect metadata on patterns of telephone numbers, lengths of calls and other information on domestic phone calls, as well as on all foreign communications from nine major Internet companies. Edward Snowden, who had access to NSA files as an employee of defense contractor Booz Allen Hamilton, told the London-based *Guardian* he was the source of the leaks.

The Army kept Manning in solitary confinement for much of his pre-trial detention in the Marine Corps brig in Quantico, Va., under conditions that the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture Juan Méndez said were "cruel, inhumane and degrading."

Manning was told he was "on duty," having to stand or sit straight for hours at

a time. He was allowed only 20 minutes a day outside his cell and was forbidden from speaking to other inmates. At night, lights were left on and if guards couldn't see his face clearly, they would wake him up. He was forced to sleep naked and stand uncovered for review each morning.

While Manning has admitted leaking the files and pleaded guilty to some lesser charges, the Army brass, backed by the Barack Obama administration, is bringing the case to trial, seeking conviction on more severe charges.

Prosecutions under Espionage Act

The administration has taken an aggressive stance on leaks by government officials, conducting six such prosecutions using the 1917 Espionage Act — double that of all previous administrations combined. In the last few weeks, it was revealed that the Justice Department secretly spied on The Associated Press and targeted *Fox News* reporter Jeff Rosen.

The government argues that leaking the secret files to WikiLeaks in effect communicated them to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

In his opening statement to military judge Col. Denise Lind, prosecutor Capt. Joe Morrow argued that Manning

acted from a craving for "notoriety" that led him to take actions to the "aid of our adversaries." He also introduced new allegations that Manning had directly collaborated with Julian Assange, founder of WikiLeaks.

Many believe the prosecution aims to use the court martial to prepare for charges against Assange, who has spent the last year in the Ecuadoran Embassy in London to avoid extradition to Sweden on charges of rape and sexual assault, according to the *Guardian*. Assange says he fears he will end up being taken to the U.S. to face charges.

"He released these documents because he was hoping to make the world a better place," Manning's lawyer David Coombs told the judge. "He was 22 years old — he was young, he was a little naïve in believing that the information would actually make a difference."

The trial is expected to last months. The prosecution says it will call as many as 141 witnesses. The judge has ruled that much of the trial will be held behind closed doors and that some prosecution witnesses will testify in disguise.

The judge has already said that Manning cannot present his motives for the leaks as part of his defense. If found guilty, he can raise them in arguing for a lighter sentence.



FBI ON TRIAL

Documents from the 15-year legal battle by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against decades of spying, harassment and disruption by the FBI and the victory won in 1988. —\$20

'The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation'

By Larry Seigle

Goes over five decades of government spying and disruption, starting with raids against Teamster militants in the Midwest in 1939. In *New International* no. 6 —\$16

Pathfinderpress.com

Iran elections spur actions pressing for political rights

BY LOUIS MARTIN

Hundreds of thousands took to the streets across Iran, raising demands for democratic rights as part of celebrations of the June 14 election of Hassan Rowhani as that country's new president. Meanwhile, Washington and its allies continue to ratchet up economic sanctions to force Tehran to abandon its nuclear program.

Crowds awash with purple ribbons, Rowhani's campaign color, came out June 15 after the vote results were announced. Chants demanding release of political prisoners were punctuated with blaring car horns. Demonstrations took place in a number of cities and rural areas throughout the country, a contrast to protests in 2009, which were centered in northern Tehran, the capital's more affluent section.

Slogans demanding freedom for political prisoners were also prominent when large crowds gathered in Tehran on the evening of June 18 to celebrate the qualification of Iran's national soccer team for the 2014 World Cup. "Some young women were also heard chanting for the end of the female dress code," reported the *Los Angeles Times*.

The Coordinating Center of the Islamic Labor Councils in Tehran province wrote a letter June 17 to the president-elect demanding independence of labor organizations from the government and bosses and protesting the erosion of wages from inflation in violation of the Labor Law, the semiofficial Iranian Labor News Agency reported. The Labor Council is one of six workers groups that has filed a complaint with the Civil Justice Court challenging government-set wage scales.

The only one of the six presidential candidates to describe himself as a "moderate" in the June 14 election, Rowhani got nearly 51 percent of the vote, far more than any of the other five. The Iranian government said over 70 percent of the more than 50 million eligible voters cast a ballot.

As in every other election, the government's Guardian Council vetted hundreds of prospective candidates. The council approved eight who were close enough to the ruling circles of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, including Rowhani, who has held various high-level government responsibilities for the last two decades. That figure was reduced to six when two candidates withdrew a few days before the election.

There is no evidence that the election was rigged, as some U.S. big-business papers suggested. Based on media reports, the capitalist rulers of Iran were as surprised at the election outcome as those in the U.S.

