

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**  
Cuban leader in Australia: 'A victory  
US gov't has to negotiate with us'  
— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 79/NO. 24 JULY 13, 2015

## Protest widespread attacks on Communist Party in Ukraine

CP members assaulted in streets and parliament

BY JOHN STUDER

On June 13 the offices of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Odessa were taken over and ransacked by members of the ultra-rightist Right Sector. Literature, files, flags and equipment were tossed into the street, burned and smashed. This was the latest in a series of attacks against CP members, offices and the party's right to exist — the cutting edge of a broader campaign against workers' political rights.

These attacks endanger the working class and labor movement in Ukraine and the political rights of all the oppressed and exploited.

Since the overthrow of the pro-Moscow regime of Viktor Yanukovich by the massive Maidan mobilizations in February 2014, the capitalist government that has been consolidated has organized an offensive against Ukrainian workers and farmers aimed at making production and trade more profitable. They have been pushed along this course by demands from the International Monetary Fund, Washington and the European Union

Continued on page 6

Attacks on CP a danger to entire working class

The *Militant* stands shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of Ukraine, which faces physical assaults, destruction of their offices, and "disappearances" and murders of its members for exercising their right to participate in politics.

### EDITORIAL

These attacks are a deadly threat to the working class and labor movement, precedents that will be turned against all those who fight for a class-struggle road forward in Ukraine.

They are the naked fist that gives meaning to the capitalist rulers' "decommunization" laws, which seek to outlaw communist political views and activity and to empower the state to set "correct" history, which you challenge at your peril, and to the so far unsuccessful efforts to ban the CP.

The Poroshenko government in Kiev and the propertied rulers it represents are the class enemy of the workers and farmers in Ukraine. Fighting against the capitalist rulers

Continued on page 6

## Kurdish fighters take strategic town from Islamic State in Syria



Reuters/Rodi Said

Kurdish People's Protection Units parade near Tel Abyad June 15 after taking town from reactionary Islamic State, expanding Kurdish-controlled territory in Syria along Turkish border.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Kurdish forces in Syria scored a major victory against Islamic State in mid-June, driving them out of Tel Abyad on Turkey's border. The town has been a major transit point for smuggling weapons, supplies and entry of foreign fighters into the ranks of this reactionary group. A week later the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) also captured a military base and an adjacent town just 30 miles

from Raqqa, Islamic State's self-proclaimed capital.

These advances together with the victory in driving IS forces from Kobani earlier this year have inspired Kurds throughout the region — some 30 million people living in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. They're fighting against national oppression and for a homeland, denied to them by the imperialist division of the region

Continued on page 5

## 'Take down that racist flag!' sweeps country

Shift shows deep changes in working class



AP Photo/Rainier Ehrhardt

Rally against Confederate battle flag at state Capitol in Columbia, South Carolina, June 23, a week after racist terrorist Dylann Storm Roof killed nine Blacks in church in Charleston, S.C.

BY MAGGIE TROWE

CHARLESTON, S.C. — The demand to bring down the Confederate flag in South Carolina and other Southern states spread like wildfire across the country in the wake of the killing of nine African-Americans in a church here by white supremacist terrorist Dylann Storm Roof June 17.

The rapidity of the shift by capitalist politicians of all stripes to call for removing the symbol of racist terror from state capitols and other public places is an expression of the impact

of deepgoing changes in the working class in recent decades, especially among workers who are Caucasian.

**TAKE DOWN THE FLAG  
OF RACIST TERROR!**  
— Editorial, page 9

It reflects gains scored by the broad, sustained "Black Lives Matter" demonstrations against police brutality from Ferguson, Missouri; to Baltimore.

Continued on page 4

## No end to crisis for working class as Athens, EU face off over debt

BY SETH GALINSKY

No matter what the outcome of a July 5 referendum in Greece on demands by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund for even steeper "austerity" measures than

those proposed by the Greek government, working people there will go to the wall.

And whatever the result, it will strike another blow to the illusion that the euro common currency is a road to capitalist stability and prosperity, as opposed to a way for the strongest

Continued on page 9

## Obama seeks Asia trade pact to counter Beijing's growing weight

BY NAOMI CRAINE

After securing Trade Promotion Authority or "fast track" authorization from Congress, the Barack Obama administration is pushing to complete negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal involving a dozen governments in Asia and

Continued on page 6

### Inside

Pope: US, UK did nothing to stop Holocaust in WWII 2

UN hearing: 'Free Oscar López! End colonial rule!' 3

—On the picket line, p. 5—

Minneapolis janitors strike for one day for higher wages

Steelworkers rally against ATI concession contract proposal



# Pope: US, UK did nothing to stop Holocaust in WWII

BY EMMA JOHNSON

In a discussion with young people in Turin, Italy, June 21, Pope Francis put aside his prepared text and denounced the refusal of U.S., British and other governments to take action against the Nazi concentration camps during World War II.

“The great powers had photographs of the rail lines that took trains to the concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, to kill the Jews, and also Christians, also the Roma, also homosexuals, to kill them there,” he told the youth. “But tell me, why didn’t they bomb that? Interest!”

In 1941 the Nazis began implementing the “Final-Solution,” a plan to exterminate all Jews in Europe. In Poland 3 million Jews were murdered, 90 percent of the prewar Jewish population; in Greece, 87 percent; in Lithuania, 85 percent; Yugoslavia, 81 percent; Slovakia, 80 percent; Latvia, 78 percent; and the Netherlands, 71 percent. The Jewish population worldwide is still smaller than before World War II.

Auschwitz was the biggest of six concentration camps, all located in Poland, specifically designed for mass murder. Five railroad routes transported Jews, Roma, homosexuals, communists and others from all over Nazi-occupied Europe. In Auschwitz alone between 2.1 and 2.5 million people were killed.

Some Polish resistance fighters requested that the Allies bomb the railroad leading to Auschwitz. Instead, U.S. and British planes bombed facto-

ries near the camp, but never the rail lines.

Francis made his comment in response to questions about love and how to live a life “that doesn’t destroy, that isn’t a life of destruction ... that doesn’t dispose of people” in today’s world.

“Sometimes I have said that we are living the Third World War, but in pieces,” he said. “There is war in Europe, there is war in Africa, there is war in the Middle East.”

The pope noted that there are “leaders, entrepreneurs who call themselves Christians, and produce arms!”

“Man and woman are not at the center of the global economic system,” he said, “but the god of money.” He called on the young people to “go against the current, namely, be courageous and creative.”

While Francis did not comment about the record of the Catholic Church hierarchy in collaborating with the Nazis during World War II, he has blocked attempts to elevate to sainthood Pope Pius XII, who led the church for most of the war.

The Vatican has never admitted to its collaboration with the Nazis, justifying its signing of a concordat with the Hitler regime in 1933 as an attempt to protect the Catholic Church in Germany.

At best the Church kept quiet in the face of the Holocaust. At times the hierarchy directly collaborated with the Nazis. Catholic priests across Germany supplied details of marriage and baptism registries to distinguish Jews

## Court strikes down discriminatory marriage laws



Shelby Tauber/Austin American-Statesman/AP Photo

Celebrations broke out across the country, including in Austin, Texas, above, on June 26 after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down all state laws barring same-sex marriage. The court’s 5-4 decision was based on the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees equal protection and due process under the law. The decision also cited the 1967 Loving v. Virginia Supreme Court ruling that struck down bans on interracial marriage.

The ruling reflects rapidly changing attitudes among working people and others against discriminatory marriage laws that deny equal civil rights to gay couples, as well as widespread opposition to government intrusion into individuals’ private lives. And it advances the fight by the working class against all forms of discrimination.

It was just two years ago that the high court ruled the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional because it denied spousal benefits to same-sex couples in the 12 states where their marriages were held to be legal. By the time of the latest Supreme Court decision gay marriage had been legalized in 36 states, encompassing more than 70 percent of the U.S. population.

— BRIAN WILLIAMS

from non-Jews in accordance with Nazi laws.