The election campaign highlighted the deep factional divisions of the

Iranian rulers. The candidate most widely seen as the pick of outgoing President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was barred from the race, as was former President Hashemi Rafsanjani. And Ahmadinejad's two main opponents in 2009, Mir Hossein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi, have been under house arrest since February 2011 for advocating mass demonstrations as part of a "plot" to foment a "velvet revolution." Hundreds of thousands came out in Tehran with democratic demands in wake of mass protests beginning in Tunisia in December 2010 and Egypt in January 2011.

As the world capitalist crisis deepens, ruling-class divisions in Iran have been amplified by relentless imperialist pressure and growing concern over the potential for struggles to develop among the country's toilers.

Rowhani echoes 'reformists'

During the 2009 elections, Ahmadinejad's reformist opponents campaigned for loosening censorship and repression of political dissidents, as well as negotiations with Washington.

While Rowhani insisted he was not a reformist, his campaign echoed some of their themes. "My slogan is to save Iran's economy," which requires "reconciliation with the world," he said, according to the *Financial Times*. "Centrifuges should spin, but so should industries and people's livelihoods."

As a result of years of sanctions on oil trade, banking and financial dealings, many factories in Iran have closed or operate well below capacity. While government figures put the rate of unemployment at 13 percent, it "unofficially" stands around 23 percent, according to the *Huffington Post*. Official inflation stands at more than 30 percent. And the value of the national currency, the rial, has dropped 50 percent over the last year.

Rowhani was Iran's nuclear negotiator from 2003 to 2005 and remains a supporter of Iran's nuclear program. While



AP Photo/Ebrahim Noroozi

Street celebration in Tehran June 18 after national soccer team qualified for 2014 World Cup became opportunity to press for release of political prisoners and other democratic demands.

Washington and its allies say Tehran is developing nuclear weapons technology, Tehran maintains its program is solely aimed at producing electric power and medical isotopes.

Rowhani has criticized the morality police, who harass women to impose a strict Islamic dress code; called for lifting restrictions on the Internet; and vowed to provide women with equal job opportunities and to free political prisoners "in consensus with higher officials."

By contrast, Saeed Jalili, Iran's current nuclear negotiator, who was initially seen as the top front runner, campaigned under the slogan of "no compromise, no submission" in relation to the nuclear program. He also said at an all-women rally at the end of May that "women's core identity lies in motherhood."

Rowhani's campaign really picked up in the final three days before the vote, when prominent figures and spokespersons of the reformist opposition urged their followers to vote for him. These included former presidents Rafsanjani and Mohammad Khatami.

Supreme Leader Khamenei quickly congratulated Rowhani, calling him the "people's choice." Police didn't interfere with the various street celebrations. Demonstrations in 2009 were met with a stiff crackdown in which dozens were killed and scores wounded and jailed.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 8, 1988

PORTLAND, Ore. — Some 6,700 Pacific Northwest lumber workers are on strike against five forest products companies, fighting to regain wages and benefits taken from them in 1986.

The strikers are members of the International Woodworkers of America and the Western Council of Industrial Workers.

Many strikers pointed out that they will never get back the wages lost over the last two years. But, they added, they are prepared to stay out until they get a contract with wages and benefits restored to 1986 levels. The Women's Hardship Auxiliary on Mills has organized a food collection and gone to local businesses to get donations.

Contract discussions continue with other forest product companies, including Weyerhaeuser, where 6,000 union members work. A total of 38,000 workers are affected by these negotiations. Most of their contracts expired June 1.



July 10, 1963

DENVER — At midnight June 16, workers at the Denver plant of the Gates Rubber Co. went on strike.

The strike was called by a vote of 2,385 to 130, in opposition to company demands for a two-year contract which would not go into effect while contracts at any of Gates' other eight plants are being negotiated.

The strikers also seek to block management efforts to introduce a wage scale based on piece work and to stop a plan whereby several men could be replaced by one man during slack seasons.

The Gates Co., sixth largest manufacturer of rubber goods in the U.S., is run as a family preserve. President Charles C. Gates Jr. commented on the present strike: "Wages, work rules, factory conditions, contracts — all of these are really management's business."

One worker, asked when he thought the strike would end, replied: "When the company comes across!"



July 9, 1938

The American Association for Social Security has analyzed the results of the first quarter of New Deal liberalism's unemployment and old age insurance, January 1 to March 31, 1938, and found that its program in this field is anti-social and in every conceivable aspect worse than home relief.

The only "success" that can be registered is the issuance of 38,000,000 social security numbers by a newly-created, superfluous bureaucracy of 13,890 employees in 19 states (which is five times more per insured person than has been found necessary in capitalist Britain) and the collection by the United States Treasury of \$577,450,100 as compared with \$2,935,829 paid to the lump-sum recipients of old age benefits.

The average cumulative payment to 114,927 persons who had reached the age of 65, and to the estates of those who died, was but \$29.80 after 15 months of contribution payments.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CANADA

Montreal

Oppose Special Legislation! Solidarity with Construction Workers' Strike.
Speaker: Michel Dugré, Communist League. Fri., July 5, 7:30 p.m. 7107 St-Denis, Room 204. Tel.: (514) 272-5840.

175,000 construction workers strike for contract in Quebec

BY KATY LEROUGETEL
AND FÉLIX VINCENT ARDEA

MONTREAL — At midnight June 17, all unionized Quebec construction workers walked off the job, the first such province-wide strike since 1986. They are confronting the Quebec Construction Association, which speaks for thousands of bosses. The workers' contracts ended April 30.

Belonging to five different union federations and dozens of trades, the 175,000 workers are fighting under the banner of the Union Alliance. They demand wage increases that protect against inflation and oppose extension of the working day and regular pay for working Saturdays in lieu of weekdays lost to rain. Unions are also demanding rules be maintained that favor hiring workers from local areas where construction projects are taking place, instead of Montreal-based companies bringing all workers in from the city.

All commercial, residential and institutional construction projects have been idled. Construction of bridges, roads, housing complexes and an amphitheater in Quebec City have all halted. The many megaprojects shut down include the \$8.5 billion La Romaine hydroelectric project on Quebec's North Shore and the \$2.1 billion University of Montreal Hospital Center and McGill University Health Center, among the biggest construction projects in Canada. Construction generates 15 percent of the province's gross domestic product.

"They're making us choose between work and family," Emmanuel Lacoste, a carpenter joiner, told the *Militant* as he picketed outside the University of Montreal Hospital Center site downtown on the first morning of the strike.

Employers want to install flexible work times for an eight-hour day, beginning as early as 5:30 a.m., and ending as late as 7:00 p.m., strikers explained.

Workers on the line explained that Saturday pay at double time rates was

won in past struggles.

On the picket lines strikers receive many supportive honks from drivers passing by.

Yves Ouellet, spokesperson for the Union Alliance, told the media that the 1 percent wage increase proposed by the construction bosses is under the rate of inflation. Workers are demanding a 3 percent increase in the first year of the new contract.

Quebec City Mayor Régis Labeaume as well as the Liberal Party and the Quebec Action Coalition, the main opposition parties in the Quebec National Assembly, have called on the Parti Québécois provincial government to pass back-to-work legislation. Quebec Premier Pauline Marois initially ruled out such legislation but said June 19 she will



Jeannot Lévesque/Le Quotidien

Striking construction workers rally in Jonquière, Quebec, June 20 against concessions.

consider it if the strike lasts more than two weeks.

As other strikers were getting into cars to go shut down a site still working, Jonny, a signaler who did not want to give his last name, said, "We have to respect those who fought before us."

Thousands of construction workers took to the streets in Montreal June 20 to press their demands, taking over a main highway. Hundreds also demonstrated in other regions of the province.

John Steele contributed to this article.

Socialist Workers candidates campaign in NYC

Continued from front page

to door in the working-class neighborhood of East New York in Brooklyn June 23.

"My opponents, the Democrats and Republicans, ignore the most important issue facing working people — unemployment," said Fein. "The labor movement needs to fight for a massive public works program to put the more than 20 million unemployed and underemployed to work building affordable housing, hospitals, child care centers and other things the working class needs.

"What you said was excellent," Walker said. "I want people in the neighborhood to know about your campaign." Another barber made a video of Fein speaking that Walker said will be shown on the shop's TV. Walker got a subscription to the *Militant* for the shop and invited Fein to be a guest speaker at a block party in September.

Speaking at a Militant Labor Forum two days earlier, Fein said that when school bus workers in New York went

on strike earlier this year, "it was a popular strike among parents and other working people. But the strikers faced political obstacles. Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1181 officials called it off after a month when five Democratic Party candidates for mayor promised that if elected, they would look into the issue."

"The SWP campaign is an example to the labor movement of what must be done to break with the Democratic and Republican parties," said Fein. This is in contrast to the course taken by labor officials, who are offering union endorsement and money to one or another of the candidates vying for the Democratic Party mayoral nomination in hopes of backing the winner and gaining a "friend" in City Hall, he said.

New York City ballot drive

Fein announced socialist campaign supporters will be petitioning for ballot status at the end of July and early August to collect 7,500 signatures, double the requirement, to place himself and the party's other citywide candidates — Deborah Liatos for Public Advocate and John Studer for Comptroller — on the ballot for the November elections. He also introduced Socialist Workers Party candidates Sara Lobman, Róger Calero and Seth Galinsky for Manhattan, Bronx and Queens borough presidents.

"I'm here to join with you and all my compañeros to support Dan Fein's campaign," said retired schoolteacher Miriam Canales, one of the speakers at the event. "I met Mr. Fein when he and another campaign supporter knocked on my door. I was very happy to find out I was not the only person who thought the working class had to fight for humanity. I'm glad to be joining this fight."

"The recent protests in Brazil started when the government imposed fare hikes in cities across the country," Liatos said. "But they exploded nationwide and all kinds of other questions came pouring in."