At the conclusion of a two-day visit to Israel in May last year, Francis made it clear that beatification of Pius XII is not going to happen. “There’s still no miracle,” he said at the time. “If there are no miracles, it can’t go forward. It’s blocked there.”

Pope Francis’ comments in Turin are in line with his continuing fight to restore the authority of the Catholic Church and bring it more in step with the changing social attitudes of millions. In an interview he gave to the Italian Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica* in September 2013, he said that while the Church hasn’t changed its view on

women’s right to abortion, contraception, homosexuality and divorce, “it is not necessary to talk about these issues all the time. ... We have to find a new balance.”

In April the Vatican ended its witch-hunt against the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, the main organization of U.S. nuns, who had been accused under Pope Benedict XVI of promoting “radical feminist themes incompatible with the Catholic faith.”

The shift by Francis is good for working people, opening up more opportunities to discuss ways that workers, whatever their religious beliefs, can come together in a common struggle.

## The Militant

Vol. 79/No. 24

Closing news date: July 1, 2015

Editor: John Studer

On the Picket Line Editor: Maggie Trowe

**Editorial volunteers:** Róger Calero, Naomi Craine, Frank Forrestal, Seth Galinsky, Emma Johnson, Jacob Perasso, Gerardo Sánchez, Maggie Trowe, Brian Williams, Rebecca Williamson.

Published weekly except for one week in January, one week in June, one week in July, one week in August and one week in September.

**Business manager:** Lea Sherman  
The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018. **Telephone:** (212) 244-4899  
**Fax:** (212) 244-4947  
**E-mail:** themilitant@mac.com  
**Website:** www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

**POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

**SUBSCRIPTIONS: United States:** For one year send \$35 to above address.

**Latin America, Caribbean:** For one year send \$85 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

**Africa, Asia, and the Middle East:** For one year send \$85 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

**Canada:** For one year send Canadian \$45 to the Militant, 7107 St. Denis #204, Montreal, Quebec H2S 2S5.

**United Kingdom:** Send £26 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London, 2nd Floor, 83 Kingsland High St., Dalston, London, E8 2PB, England.

**Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe:** Send £85 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London at above address.

**France:** Send 120 euros for one year to Diffusion du Militant, BP 10130, 75723 Paris Cedex 15.

**New Zealand:** Send NZ\$55 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140, New Zealand.

**Australia:** Send A\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 164 Campsie, NSW 2194, Australia.

**Pacific Islands:** Send NZ\$55 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140, New Zealand.

Submissions to the *Militant* may be published in the newspaper in print and digital format. By submitting, authors represent that their submissions are original and consent to publication in this manner.

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

## THE MILITANT

### Defend women’s right to choose abortion!

*Opponents of women’s rights are pressing to impose onerous requirements on providers to limit the availability of safe, legal abortion. The ‘Militant’ backs the fight to defend abortion rights, a crucial precondition for the unity of the working class.*



Militant/Baskaran Appu

June 2 rally in Wellington, New Zealand, in defense of women’s right to abortion.

## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$5 for 12 issues

#### RENEWAL

☐ \$10 for 12 weeks

☐ \$20 for 6 months

☐ \$35 for 1 year

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_ E-MAIL \_\_\_\_\_

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT,  
306 W. 37TH ST., 13TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, A\$8 • United Kingdom, £3 • Canada, Can\$7 • Caribbean and Latin America, US\$10 • Continental Europe, £10 • France, 8 euros • New Zealand, NZ\$7 • All other areas, US\$16 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)



# UN hearing: ‘Free Oscar López! End colonial rule!’

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

UNITED NATIONS — The rising demands for the release of jailed independence fighter Oscar López were at the center of this year’s hearing on Puerto Rico at the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization. Speakers at the June 22 hearing also hailed Cuba’s victories over Washington’s efforts to destroy the revolution and how this has strengthened support in Latin America for Puerto Rico’s independence from U.S. colonial rule.

Numerous recent actions have called on the U.S. government to release López. Marches took place May 29 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and May 30 in New York, marking 34 years since the independence fighter was arrested and framed on charges that included “seditious conspiracy.” On June 14 some 2,000 people took part in a pro-independence march in San Juan. The same day, thousands of spectators cheered the “Free Oscar López” contingent in the annual Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York.

The decolonization committee approved a resolution demanding that the U.S. government recognize Puerto Rico’s right to independence, and that it immediately free López. Puerto Rico, under Washington’s boot since U.S. troops invaded it in 1898, is the world’s largest remaining colony.

As in previous years, the resolution was introduced by Cuba. It was co-sponsored by the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Syria and Russia. The representative of Iran, speaking on behalf of the 120-member Non-Aligned Movement, made a statement in favor of the resolution, as did the Ecuadoran representative in the name of the 33 members of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC).

Juan Dalmau, general secretary of

the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), applauded the opening of U.S.-Cuba talks on re-establishing diplomatic ties and the fact that after more than half a century of U.S.-engineered exclusion from the Organization of American States, Cuba participated in the April OAS meeting in Panama. There and at the January CELAC summit in Costa Rica, Cuban President Raúl Castro championed Puerto Rico’s right to independence and condemned U.S. threats against the Venezuelan government.

“The victories won by Cuba ... by Puerto Rico in advancing its liberation effort at CELAC and by Venezuela in rejecting imperial threats are three victories for the right to national self-determination,” Dalmau said. The U.S. imperialist rulers, he added, “who for so long tried to isolate [Cuba], have found themselves isolated and discredited.”

Many speakers at the hearing called on U.S. President Barack Obama to free Oscar López, including Mark Anthony Bimbela of the Puerto Rico Lawyers Guild, Ana López of the New York Coordinator to Free Oscar López, and José Ortiz, representing Puerto Rican legislator Charlie Hernández of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). Jan Susler of the National Lawyers Guild, who is López’s attorney, noted the growing support for the defense campaign, including from the Communications Workers of America union at its last convention.

## Capitalist crisis devastates workers

Numerous participants pointed to the economic crisis devastating the Puerto Rican people. While workers are being hit by high unemployment and cutbacks in social programs in order to pay the wealthy capitalist bondholders, “profits for the multinational companies in Puerto Rico surpass \$75 billion a year,” said Manuel Rivera of Puerto Ricans United in Action. As thousands leave in search of better conditions, there are today more Puerto Ricans living in the United States — 4.5 million — than the 3.7 million on the island, he said.

To pay the bondholders on Puerto Rico’s \$70 billion debt, the colonial government has cut 30,000 government employee jobs, imposed an 11.5 percent sales tax, hiked utility rates, and slashed public services, including the closure of 100 schools, with another 98 on the chopping block, said Ismael Muller of the Socialist Front.

While official unemployment figures range between 15 and 35 percent, Puerto Rico’s labor force participation rate — a truer measure of joblessness — is barely 40 percent, reported Julio Muriente of the Hostos National Independence Movement (MINH).

“In a country where Puerto Ricans are not the ones who rule, how can we have a foreign debt? We say — it’s not our debt,” said Gerardo Lugo Segarra, vice president of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

Chris Hoepfner, representing the Socialist Workers Party, pointed to the victories in the release of the Cuban Five and “of the Cuban people over U.S. imperialism’s efforts for 56 years to destroy their socialist revolution,” a revolution that is an example for working people everywhere. The Puerto Rican



Militant/Naomi Craine

**Fight to free jailed independence fighter Oscar López is growing. Above, spectators at June 14 Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York cheer contingent demanding López’s release.**

people’s struggles are strengthened by these victories, he said.

He added that they are also reinforced “by the broadening resistance among working people in the United States to the assaults by the bosses on our rights and standard of living.” Hoepfner, a worker at Walmart in Philadelphia, pointed to fights by fast-food workers, airport contract workers and others to raise wages and win a union, as well as the ongoing battles against police brutality and racist attacks.

Natasha Bannan of LatinoJustice highlighted the U.S. government’s continuing refusal to carry out a thorough decontamination on Vieques to remove hazardous material left from decades of U.S. Navy occupation of the island, which has led to persistently high levels of cancer and other diseases among residents.