"As workers in Latin America, the U.S. and worldwide look for a road to fight growing attacks from the capitalists and their governments," Liatos said, "the living Cuban Revolution provides an example of workers and peasants tak-

ing power, transforming themselves and all of society."

"Today we are living through an unfolding crisis of capitalist production and trade," said Studer. "And the capitalist rulers' only response is to make workers pay for it. Their goal is to change the relationship of class forces — to drive down the value of our labor power.

"The New York City Comptroller is supposed to watch over the interests of the city's bondholders, the capitalist class," he said. "The comptroller looks at this the same way the bankruptcy laws are written, to protect the capitalists' interests. You can see this at work against the coal miners fighting Patriot Coal's use of the federal bankruptcy court to attack the United Mine Workers union in West Virginia and Kentucky, like you saw used against Hostess workers last year and against the Eastern Airline strikers in 1989.

"You can see the same thing today in Detroit, where workers face the lash of potential bankruptcy as a bosses' tool to make them pay, targeting city workers' contracts, and health care and pensions of workers and retirees."

"The Comptroller is assigned to defend the employers' interests, disguised as 'our' interests," Studer said. "But the SWP would do the opposite — defend and advance the struggles of working people against the capitalists and their efforts to make us pay for their crisis."

"The candidates' talks were very informative," Nick Amendolare, 23, a cleaner on the Long Island Railroad, told the *Militant*. "I personally think everyone who's a worker in Manhattan should be here. I definitely want to come back and be part of this."

"It's a good idea for an independent political course. It goes in the right direction," said Noemia Topete, a school bus attendant in the Bronx.

A delicious chicken and lo mein noodle dinner prior to the forum, prepared by Shirelynn George with help from other campaign supporters, began the event on a high note.

After an appeal from the chair, more than \$950 was raised in contributions and pledges for the campaign.

Candace Wagner contributed to this article.

Preparations advance for active workers educational conference

With barely three weeks to go, preparatory work is gearing up for the July 19-20 active workers educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

The conference will draw together members of the SWP and Communist Leagues in other countries, supporters of the communist movement from around the world, and other workers who have been reading and helping to circulate the *Militant* and books on revolutionary working-class politics, building solidarity with workers standing up to bosses' assaults and other struggles.

The talks, classes and panels will be geared toward advancing efforts to get the *Militant* into the hands of a broad cross-section of working people, centered on door-to-door sales in working-class neighborhoods and the international defense campaign to free the Cuban Five.

In addition, talks by party leaders will discuss the world capitalist crisis, other political developments and how the working class can chart a course toward a revolutionary fight for state power to transform social relations from top to bottom and, in the process, the men and women engaged in it.

Five classes are scheduled on topics complementing the main presentations. One will discuss how the capitalist crisis is rooted in contracting production and trade, not money or the banks. Another will take up the sharpening contradictions and conflicts for the capitalist rulers of Latin America, from Venezuela to Brazil and beyond, and the pressures on the workers and farmers of Cuba. Classes will be repeated at least twice, with some scheduled Thursday evening, July 18.

A closing panel July 20 will feature political activities of supporters of the *Militant*. Others will address participating in the Continental Conference in Solidarity with Cuba, in Caracas, Venezuela, July 24-27; petitioning to put SWP candidates on the ballot; and building the World Festival of Youth and Students in Ecuador in December. For more information, call *Militant* distributors in your area (see page 8) or contact us at (212) 244-4899 or themilitant@mac.com.

—LOUIS MARTIN

UN hearing calls for end to colonial rule of Puerto Rico

Demands freedom for political prisoners

BY SARA LOBMAN

UNITED NATIONS — Dozens of speakers, from Puerto Rico as well as several U.S. cities, addressed the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization to condemn Washington's 115-year-long colonial rule over that Caribbean nation and to affirm their support for the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

The committee, in a unanimously adopted resolution, reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence" from U.S. rule. The resolution was introduced by Cuban Deputy Ambassador Oscar León González and co-sponsored by the governments of Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela.

The June 17 hearing was marked by broad protests recently in Puerto Rico and the United States demanding the U.S. government free Puerto Rican independence fighter Oscar López Rivera, who has been incarcerated for 32 years. The majority of the 40 speakers at the hearing called for his release.

"It is incomprehensible that the United States will issue declarations of concern regarding the health of political prisoners in other countries and at other times, but has not freed Oscar López on humanitarian grounds," said Osvaldo Toledo García of the American Association of Jurists. "Oscar has the support of the majority of Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and the United States."

"Freedom for Oscar López Rivera! Freedom for the Cuban anti-terrorist heroes, our brothers, and for all those imprisoned in the cause of liberty," said Gerardo Lugo Segarra of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, referring to the five Cuban revolutionaries framed up by the U.S. government. (See box below).

Stepped-up activity for Oscar López

Fernando Laspina, executive director of El Maestro, a pro-independence Puerto Rican cultural center in the Bronx, addressed the hearing as a spokesperson for the Coordinating

Committee to Free Oscar López Rivera. He reported on stepped-up activity in the U.S. On June 9, he noted, the committee organized a Free Oscar López float hosted by Local 1199 of the hospital workers union in New York's massive Puerto Rican Day Parade. The day before, hundreds in Manhattan's El Barrio signed petitions for López's release.

The final speaker testifying at the hearing, Clarisa López Ramos, Oscar López's daughter, described the obstacles her father's jailers have callously imposed on family members' efforts to visit him over the years. She has helped organize a monthly protest of 32 women — one for each year of López's incarceration — on a bridge in San Juan, Puerto Rico, to demand his release.

Elda Santiago, wife of political prisoner Norberto González Claudio, also spoke. Arrested in Puerto Rico in May 2011, González was extradited to the U.S. and held without bail until his conviction on "conspiracy" charges in November 2012. In an unsuccessful effort to break his morale, he has been "segregated from the rest of the prisoners," Santiago noted. "Medical treatment is delayed and communications with the family are kept under surveillance and censored."

One consequence of U.S. colonial rule is the imposition of capital punishment in federal cases despite the fact that such a penalty is barred by Puerto Rico's constitution, noted Carol Sosa Santiago of the Puerto Rican Coalition Against the Death Penalty. Federal trials in Puerto Rico, including those where defendants face the death penalty, are conducted in English, a language only a small minority of the population speaks fluently, she said.

Colonial plebiscite

Many speakers referred to the Nov. 6, 2012, nonbinding referendum in Puerto Rico on the island's colonial status — the fourth such vote in 45 years. A few speakers, advocating either statehood or the current commonwealth status,

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 southern 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 supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

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 and possession of false identity documents. Without a shred of evidence, three were charged with "conspiracy to gather and transmit national defense information."

Hernández was also convicted of conspiracy to commit murder based on the pretext that he bore responsibility for the Cuban government's 1996 shoot-down of two aircraft flown by the counterrevolutionary group Brothers to the Rescue that had invaded Cuban airspace in disregard of Havana's repeated warnings. He is serving two life terms plus 15 years. His wife, Adriana Pérez, is barred from entering the United States.

All but René González remain in prison. In October 2011 he began serving a three-year "supervised release." On the pretext of his dual citizenship, his request to return to Cuba had been denied until May 3, when Judge Joan Lenard finally agreed that if González renounced his U.S. citizenship, he could stay in Cuba.



Courtesy NY Coordinating Committee to Free Oscar López Rivera

Contingent in June 9 Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York City demands freedom for Oscar López. U.N. decolonization committee at June 17 hearing backed fight to free López and Norberto González Claudio, another Puerto Rican political prisoner jailed in U.S., and reaffirmed "inalienable right of people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

pointed to such votes as a vehicle to achieve their goal.

"So-called plebiscites administered in a colony can only benefit the colonial authorities," said independence fighter Juan Antonio "Papo" Castillo of the Puerto Rican Diaspora Solidarity Coordinating Committee, based in Worcester, Mass.

"A successful fight for Puerto Rico's independence is also in the interests of the vast majority of the people of the United States," Tom Baumann said on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. Working people in the United States and the people of Puerto Rico "have a common enemy — the U.S. government and the capitalist ruling class it defends. And we share a common struggle — to get those exploiters off our backs."

Event in New Zealand draws unionists, artists, others into fight to free Cuban 5

BY JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Musicians, poets and other artists added their support to the international campaign to free the Cuban Five at a cultural and political evening held here June 15. The event was organized by the Cuba Friendship Society to tie in with the "5 Days for the Cuban 5" activities in Washington, D.C., May 30-June 5.

The 80 participants were welcomed by Mike Treen, national director of the Unite Union, and invited to listen to the musical trio French Toast while they ate a Cuban supper. Later they heard from Cuban band Chango Rey and watched a solo performance by dancer Tupua Tigafua.

Robert Reid, general secretary of the First Union and chair of the program, introduced Cuban Ambassador Maria del Carmen Herrera.

"To understand the story of the Five, we should connect it with the history of Cuba," Herrera said. The 1959 revolution in Cuba "established for the first time a political, economic and social system chosen by the Cuban people. This was not liked by the United States government."

Herrera explained how the Five had been framed up and described the international campaign to win their freedom. "We don't trust American justice," she said. Quoting Gerardo Hernández, one of the Five, she said to free the Five, "We need a jury of millions."

Actor Phillip Gordon read po-

Baumann, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami, noted the increased receptivity to the fight for the release of the Puerto Rican political prisoners and the Cuban Five he has found while campaigning door to door in working-class neighborhoods.

Following adoption of the resolution by the U.N. decolonization committee, Cuban Ambassador León took the floor. He pointed to Oscar López as an example of "Puerto Ricans who remain unbroken" in standing up to the U.S. colonial rulers. "Oscar embodies the same virtues of our five comrades imprisoned for defending their people," he said. The people of Puerto Rico "can count on our unwavering solidarity" in the fight to free the political prisoners and for independence.

ems by Cuban Five prisoner Antonio Guerrero.