In addition to the pro-independence speakers, a few spoke in favor of one of the two main capitalist parties: the PPD, which proposes “improving” Puerto Rico’s current status as a U.S. “commonwealth,” or the New Progressive Party (PNP), which calls for it to become the 51st U.S. state. Both rail against Puerto Rico’s colonial status, but each advocates pleading with Washington for a modified colonial setup.

At the end of the hearing, Cuban Deputy Ambassador Oscar León took the floor and reiterated Cuba and Puerto Rico’s shared history of anti-imperialist struggle. Today, he said, “The Cuban Five are free, maintaining the dignity of having resisted unbelievable pressure to give in and renounce their ideas. So will Oscar come out of prison, with the dignity and honor of the unbreakable hero that he is.”

## Puerto Rico: Independence Is a Necessity

**Rafael Cancel Miranda**

*In two interviews, Cancel Miranda — one of five Puerto Rican Nationalists imprisoned by Washington for more than 25 years until 1979 — speaks out on the brutal reality of U.S. colonial domination, the campaign to free Puerto*

*Rican political prisoners, the example of Cuba’s socialist revolution, and the independence movement today.*

**\$6 Also in Spanish and Farsi**

## Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?

**Mary-Alice Waters**

*Revolutionary struggles by working people are inevitable. As solidarity grows among a fighting vanguard of working people, the outlines of coming class battles can already be seen.*

**\$7 Also in Spanish, French, Farsi and Swedish**

**pathfinderpress.com**

## Hundreds attend Active Workers Conference



Militant

Participants in the June 18-20 Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, view displays highlighting the major political themes of the gathering. Several hundred members, supporters and friends of the communist movement in the U.S. and half a dozen other countries attended the conference, which was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

“If what we are saying is true, that the monetary, military and political alliances coming out of World War II are coming apart, cataclysmic events are ahead of us,” SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said. The three days of intensive political work armed participants to step up involvement in the rising resistance by working people.

The unfolding class struggle in the Middle East; Ukrainian workers’ fight against attacks by the capitalists and their government there and to defend Ukrainian sovereignty; lessons for today from the battles led by revolutionaries in the Teamsters union in the Upper Midwest in the 1930s; and new openings from the victory scored by the Cuban Revolution winning freedom for all the Cuban Five and forcing Washington to open discussions on re-establishing relations for the first time in more than 50 years were at the center of four classes and the reports by Barnes and party leader Mary-Alice Waters.

Coming issues will feature coverage from the conference.

— EMMA JOHNSON



# ‘Take down that racist flag!’

Continued from front page

more; to Staten Island, New York; to this city over the past year.

Five days after the assassinations and two days after thousands of people — African-Americans and Caucasians — gathered at the state Capitol in Columbia chanting, “Take it down!” South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, previously a defender of the emblem, gathered Democratic and Republican leaders around her to say, “It is time to remove the flag from our Capitol grounds.” The legislature voted to take up the question when it reconvenes this month.

South Carolina congressman and former governor Mark Sanford reversed his position and commented that legislators’ phones “had just been blowing up” with calls to remove the flag. “I’ve never seen South Carolina politics move this quickly,” he said.

On June 24 Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley ordered Confederate flags be taken down at the state Capitol. The same day the two U.S. senators from Mississippi, Roger Wicker and Thad Cochran, called for removing the stars and bars from the top corner of that state’s flag.

“I’m encouraged by the speed with which these flags are being removed from public places,” Dot Scott, president of the Charleston chapter of the NAACP, said in a June 29 phone interview. “It shouldn’t have had to take nine deaths, but I’m optimistic. There’s no going back, not after that guy used that symbol for what he did.”

## Broad response to assassinations

Roof, 21, went to the Emanuel AME Church in downtown Charleston June 17 and attended a prayer meeting, engaging in discussion with the church pastor, state Sen. Clementa Pinckney. Then he stood up and shot Pinckney, Rev. Sharonda Singleton, Rev. Daniel Simmons, Ethel Lee Lance, Cynthia Hurd, Myra Thompson, Susie Jackson, Rev. DePayne Middleton-Doctor and Tywanza Sanders.

Sylvia Johnson, Pinckney’s cousin, told MSNBC that a survivor of the attack described Roof’s words before he

started shooting: “You’ve raped our women and you are taking over our country ... I have to do what I have to do.”

Roof was apprehended June 18 in Shelby, North Carolina, brought back to Charleston and charged with nine counts of murder the next day.

A website registered in Roof’s name in February contains photos of him with a Confederate flag and a long statement calling Blacks inferior, railing also against Jews and Latinos and saying why he carried out the terrorist attack. “We have no skinheads, no real KKK, no one doing anything but talking on the Internet. Well someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me.”

In the days after the killings working people and others from Charleston and the region began making their way to the Emanuel Church to place flowers, candles and messages, to pay their respects and to show where they stood. Traffic was congested and parking scarce for blocks and the sidewalks full of individuals and families, half or more of them Caucasian, heading for the church.

Hundreds came to a church service June 18. A couple thousand, including many family members of the victims, attended a vigil in the College of Charleston’s TD Stadium June 19 where Charleston Mayor Joe Riley spoke. On Saturday, June 20, the protest in Columbia demanding removal of the Confederate flag took place. The same day more than 500 marched to the Museum of the Confederacy in Charleston chanting “Black Lives Matter.” On Sunday evening, June 21, more than 10,000 held hands across the Arthur Ravenel Jr. Bridge here to denounce the assassinations.

There has been an outpouring at each of the funerals for the nine victims.

## Changes in working class

At most of these events, while many taking part were African-American, the majority were Caucasian.

“People want their neighbors and the



Hundreds march through downtown Charleston June 20 denouncing terrorist assassinations by white supremacist Dylann Storm Roof and calling for the Confederate flag to come down.

world to see where they stand,” Leonard Riley, a leader of International Longshoremen’s Association Local 1422, which has a long history of participating in the fight to bring down the Confederate flag, said by phone June 29.

This fact was noted with surprise by many in the ruling-class media and treated as something new. But it is a change that has been deepening for decades.

“I was so upset by the killings at the church,” Hazel Collins, 81, widow of a lumber mill worker, told the *Militant* June 20 in her kitchen in North Charleston. “And that police officer had no right to kill Walter Scott,” she added, referring to North Charleston officer Michael Slager, who shot unarmed Scott, a Black forklift driver, to death April 4 and was charged with murder after protests and the release of an eyewitness video.

“I got so mad when someone on television said all whites in the South are racist,” Patricia Austin, 66, a retired bank worker said at her doorstep in West Columbia, June 21. “It’s not true. The South has changed.”

“It should have come down a long time ago,” Thomas Parker, an electrician’s helper living in the same city, said about the Confederate flag.

“Racism is not something you’re born with,” Riley Williamson, a paralegal, said outside the Emanuel Church June 20. “I came to pay my respects.” She said the killings were shocking, “but it’s good to see so many people of all colors, shapes and sizes here.”

Discussion and debate around the Confederate flag is raging throughout the U.S. in the wake of the terror attack, and there is growing recognition of its murderous political meaning as the banner of those determined to preserve as much as they can of the consequences of the bloody counterrevolution against the gains of the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction, of Ku Klux Klan night rides, of lynchings of Black workers and farmers, of violent opposition to the gains of the movement for Black rights. (See article on page 8.)

Hundreds rallied again in Columbia June 23 calling for the flag’s removal. On June 27 Bree Newsome, 30, climbed the flagpole at the Capitol and brought the flag down. She was arrested and the flag was replaced by state authorities.

Later that day several dozen people

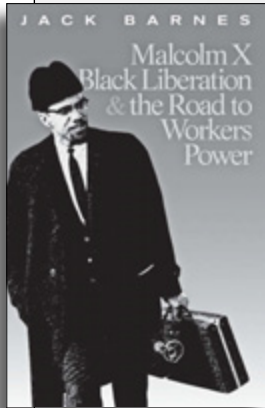
rallied at the Capitol waving Confederate flags and calling for it to stay.