Keith Locke, former Green Party member of parliament, celebrated the release of René González. "People around the world should take some credit for this," he said.

The event was held in the Maritime Union's club. "We're great supporters of the Cuban Five," said Russell Mayn, secretary of Local 13, which has been in a contract fight with the Ports of Auckland for the last 18 months.

Selections of poetry and prose were read by writers Riemke Ensing, Vivienne Plumb, Janet Charman, David Lyndon Brown and teacher Peter Beyer.

The evening was concluded by Annalucia Vermunt for the Cuba Friendship Society. The Five are products of the Cuban Revolution and working-class fighters who have stood as examples of dignity, integrity and steadfastness, she said, "whether it be their contribution to winning independence for Angola and helping defeat apartheid South Africa, or the respect they've earned from fellow prisoners in the U.S., or the solidarity they've shown to others, such as those fighting for Puerto Rico's independence."

Many participants were new supporters of the case. Fourteen copies of *The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free* were bought by those wanting to find out more and for use in winning new backing for the campaign.

Place of US Civil War in 1847-71 ‘furnace of wars and revolutions’

Below is an excerpt from America's Revolutionary Heritage, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for July. George Novack (1905-1992), who was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, authored many of its chapters, including the piece below "The Civil War—its place in history." Copyright © 1971 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY GEORGE NOVACK

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

Between the close of the First American Revolution in 1789 and the beginning of the Second Revolution in 1861 a far greater revolution took place in the Western world. This revolution occurred in the field of production. The introduction of power-driven machinery transformed the technological basis of production, gave birth to the factory system, and made possible large-scale industry. The capitalist method



"The epoch of the most rapid expansion of capitalism, from 1847 to 1871, was likewise a period of wars and revolutions," wrote George Novack, including U.S. Civil War and Paris Commune. The latter was first time in history proletariat seized power. Top, Battle of Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River in June 1863 where former slave captured his master. Inset, proclamation of Paris Commune in March 1871.

of production for the first time stood upon its own feet and began to assert its mastery in the decisive spheres of economic life. The age of industrial capitalism had succeeded the age of commercial capitalism.

The rise of industrial capitalism, which began toward the end of the eighteenth century and lasted until the beginning of the twentieth, was a turbulent epoch in world history. With furious zeal the emissaries of capitalism attacked and destroyed the remnants of feudal and barbarian civilizations and erected a new world on their ruins. The extension of the exchange of products gave capital, labor, and culture an unprecedented mobility. Capital ranged throughout the globe, seeking openings for trade and investment; millions of people were redistributed from the Old World to the New in the greatest mass migrations in history; culture became more cosmopolitan. Science and invention quickened the pace of capitalist industry.

The Second American Revolution occurred during the height of this development. From 1852 to 1872 industrial capitalism experienced its most impetuous growth. The unprecedented volume of world trade during this period indicates the extraordinary tempo

of economic expansion. After rising from \$1.75 billion in 1830 to \$3.6 billion in 1850, the volume of world trade leaped forward to \$9.4 billion in 1870—an increase of well over two and a half times. This rate of increase has never been surpassed by world capitalism. It was during this century of industrial revolution that the modern capitalist world took shape.

The epoch of the most rapid expansion of capitalism, from 1847 to 1871, was likewise a period of wars and revolutions, in three consecutive phases. The crisis of 1847 produced the first mighty wave of uprisings. These were cut short by a series of victories for reaction and by the economic revival following the California gold strike of 1849.

After a prolonged period of prosperity, the world crisis of 1857 gave rise to a second sequence of wars and revolutions. This began with the first Italian War for Independence and was followed in rapid succession by the American Civil War of 1861, the Polish Insurrection of 1863, Napoleon III's Mexican adventure, and the campaign against Denmark in 1864 which opened the series of Prussian wars led by Bismarck. This revolutionary impulse was felt as far away as Japan

where, through the Meiji Restoration, the rulers partially adapted their economy and regime to the demands of the new industrial system.

The final period lasted from 1866 to 1871. Initiated by the crisis of 1866, it witnessed the republican uprising in Spain that toppled Queen Isabella from the throne, and the culmination of Bismarck's campaign of expansion, beginning with the attack upon Austria in 1866 and ending triumphantly in the unification of Germany after the victory over France in 1871.

The civil war in France, following Bismarck's defeat of Napoleon III, was the historical high water mark of this epoch. The Paris Commune was the first time in history that the proletariat seized power. With the crushing of the Communards and the restoration of bourgeois order in the Third Republic, the revolutionary tide receded for the rest of the century.

Thus for almost twenty-five years the entire Western world was a fiery furnace of war and revolution. These were the most turbulent years humanity had experienced since the Napoleonic Wars or was to know until the First World War. Within this furnace were forged not only the imperialist powers of modern Europe, which were to rule the earth until 1914, but the nation destined to outstrip them as the mightiest of world powers: the capitalist United States of North America.