Sensing which way the wind is blowing, retail giant Walmart announced June 22 that it would stop carrying Confederate flag merchandise. Amazon, Sears and eBay followed suit. The National Parks Service announced June 25 that it would stop selling Confederate flags, T-shirts and magnets at gift stores, such as at the Antietam National Battlefield in Sharpsburg, Maryland.

Naomi Craine contributed to this article.



For days a constant stream of people of all nationalities came from far and wide to Emanuel AME Church in Charleston to commemorate those killed.



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

by Jack Barnes

“Don’t start with Blacks as an oppressed nationality. Start with the vanguard place and weight of workers who are Black in the broad proletarian-led social and political struggles in the United States. From the Civil War to today, the record is mind-boggling. It’s the strength and resilience, not the oppression, that bowls you over.” \$20

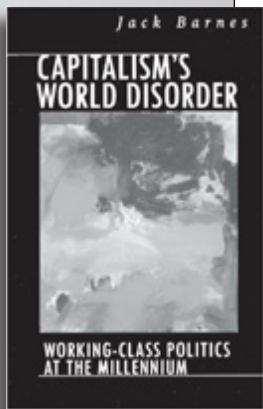
## Capitalism’s World Disorder

*Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*

by Jack Barnes

The social devastation and financial panic, coarsening of politics, cop brutality and imperialist aggression — all are products not of something gone wrong with capitalism but of its lawful workings. Yet the future can be changed by the united struggle of workers and farmers increasingly conscious of their capacity to wage revolutionary struggles for state power and to transform the world. \$25

pathfinderpress.com





# —ON THE PICKET LINE—

MAGGIE TROWE, EDITOR

## Contribute to coverage of steel and auto contract fights!

This column is dedicated to spreading the truth about the labor resistance that is unfolding today, to give voice to those engaged in battle and help build solidarity. National steel and auto contracts are expiring this summer and fall. I invite workers involved in fights against concessions to contact me at 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018; or (212) 244-4899; or themilitant@mac.com. We'll work together to ensure your story is told.

—Maggie Trowe

## Minneapolis janitors strike for one day demanding higher wages

MINNEAPOLIS — Janitors at more than 50 retail stores struck on June 9 demanding higher wages, medical benefits and paid sick leave. Some 100 janitors and supporters marched in front of downtown Macy's that day.

"Five of us clean the Target store. None of us went to work last night," Ivonne Garduno, a janitor who works for an agency contracted to supply cleaners for the downtown store, told the *Militant*. "Some co-workers from first and second shift are here at the picket line too."

The janitors and supporters next picketed the Best Buy shareholders meeting at the company's corporate headquarters in nearby Richfield. While janitors at Best Buy headquarters are organized by Service Employees International Union, the workers in the stores are not.

Paul Bassett, a janitor at Sears in Coon Rapids, makes \$8.50 an hour working for a contractor. "I am not on strike, but I'm here to support my fellow cleaners," he said. "Our wages are not fair. We want a union. With more people, more numbers, we can make a difference."

The actions were organized by Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en Lucha (Center of Workers United in Struggle).

—Lisa Rottach

## Steelworkers rally against ATI concession contract proposal

WASHINGTON, Pa. — "The concession stand is closed!" read T-shirts worn by members of United Steelworkers Local 7139-05, who rallied in front of Allegheny Technologies Inc. flat-rolled products mill here June 25 against the company's contract proposals. The 220 Steelworkers at this plant are among 2,450 ATI workers, most in the Alle-Kiski Valley northeast of Pittsburgh, whose contract expires at the end of June. The flat-rolled mills produce stainless steel and stainless steel alloys used in a wide variety of industries.

Steelworkers gathered in front of the Jessop Credit Union and marched to ATI corporate offices in front of the steel mill during afternoon shift changes.

"It's an attempt to break the union," Marc Scott, a storeroom clerk at the mill, told the *Washington Observer-Reporter*.

"This is about my family's future," Brent Allen, who works at the new hybrid anneal line in the mill, told the *Militant*. "We should be able to work to live, not live to work."

Similar rallies were held at all 11 ATI flat-rolled plants in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Ohio.

The actions take place as the Steelworkers enter negotiations for some 30,000 workers at U.S. Steel and ArcelorMittal whose contracts expire Sept. 1.

ATI has hired two strikebreaking outfits to supply scab workers and security and guard service, reports a USW fact sheet.

ATI wants big changes to health care

for active, retired and future workers; cuts to the pension agreements for current and future workers; and reduced wages and overtime pay, the union fact sheet states, as well as changes in contract language that would allow management to increase use of contractors.

"If we accepted their 145 items on language, the company could do whatever they want," said Glen (Skip) Langdon, president of the local here.

—Josefina Otero, retired member of USW Local 7139-05

# Syrian Kurds make gains against Islamic State

Continued from front page

put in place following World War I by London and Paris with Washington's backing. The Kurdish struggle is also intertwined with the fight against landlord and capitalist exploitation and to oust the dictatorial rule of the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria.

The YPG in alliance with Arab, Christian and other groups began their main advance on Tel Abyad June 11, driving Islamic State combatants out of the town four days later. The first units to enter Tel Abyad were the women battalions of the YPG, known as the YPJ. Arab tribe leaders in a visit to the local YPG headquarters thanked the Kurdish fighters for liberating the town, reported *Firatnews*. Syrian Kurds now control a contiguous 245 miles of territory along the Syrian-Turkish border stretching east from Kobani.

U.S.-led forces conducted 23 airstrikes near Raqqa during the first half of June. But Washington, fearing the rising Kurdish fight for national rights and sovereignty, has not provided YPG with the heavy weaponry they have requested and need to more effectively counter Islamic State.

On June 22, Kurdish forces took control of the Liwa-93 military base, which



Above, Militant/Josefina Otero

Members of United Steelworkers Local 7139-05 march and rally in front of ATI stainless steel mill in Washington, Pennsylvania, June 25, against concession demands. They are among nearly 2,500 unionists whose contract with ATI expires June 30. T-shirts read, "The concession stand is closed!"



Islamic State had captured from government forces last year. The following day YPG-led forces took full control of the nearby town of Ain Issa, on a highway leading directly toward Raqqa.

"Raqqa is a Syrian city, like Tel Abyad and Kobani, and all Syrians want it freed of Daesh terror," YPG spokesman Redur Xelil told Reuters June 23. "But at the current time it is not included in our agenda." Daesh is an Arabic name for Islamic State. Nevertheless, he noted, Islamic State has "begun digging trenches in the vicinity of Raqqa to improve their defenses."

Kurdish women fighters are aiding women who fled Islamic State areas as well as those still trapped under their control. The group seeks "to support all women affected by the violence of IS terrorists," YPJ General Commander Newroz Ahmed told ARA News, "whether Kurds or Arabs, and provide them with humanitarian support."

In Hasakah province in northeastern Syria, members of the Christian Syriac Women's Union have begun military training with the YPJ. "The YPJ represents steadfastness and the real will of women to overcome decades of suppression in the region," Shamiran Shimon, head of the women's union, told ARA

News. "We'll be honored to cooperate with them."

As Kurdish forces made gains in Tel Abyad, fighting erupted between the YPG and government troops stationed in the Kurdish-populated city of Qamishli in Hasakah province. According to a statement issued June 16 by the Kurdish Cezire canton, "The Baathist regime provocatively arrested Kurdish and Arab youths under the pretext [that they had to do] 'military service [in] the regime's army.'"

Kurdish fighters forced pro-government forces to withdraw from most Kurdish-populated regions in 2012, with the exception of Qamishli and the provincial capital Hasakah. Kurdish forces and government troops control different parts of these cities. On June 25 Islamic State forces launched new attacks on Assad forces in Hasakah, forcing some 60,000 people to flee their homes, according to the U.N.

That same day several dozen Islamic State fighters, disguised as members of the YPG and a faction of the Free Syrian Army allied with them, entered Kobani, setting off at least three suicide car bombs. At least 145 civilians have been killed in the fighting, according to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 13, 1990

Increasingly, striking Machinists at Eastern Airlines have adopted the slogan "Keep the pressure on!" First chanted at anti-apartheid rallies on the U.S. swing of Nelson Mandela's international tour, this slogan is an appropriate battle cry for the Eastern strike.

By keeping the pressure on, the 16-month strike by the members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) has already dealt a blow to the employer's antilabor offensive.

Now is the time for those who have pledged their support, and others who now see the fight as their own, to redouble their efforts and join with the strikers to continue the fight until a union contract at Eastern is won.



July 12, 1965

Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike leader, has announced that he is entering the Democratic Party primaries, seeking that party's nomination for mayor of New York City. Gray sometimes speaks of himself as a revolutionary and declares that the "problem won't be solved until we change the system."

But telling people to register Democrat and to vote Democrat as Gray is doing is playing right into the hands of the Democratic Party bosses.

If there is one thing the ruling class fears much more than it fears revolutionary phrases, it is that working people, Black and white, will break with the big-business political parties, and form a party or parties of their own.



July 13, 1940

Republican France is now Fascist France.

The "stout defenders of democracy" are the latest recruits to fascism.

A hastily-scrawled constitution was put through an assembly of docile Deputies and Senators at Vichy on July 9.

The men who have taken the lead in turning France into a fascist country are the same who only a few weeks ago were among those hailed the world over as the Horatios at the bridge of western civilization.

The lesson for workers everywhere — and above all in the United States — is once more not trust boss politicians and boss governments to assure us freedom.



# Protest attacks on Ukraine CP

**Continued from front page**  
as conditions for loans and financial backing.

At the same time, Ukraine has faced separatist combat by pro-Moscow forces backed by troops and weaponry from Russia, first in Crimea, which Moscow annexed, and then in the east—Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

To justify the attacks, the Kiev government accuses the Communist Party, other groups that oppose the government's course, and workers who have protested against lack of pay and attacks on their unions of being a "fifth column" in the battle with Moscow.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko said the CP "does not have the right to appear in the Ukrainian political spectrum due to the crimes committed in the past and in our times."

The national headquarters of the Communist Party in Kiev has been attacked more than once, and regional offices of the party and its youth organization, the Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine, have been targeted. Personal information on party supporters has been posted on right-wing websites. Members have been beaten, "disappeared," and killed.

Right Sector forces seized the CP national headquarters building April 9, 2014. When they left, they set it on fire.

When new offices were opened they were attacked. In December 2014, thugs broke into a Kiev district office of the CP and brutalized Igor Plitsyn, city committee leader of Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine.

On Jan. 11, 2015, the party's headquarters in Kiev's Sviatoshynsky district was set afire overnight with Molotov cocktails.

These attacks on party members

and offices have been increasingly coupled with government efforts to ban the CP, jail its leaders and make support for it illegal.

## Moves to ban Ukrainian CP

The Ukrainian CP was formed in 1993, after the fall of the Soviet Union. Its political views are similar to those of the CP in Russia, evoking Soviet life under Stalin.

At the outset the party had a significant following, especially in Ukraine's east and south. CP General Secretary Petro Symonenko received some 39 percent of the vote for president in 1999.

As support for Ukraine's independence from Moscow's influence and control grew, especially after "Orange Revolution" protests in 2004, the party's support dropped. In 2010, Symonenko obtained 3.5 percent of the vote for president. In 2012 the CP got over 13 percent and was allocated 32 parliamentary seats.

After the overthrow of Yanukovich, whose pro-Moscow policies the party backed, the CP was unpopular and isolated in many parts of Ukraine. It called the Maidan movement a "coup" and backed Moscow's moves in Crimea and the east.

Figures in the new government campaigned to drive the CP out of politics.

When Symonenko announced he was running for president in March 2014, he faced physical threats and harassment. The government announced it was initiating criminal charges against him. He withdrew from the campaign May 16.

Speaker of Parliament and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov asked the Justice Ministry to investigate the CP with an eye to banning the party.

After six CP members of parliament resigned from their bloc in July, a special discriminatory law was adopted stating that any party faction losing members could be dissolved. On July 24, amidst a heated debate in which Symonenko was assaulted on the floor of parliament, Turchynov dissolved the CP bloc.

Over the next few days, some 308 criminal proceedings were initiated against party members and leaders, including members of parliament.

## Assault on CP threat to working class

**Continued from front page**  
in the interests of the toilers, gaining experience and confidence, searching for continuity in past class-struggle experiences — this is the revolutionary line of march needed to defend jobs, wages, safety on the job, and social and political rights.

It is the only axis on which a successful fight can be waged against the assaults by the Putin regime in Moscow and the forces they control in eastern Ukraine and Crimea.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Leagues it collaborates with internationally — defenders of the 1917 Russian Revolution and Lenin's course in the early 1920s, including Ukrainization and the flowering of Tatar culture in Crimea before the Stalinist counterrevolution, and co-



Communist Party of Ukraine

**Communist Party headquarters in Kiev after assault, occupation and arson, April 9, 2014.**

The Security Service of Ukraine and national Prosecutor's Office announced legal proceedings to ban the CP. These proceedings were bottled up in Kiev district courts for months. In February all of the district court judges recused themselves from handling the case in protest against government pressure to rule against the CP. Prosecutors now seek to transfer the case to a different court.

## New 'decommunization' laws

Poroshenko signed a package of four "decommunization" laws May 15 making it a crime, punishable by fines and prison, to distribute communist "propaganda" or to deny in any way "the criminal character of the communist totalitarian regime of 1917-1991 in Ukraine." They make it illegal to disagree with a "correct" version of Ukraine's history, to be determined by the rabidly anti-communist Institute of National Memory run by Volodymyr Viatrovykh.

The law has been criticized in Ukraine and internationally, including by Halya Coynash of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group. A letter to Poroshenko from 70 scholars in Ukraine, Germany, Canada, U.S., U.K. and other countries urged him not to sign.

"According to these laws, communist ideology, symbols and even the name 'communist' is under prohibition," CP leader Symonenko said in a statement. "It means direct repression, physical and mental pressure

and even criminal prosecution of the members of the CPU and other leftists."

Under the law it is estimated that 871 cities, towns and villages in Ukraine will be forced to change their names, as well as thousands of streets, parks, public schools and other places.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatseniuk has asked the Ministry of Justice to investigate the legality of three political parties — the CP and two earlier splits from it, the Communist Party of Ukraine (renewed) and the Party of Laborers and Peasants — based on noncompliance with the laws. They have not brought their names, charters and symbols into compliance, he said.

Meanwhile, assaults on CP members and others who have spoken out against the policies of the Kiev government continue.

On April 16, Oles Buzyna, a journalist and author who supports Moscow's foreign policy, was shot and killed by masked gunmen outside his home in Kiev.

## Asia trade pact

**Continued from front page**  
the Americas in an effort to counter Beijing's increasing weight.

The stakes for the ruling class go far beyond trade. The big project Obama aims to accomplish in the last stretch of his presidency is a set of trade and regulatory agreements to protect U.S. imperialism's interests in a world of growing capitalist economic crisis.

After the bloody slaughter of World War II the victorious imperialist powers, above all Washington, imposed economic, political and military relations that remained largely stable for decades, based on expanding production and the U.S. dollar as the world's leading reserve currency.

These relations are coming apart. From Asia to the Middle East, Cuba to Europe, U.S. imperialism faces political, economic, social and military challenges.

Falling profit rates have led to declining investment in production and productive capacity, an explosion in speculation and fictitious capital, increased capitalist competition and a weakening of all imperialist currencies.

At the same time, U.S. rulers face growing capitalist competition from China and, to a lesser degree, India and elsewhere.