The Second American Revolution must be viewed within this world-historical setting. Our Civil War was neither an isolated nor a purely national phenomenon. *It was one of the most important links in the chain of conflicts that issued directly out of the world economic crisis of 1857 and constituted the great bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement of the mid-nineteenth century.* While the revolutions of 1848 and 1871 in France were the chief events in the first and final stages of that movement, the revolution that started in 1861 in the United States was the central event in its second chapter. This was the most important revolutionary struggle of the nineteenth century, as well as the most successful.

July

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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8 The Militant July 8, 2013

Oppose US sanctions against Iran!

Working people the world over should support the hundreds of thousands in Iran who have taken to the streets with democratic demands that help carve out space for workers to organize and advance their interests.

In solidarity with the toilers there, we should also demand Washington and its allies lift sanctions against Iran, as well as North Korea, aimed at imposing hardships on millions and pressuring the governments in those countries to abandon their nuclear programs.

Working people in the U.S. and other imperialist countries should champion the right of semicolonial nations to expand electrification, including the use of nuclear power, which is essential for the development of industry, agriculture, medicine and culture.

On the issue of nuclear weapons U.S. imperialism stands as the greatest hypocrite. Washington sits on the biggest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world and is the only power on earth to have used them.

Nuclear weapons have only one function: to kill

millions of innocent people. Possession and use of them is antithetical to the interests of toiling humanity. The Cuban Revolution — during the 1956-58 revolutionary war and since — has stood as an example of working-class morality, rejecting any military tactics that target the innocent. And for more than five decades, revolutionary Cuba has successfully defended itself from imperialist assaults and threats by relying on the mobilization, political consciousness and military preparedness of millions of workers and farmers.

Workers should also demand an end to Washington's decades-long trade embargo against Cuba.

“Our nuclear weapons is the invincible power of moral weapons,” Fidel Castro said in 2005. “Weapons to combat death, to combat AIDS, to combat diseases, to fight against cancer, that’s what we dedicate our resources to.” These are the type of priorities workers have and can carry out after wresting political power from the capitalist exploiters.

Brazil protests target social conditions

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and spread. On June 17 more than a quarter million took to the streets in 12 state capitals, including 100,000 in Rio de Janeiro.

Mayara Vivian, a waitress and geography student and one of the founders of the Free Pass Movement, which initiated the protests, told the *New York Times* the group has been organizing actions demanding free public transportation since 2005, but rarely drew more than a few hundred people. “One hundred thousand people, we never would have thought it.”

Mayors back off fare raise

The actions continued to grow, even after nine city mayors, including in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, agreed to roll back the fare raises. Protesters added fighting corruption and improving health care and education to their demands. More than a million people in over 80 cities across the country joined protests June 20, the largest since 1992 actions against the government of then President Fernando Collor de Mello.

Many brought homemade signs. “If my child gets sick, I can’t take him to a stadium,” read one. “Lower the fare, charge it to FIFA’s account” was a popular chant, referring to the world soccer governing body.

For millions in Brazil, where the official minimum wage is about \$300 monthly, the 10 cent fare increase means less for food and other basic necessities.

Although a large proportion of protesters “are middle-class students, the problem of transportation affects everyone except those who have helicopters,” Vanessa Barbara, a columnist for *Folha de Sao Paulo* who backs the protests, told the *Militant*. “And everyone is talking about it: in buses, in the streets. People who were never interested in politics before are taking positions and discussing these issues.”

As the protests grew they drew in a wide variety of political forces, including small groups of anarchists and rightists.

According to Spain’s *El País* daily, hundreds of members of the ruling Workers Party tried to join the June 20 protest in Sao Paulo but had to leave after they were booed, insulted and threatened. Members of the Free Pass Movement formed a human chain to protect them. Other socialist parties were also reportedly harassed. “We repudiate the acts of violence that were employed against groups in today’s demonstration,” the Sao Paulo chapter of the Free Pass Movement said in a statement later that day, “the same way we condemn police violence.”

While the two main union federations, Forca Sindical and the Workers Party-affiliated CUT, both issued statements expressing support for the protest movement, for the most part they did not organize to join the demonstrations.

Since 2003, when former union leader Luis Inácio Lula da Silva won the presidency, Brazil has been governed by the Workers Party. Dilma Rousseff, da Silva’s protégé, took office in October 2010. Rousseff was arrested and tortured in the 1960s for her activities in a

guerrilla group fighting against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship that came to power in a 1964 coup.

The U.S. big-business press has heralded Brazil, the world’s fifth most populous country with some 200 million people, as an “economic miracle.” They point to the last decade of economic growth, double the rate in the U.S., and to the Workers Party-led government’s financial and tax policies designed to strengthen local capitalists against foreign rivals. The government lays claim to lifting 40 million people to the middle class.