**Continued on page 9**

## U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War

by Jack Barnes

U.S. imperialism has lost the Cold War, the Socialist Workers Party concluded after the collapse of regimes and parties across Eastern Europe and the USSR that claimed to be Communist. Contrary to imperialism's

hopes, the working class there has not been crushed. **\$16**

in *New International* no. 11  
Also available in Spanish, French, Farsi, Swedish, Greek, Icelandic

## Socialism on Trial

by James P. Cannon

The revolutionary program of the working class, as presented during the 1941 trial of leaders of the Minneapolis labor movement and the Socialist Workers Party for "seditious conspiracy." **\$16**

Also available in Spanish, Farsi

**pathfinderpress.com**



# ‘It’s a victory they have to negotiate with us’

Cuban leader tours Australia, New Zealand, speaks on revolution, fight to end US embargo

BY RON POULSEN  
AND LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY — “Never fear the negotiations — it is a victory that they have to negotiate with us,” Kenia Serrano, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, told more than 130 people here June 6. She was speaking at a public meeting on “Cuba, the U.S. and the Future of the Revolution.”

Serrano, a deputy to Cuba’s National Assembly for People’s Power, visited Australia and New Zealand as Cuban leaders reach out around the world to strengthen solidarity with the socialist revolution there, building on the victory registered Dec. 17 when Cuban President Raúl Castro and U.S. President Barack Obama announced they would begin talks on restoring diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries, which were severed by Washington more than five decades ago.

“We are celebrating a huge victory in winning the freedom of the Cuban Five and the failure of U.S. policy” against the Cuban Revolution, Serrano said. She noted that “our five comrades had been unjustly imprisoned” by the U.S. government for up to 16 years. The remaining three Cuban revolutionaries, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino and Antonio Guerrero, returned to Cuba Dec. 17.

To applause, she saluted this “real victory, not only of the Cuban people but also of you. It is thanks to the resistance of the Five, the resilience of the Cuban people, the international solidarity and the wisdom of the leaders of the Cuban Revolution.”

The public meeting here took place as part of a national gathering of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, attended by representatives from across the country, as well as the new Cuban ambassador to Australia, José Manuel Galego, and guests from New Zealand and Timor Leste.

In Canberra June 4-5, Serrano met with Foreign Minister Julie Bishop and other parliamentarians. The Cuban leader spoke at a public meeting of more than 80 people in Melbourne June 7.

Washington’s opening of talks to normalize relations showed the U.S. government acknowledges that the policy of “refusing to recognize Cuba’s revolutionary government” for over half a century failed to overturn the revolution, Serrano said. Now, without any concessions by Havana, the “complex but respectful negotiations are step by step eliminating the main barriers to diplomatic relations.”

“On May 29 Cuba was withdrawn from Washington’s state sponsors of terrorism list,” she said to applause. “Cuba should never have been on that spurious list.” The U.S. has no moral authority to make such lists, she said, adding, “Cuba has been a victim of state terrorism sponsored, financed, tolerated and promoted from the U.S.”

Pointing to the everyday impacts of “the financial, commercial, and trade blockade by the U.S. and international financial system,” Serrano said the fight to end this economic war “is the first priority of the international solidarity that we need.”

In response to a question about



Militant/Baskaran Appu

“We didn’t give up, we didn’t go back to capitalism,” Kenia Serrano, president of Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, told June 10 public meeting in Auckland, New Zealand. At left is Robert Reid, general secretary of FIRST Union, who chaired the meeting.

Obama’s escalation of sanctions and threats against Venezuela in the midst of the Washington-Havana negotiations, Serrano said, “We are very concerned about increasing attacks against Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia; against all the Latin American countries challenging U.S. hegemony.”

#### ‘We will not abandon principles’

“Nothing will divide Cuba from Venezuela,” she said. “Yes, we are talking with the U.S. but that doesn’t mean we are abandoning our principles. We will not abandon any of the causes we have supported during the history of the Cuban Revolution.”

Washington was forced to back off from recent threats and sanctions against Venezuela when March 16 talks in Havana between U.S. and Cuban representatives ended abruptly, as the Cuban government made its intransigent opposition to these attacks known.

The Australia-Cuba Friendship Society gathering also featured two public panels June 6. The first was on a Cuban program for adult Aboriginal literacy in remote towns in central Australia known as *Yo si puedo* (Yes I can). Jack Beetson, a veteran Aboriginal leader and director of Literacy for Life, spoke alongside Cuban Ambassador Galego.

Beetson explained how he had worked with the Cuban Embassy to initiate the literacy campaign for Aborigines in isolated rural towns. The project has been an outstanding success.

In Wilcannia, a largely Aboriginal town of 600 people in far western New South Wales, “not one adult had graduated for literacy in 20 years, although [the Australian government] had spent millions of dollars funding literacy courses,” Beetson said. “In six months, 16 people graduated from the first ‘Yes I can’ pilot program.”

Beetson paid special tribute to the Cuban volunteer teachers sent to isolated towns. “That sort of sacrifice is required to make a difference,” he said.

Serrano spoke on a second panel, “Cuba in Today’s World,” alongside Tim Anderson, a Sydney University lecturer, and Dr. Merita Monteiro from Timor Leste.

Monteiro explained that in 2004 she was “one of close to 1,000 students” who

studied medicine in Cuba. “The spirit of humanity and solidarity is the most important thing we have learnt from Cuba. That is what makes it so different,” she said. “Now we are following the Cuban preventative programs bringing health services to the communities,” house by house.

Serrano responded by pointing to the pride of the Cuban people in their revolution’s internationalist missions of doctors, teachers and fighters around the world. “It is not something we do to gain influence,” she said. “As our commander-in-chief says, ‘To be internationalist is to repay our debt to humanity.’”



BY PATRICK BROWN  
AND JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Cuban revolutionary Kenia Serrano was met with keen interest at meetings here June 10-11 as she described the Cuban working people’s unwavering continuation of their revolutionary course. Upwards of 100 people heard her at a public meeting, a gathering of trade union activists in the FIRST Union hall, and a round table discussion hosted by the Centre for Latin American Studies at the University of Auckland. She also did

three media interviews.

FIRST Union, with 27,000 members, is based in retail, transport, banks, lumber and textile.

Serrano, whose visit was organized by the Cuba Friendship Society, told the public meeting June 10 current talks between Washington and Havana “are the result of our resistance. We didn’t give up. We didn’t go back to capitalism.”

U.S. President Barack Obama “recognized the failure of the policy” of open confrontation, Serrano said. But the U.S. government “is not changing its goals, it is changing its methods.” She called for an end to the U.S. economic embargo.

“Do these changes mean there will be a McDonald’s on every corner?” asked one participant.

“We allow foreign investment only for the benefit of the Cuban people,” said Serrano. “Investors and companies have to accept the Cuban labor code and laws on investment. And the fundamental property remains state property.”

Does the Cuban government block access to the Internet? another asked.

“We are very open to the Internet,” Serrano said, “but it’s a problem of resources. Transmission through the United States is prohibited under the blockade. So we have built a fiber optic cable linking us to Venezuela.

“We aim to have every school connected by 2018,” she said. “If the blockade is lifted, we will achieve much more.”

At the University of Auckland round table, Serrano was asked, “What will happen when Fidel and Raúl Castro are gone?” The revolution’s historic leaders have helped to “prepare new generations,” she said. “It is not one generation ending and the next starting but different generations doing things together in continuity.”

Washington and its allies “underestimate the Cuban people,” said Serrano. “They think the young people are so weak they’re not going to be revolutionaries. They don’t know us.”

Serrano condemned Washington’s campaign against the Venezuelan government. “We are forever with Venezuela building independent countries,” she said.

## For further reading

### Absolved by Solidarity

16 Watercolors for 16 Years of Unjust Imprisonment  
by Antonio Guerrero  
\$15 Spanish/English edition

### Cuba and Angola

Fighting for Africa’s Freedom and Our Own  
\$12 Also in Spanish

### Cuba and the Coming American Revolution by Jack Barnes

\$10 Also in Spanish, French and Farsi

NEW supplement to ‘Militant’:

### ‘No battle waged by revolutionaries ends with what you once did’

Cuban 5 to students: The more selfless you are,  
the happier, freer men and women you will be  
25 cents Also in Spanish and French

See distributors on page 8 or visit:

[www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)





# Confederate flag: ‘Symbol of fight by labor’s deadly enemies’

Below is an excerpt from a talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to a 2001 socialist conference in Oberlin, Ohio, organized by the SWP and the Young Socialists. It is taken from the chapter “Jim Crow, the Confederate Battle Flag, and the Fight for Land” in Pathfinder’s book Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power. Copyright © 2009 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

In the decade following the defeat of the slavocracy in 1865, the rising northern industrial bourgeoisie — now reknitting links with powerful landholding, commercial, and emerging manufacturing interests across the South — settled once and for all that it had no intention of meeting the aspirations of freed slaves for the radical land reform captured by the popular demand for “forty acres and a mule.” Doing so, first of all, would have deprived these exploiters of a cheap supply of jobless laborers. What’s more, the bourgeoisie correctly feared that an alliance of free farmers, Black and white, together with the growing manufacturing and manufacturing working class in the cities, could pose a strong challenge to intensifying exploitation in town and country, North and South.

In 1877 the U.S. rulers withdrew federal troops from the states of the old Confederacy. These troops had been the armed force of last resort standing between the freed Black toilers, on



January 2000 protest of some 50,000 in Columbia, South Carolina, against flying of Confederate flag on top of Statehouse dome. Flag was later moved to statehouse grounds.

the one hand, and gangs of well-armed reactionary vigilantes, on the other. Throughout the closing decades of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, successive generations of organizations such as the Knights of the White Camelia, the White League, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens’ Councils, and many others — named, unnamed, or renamed — carried out an unrelenting reign of terror against the Black population in the South. ...

The battles for Black freedom in rural counties, small towns, and cities across the South, and extending to the North, helped in turn to transform the possibilities for workers and farmers alike throughout this country, and throughout other parts of the world under assault by Washington. The conquests of this mass proletarian-based movement laid a foundation, among other things, for a common struggle with common demands by working farmers in the United States today, as part of a fighting worker-farmer alliance resisting the profit-driven course of the capitalist class. It attracted, politicized, and gave courage to several generations of youth who would provide the energy for struggles against the Vietnam War, against discrimination in all government employment and the armed forces, for the defense and extension of civil liberties and civil rights, for women’s emancipation, and for an accompanying broad political radicalization.

The results of history remain alive

for us, unresolved contradictions that never completely go away so long as the class questions posed by giant social and political conflicts remain unsettled and have yet to become a weapon in the hands of militants today. The full consequences of the defeat of Radical Reconstruction will only be uprooted following the victory of a proletarian revolution in this country.

That’s why struggles over state governments displaying the Confederate battle flag, or over statues or holidays in tribute to political or military leaders of the slaveholders’ rebellion, continue to have weight in the class struggle many decades — indeed almost a century and a half — after it was routed in a bloody civil war.\*

These fights today in South Carolina, Mississippi, and elsewhere are not about Blacks and supporters of civil rights being mean to somebody in the South whose great granddaddy was a Confederate soldier who “fought bravely” and was “a good man.” Let’s stipulate that. Many Confederate soldiers did fight bravely and were good men; in their big majority they were the sons of workers and farmers, like most soldiers in any modern army, especially those in the infantry. What does that have to do with the murderous political meaning, both then and now, of the battle flag of the Confederate army, an army vanquished and crushed for all time 136 years ago?

When displayed today, that flag is an emblem of, and encouragement to,

reactionary forces who are determined to preserve as much as they can of the consequences of a bloody counterrevolution that shaped the trajectory of the U.S. class struggle in the twentieth century. It is a rallying point for forces who are *acting* on that determination. It is a symbol of the fight by deadly enemies of labor to turn back the gains of the civil rights movement and to divide and weaken the working class in this country. It is the flag of cowards on the highways, assaulting the dignity of Blacks day in and day out with stickers and medallions on their rearview mirrors, windows, and bumpers. It is the banner under which, only a few years ago, brutal and bloody assaults against Blacks were launched. And, most important, it remains a banner under which such assaults — against African Americans, immigrants, Jews, abortion clinics, gays, and other targets of reaction — often *are* and *will be* launched until the capitalist roots of that Dixie rag are ripped out of the ground by the toilers of this country and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

\* The biggest of these fights was in South Carolina. On January 17, 2000, some fifty thousand people marched in Columbia, South Carolina, to demand the Confederate battle flag be taken down from the state capitol. The flag had been raised over the building in 1962 by the all-white state legislature as an act of defiant support to Jim Crow segregation and encouragement to those carrying out violent assaults on demonstrations for Black rights. Among the organizers of the Columbia march were members of International Longshoremen’s Association Local 1422 in Charleston. Three days later ILA pickets at the docks protesting the use of scab labor by a shipper were assaulted by six hundred cops in riot gear. Several unionists were injured, eight arrested, and five indicted on felony charges of instigating a riot. In November 2001, in face of a growing defense campaign involving thousands of workers around the country, prosecutors dropped the frame-up felony charges and replaced them with misdemeanors, to which the workers pled no contest and were fined \$100 each.

In July 2000, by vote of the state legislature, the Confederate banner was taken down and moved to a flagpole on capitol grounds next to a monument to fallen Confederate soldiers.

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

### UNITED STATES

**CALIFORNIA:** **Oakland:** 675 Hegenberger Road, Suite 250. Zip: 94621. Tel: (510) 686-1351. E-mail: swpoak@sbcglobal.net **Los Angeles:** 2826 S. Vermont. Suite 1. Zip: 90007. Tel: (323) 643-4968. E-mail: swpla@att.net

**FLORIDA:** **Miami:** 7911 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 2. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

**GEORGIA:** **Atlanta:** 777 Cleveland Ave. SW Suite 103. Zip: 30315. Tel: (678) 528-7828. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net

**ILLINOIS:** **Chicago:** 2018 S. Ashland Ave. Zip: 60608. Tel: (312) 455-0111. E-mail: SWPChicago@fastmail.fm

**MASSACHUSETTS:** **Boston:** 13 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: swpboston@verizon.net

**MINNESOTA:** **Minneapolis:** 416 E. Hennepin Ave., Suite 214. Zip: 55414. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwestoffice.net

**NEBRASKA:** **Lincoln:** Tel: (402) 217-4906. E-mail: swplincn@windstream.net. **Omaha:** 3302 Q St. (Upstairs). Zip: 68107. Tel: (402) 779-7697. E-mail: swpomaha@fastmail.net

**NEW YORK:** **New York:** P.O. Box 1233. Zip: 10018. Tel: (646) 434-8117. E-mail: newyorkswp@gmail.com

**PENNSYLVANIA:** **Philadelphia:** 3701 Pulaski Ave. Zip: 19140. Tel: (215) 225-1270. E-mail: philaswp@verizon.net

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 143 Kennedy St. NW, Suite 15. Zip: 20011. Tel: (202) 536-5080. E-mail: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

**WASHINGTON:** **Seattle:** 5418 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: seattleswp@qwestoffice.net

### AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718 9698. E-mail: cl\_australia@optusnet.com.au

### CANADA

**QUEBEC:** **Montreal:** 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: clc\_can@bellnet.ca **ALBERTA:** **Calgary:** 4909 17th Ave. SE, Unit 154. T2A 0V5. Tel: (403) 457-9044. E-mail: clccalgary@fastmail.fm

### FRANCE

**Paris:** BP 10130, 75723 Paris Cedex 15. Tel: 01 40-10-28-37 E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

### NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** 188a Onehunga Mall, Onehunga. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140. Tel: (09) 636-3231. E-mail: clauack@xtra.co.nz

### UNITED KINGDOM

**ENGLAND:** **London:** 2nd Floor, 83 Kingsland High St., Dalston. Postal code: E8 2PB. Tel: (020) 3583-3553. E-mail: cllondon@fastmail.fm **Manchester:** Room 301, 3rd floor, Hilton House, 26–28 Hilton St. Postal code: M1 2EH. Tel: (016) 1478-2496. E-mail: clmanchr@gmail.com

## July BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER  
READERS CLUB  
SPECIALS

25%  
DISCOUNT

### Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?

by Mary-Alice Waters

Waters explains why a socialist revolution is not only possible, but revolutionary struggles by working people are inevitable, forced upon us by the employing class’s crisis-driven assaults on our very humanity.