The Workers Party government has also expanded Bolsa Familia, a program that gives cash to low-income families, on condition they prove their children attend school and get regular vaccinations. More than 12 million households receive the subsidies, which is supposed to guarantee a minimum income of about \$35 a month.

Rising unemployment

But official unemployment has climbed for the first four months of 2013 after declining to a record low at the end of last year. The official inflation rate rose to 6.5 percent at the end of June.

And despite the last decade of growth and transfer payments, Brazil is still marked “by one of the most unequal distributions of wealth and income in the world,” according to Bloomberg news.

A day after the massive June 21 protests, Rousseff issued a nine-minute prerecorded speech in which she promised to listen to “the voices of the street,” come up with a plan to improve public transport, use 100 percent of oil royalties for education and bring in thousands of doctors from abroad to improve health care at state clinics.

The president also said that “the government cannot accept that a violent and authoritarian minority destroys the public and private patrimony” and instructed the police to continue containing vandalism.

Rousseff met with leaders of the Free Pass Movement June 24. “We are not satisfied,” Free Pass leader Vivian told the press after the meeting. “If they have money to construct stadiums, they should have it for no cost fares.”

The next day 2,500 residents from two working-class *favelas* marched to the residence of the governor of Rio de Janeiro state. According to *El País*, owners of luxury stores in the neighborhood closed up shop when they heard they were coming.

“Those who are used to being caught between the violence of the drug dealers and the police carried out the most peaceful march since the start of the street protests,” said the big-business daily, surprised at what it called “one of a thousand paradoxes in this awakening of Brazil.”

“When Dilma [Rousseff] was in the favela she promised us improvements in public health infrastructure,” student Erica dos Santos told the crowd. “It hasn’t happened. The child care center doesn’t operate and the attention at the public health post is abominable.”

Rulers debate ‘stimulus’

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monetary “stimulus” effort. Since 2008 the Fed has purchased tens of billions of dollars of mortgage-backed securities from U.S. banks as well as their own U.S. government bonds, transferring \$2.5 trillion to the banks on the theory bosses will borrow the easy money and boost production, creating jobs.

But the bosses face a crisis of production and trade unlike any in decades. As a result, their greatest avenues for profit do not involve investment in equipment and labor to expand production. They have instead chosen to sit on hoards of billions of dollars or to find higher returns in stocks and other financial “instruments,” essentially speculative bets on the rise or fall of various kinds of commercial paper, what Karl Marx called “fictitious capital.”

The average age of manufacturing equipment in the U.S. is close to 20 years, nearly double what it was in 1990, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Easy money created by the Fed’s programs has gone into boosting U.S. stock market prices, but it has done nothing to prod the bosses to create a single job.

In the U.S., Standard & Poor’s 500-stock index fell 2.5 percent the day after Bernanke’s announcement, its biggest one-day decline since November 2011. Stock prices dropped even more in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

The jittery reaction to the prospect of the Fed backing off from printing more and more dollars highlights the growing worldwide financial instability rooted in the capitalists’ inability to reverse the slowdown of production and trade. It underscores the place of dollar printing in the efforts by the propertied rulers around the world to postpone financial crashes as they hope for an end to the economic contraction.

In the U.S., manufacturing in May contracted to its lowest level since the “recovery” from the 2007-2009 recession began nearly four years ago, according to an Institute for Supply Management report.

At the same time, China’s economy is slowing, dashing the illusions of layers of capitalist rulers in the U.S. and other imperialist countries that an eternal “Chinese miracle” would prop up world trade and production.

But the more China relies on capitalism, the more vulnerable it becomes to all the pressures and crises of that mode of production.

After Bernanke spoke, stock market prices in China dropped more than 3 percent. Chinese banks are tightening credit, closing down the ability of manufacturers to finance production.

In June, manufacturing output fell in China to its lowest level in nine months, according to the HSBC purchasing managers index, as new export orders declined. The previous month, China’s exports to markets in the U.S. and EU dropped 1.6 percent and 9.7 percent compared to a year ago, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

As Chinese manufacturing grinds down, imports are falling as well, affecting capitalist industries worldwide. Demand for metallurgical coal and other resources to make steel in China have plummeted, fueling layoffs and mine closures in the U.S., where coal exports fell 31 percent in April.

In the first quarter of 2013, eurozone gross domestic product, a measure of goods and services, declined for the sixth consecutive quarter, affecting all 17 nations in the common currency and trade bloc.

This “underwhelming data,” the London-based *Guardian* reported, led Naoyuki Shinohara, deputy managing director at the International Monetary Fund, to tell the paper the world economy will not “generate jobs for the millions who have fallen into unemployment over the last five years.”

While the bosses around the world have no answer to the slowdown of production and trade, they are working to boost their industrial profit margins on the backs of working people through speedup and wage cuts.

Since U.S. manufacturing hit a low point following the 2007-2009 recession, output has increased to nearly prerecession levels. But the same amount of work is being done by 2 million fewer workers. And, according to government figures, U.S. workers’ wages and benefits have dropped to their lowest level since 1955.