\$7. **Special price: \$5.25**



### Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

by Leon Trotsky

\$16. **Special price: \$12**

### Polemics in Marxist Philosophy

by George Novack

Novack defends scientific socialism and answers those who throughout the 20th century sought to provide a “philosophical” veneer for the anti-working-class course of Stalinist and social democratic misleaderships around the world.

\$25. **Special price: \$18.75**



### The Spanish Revolution (1931–39)

by Leon Trotsky

\$30. **Special price: \$22.50**

### Une révolution socialiste est-elle possible aux 'Etats-Unis'?

(Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?)

by Mary-Alice Waters

\$7. **Special price: \$5.25**

**Join Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long**

ORDER ONLINE AT  
WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM  
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 31



# Take down flag of racist terror!

Working people should join in actions demanding the Confederate battle flag be removed from the Capitol grounds in Columbia, South Carolina, and from every public site where it flies.

The flag is the symbol of the bloody defeat of Radical Reconstruction following the Civil War and the racist terror carried out by Ku Klux Klan night riders. It was raised on the South Carolina Capitol dome in 1962 in defiant opposition to the movement to end Jim Crow segregation. Today it is the banner under which rearguard reactionary actions, such as the terrorist assault by white supremacist Dylann Storm Roof in Charleston, South Carolina, are carried out.

The widespread outrage and demonstrative outpouring of solidarity in response to those assassinations, and the rising call for bringing down the Confederate flag, revealed the sea change in working-class attitudes that has been developing for some time.

The impact of the proletarian-led fight for Black rights in the 1950s and '60s strengthened the working class and won many Caucasian workers, who had previously held racist attitudes that went against their class interests, to change.

Rising labor resistance in recent years has dovetailed with the Black Lives Matter protests that gained steam after a vigilante killed Trayvon Martin in Flor-

ida in 2012, and continued with protests against the killing by cops of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri; Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York; Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina; and Freddie Gray in Baltimore. Many workers and youth who are Caucasian have taken part in these actions.

It's because of these gains by our class that capitalist politicians are moving to bring down the Confederate flag, even in the absence of large demonstrations. And that Walmart, Sears and other retailers have stopped selling the flags. The U.S. rulers know which way the wind blows.

Pressing to get that odious symbol of reaction removed from all public places helps unify the working class and advance the fight for unionization, raising the minimum wage and demanding that cops who brutalize and kill be charged, convicted and jailed. And it strengthens the class on its line of march toward ending the dictatorship of capital.

Nearly 150 years ago Karl Marx, the founder of the communist movement, wrote in *Capital*, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Today more and more workers are acting on the understanding that only when Black lives matter will all lives matter.

We join in demanding, "Take the flag down!"

# No end to crisis for working class in Greece

**Continued from front page**

imperialist powers to squeeze the weaker ones, especially in face of declining production and trade.

Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras' Syriza party, the Coalition of the Radical Left, won elections in January by promising to reject demands by the German government and other bondholders for harsher measures to make working people in Greece bear the brunt of paying the burgeoning debt.

But Tsipras caved in to many of the demands of the so-called troika — the German-dominated European Central Bank and European Commission and the U.S.-backed IMF. He agreed to raise sales taxes to as high as 23 percent and to speed up raising the retirement age to 67. He agreed to end a supplementary pension for the poorest retirees by December 2018. The troika insisted that Tsipras implement many of those changes even faster, as well as end fuel subsidies to farmers.

And they refused to consider Athens' request for a write-off of some of the debt as they did in 2012 when the troika negotiated a deal where private bondholders agreed to a "haircut" of 50 percent of what Greece owed. The European Central Bank, the IMF and other government-run financial institutions bought the remaining debt, which today stands at \$360 billion.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel called the EU-IMF offer "extraordinarily generous."

Without new loans, Athens defaulted on \$1.8 billion owed to the IMF on June 30. Another \$3.9 billion is due to the European Central Bank July 20.

## Eurozone: bourgeois utopia

The European Union, which now includes 28 nations, was formed as a customs union to allow capital, commodities and labor to flow more freely across its borders. Introduced in 2002, the euro is now the single currency of 19 of those nations. The hope of European capitalists was that a common market and a single currency would allow them to compete more effectively against their U.S. rivals. But this was always a bourgeois utopia.

In practice the strongest imperialist powers, Berlin and to a lesser extent Paris, dominate the rest. And weaker capitalist regimes that have been pushed deeper into debt no longer have the option of devaluing their currency to attempt to reduce their debts.

No one believes that the Greek government can pay off the debts.

The biggest concern of Berlin, Paris and Washington is not Greece, but the Greek example for other deeply indebted capitalist nations, especially Portugal, Spain, Italy, Ireland and Latvia.

"Appeasing Syriza's demands could spread political contagion to Spain, Portugal and other countries

that might think they too can avoid reform and still be rescued," said a June 28 *Wall Street Journal* editorial.

## 'Ticking time bomb'

Portugal's debt is \$508 billion, 130 percent of its gross domestic product, with 70 percent owed to foreign bondholders. This is a "ticking time-bomb waiting to explode," MarketWatch reported June 24.

Spain has a debt of \$795 billion, approaching 100 percent of its GDP, nearly half to foreign capitalists.

In exchange for loans to avoid default, Greek governments since 2010 have intensified attacks on the wages and living conditions of working people. This includes laying off nearly 30 percent of government workers, cutting the wages of those remaining, reducing government health care spending and pensions by 40 percent, and slashing the minimum wage.

Official unemployment stands at 26.5 percent, the highest in the EU; one-fifth of the population does not have enough money for food. Before 2010, the *Los Angeles Times* reports, homelessness was rare in Greece. Today an estimated 20,000 have no place to live.

Those measures succeeded in creating a small government budget surplus — which goes to pay interest on the debt — but gross domestic product has declined 25 percent. The national debt has soared from 130 percent to 180 percent of the country's GDP.

With just \$2.2 billion on hand to cover \$161 billion in deposits, Greek banks have been relying on daily loans from the European Central Bank to cover withdrawals. In retaliation for holding the referendum, the bank has now set a cap of \$100 billion on how much it will back. Athens ordered banks closed until after the vote and imposed a maximum daily withdrawal from ATM machines of \$66.

While calling for voters to reject the troika's demands, Syriza is also leaving the door open to further negotiations. "If the people give us a clear instruction to sign up on the institutions' proposals," Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis told EU representatives June 27, "we shall do whatever it takes to do so — even if it means a reconfigured government."

Neither Berlin nor Paris nor the capitalist government in Athens want to see a "Grexit": Greece leaving the eurozone and EU and replacing the euro with its old currency, the drachma. But neither side has any solution. And conditions for working people will deteriorate rapidly either way.

As the worldwide contraction in production and trade continues, more capitalist nations will face insurmountable debts. Alejandro García Padilla, governor of the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, announced June 28 that the island was in a "death spiral" and its \$72 billion debt is not payable.

# Asia trade pact

**Continued from page 6**

The Trans-Pacific Partnership, involving the imperialist governments of Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States, as well as Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam, could potentially encompass a third of world trade.

Like other imperialist-organized trade pacts, it will lower some tariffs while maintaining many protectionist measures, to the advantage of the strongest capitalist powers involved.

## Attempt to counter Beijing

Above all, U.S. rulers see the TPP as a counterbalance to Beijing. "China wants to write the rules for the world's fastest-growing region," Obama said in his State of the Union speech in January. "Why should we let that happen? We should write those rules."

In an April 5 commentary, former Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers sharply criticized Washington's recent moves blocking Beijing as well as the Indian government from playing a role in the International Monetary Fund commensurate with their economic weight.

This contributed to the Chinese government's decision to initiate the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which will operate alongside and often in competition with the World Bank and others to fund infrastructure development projects. Washington and Tokyo have so far stayed out, while all of the major imperialist powers in the European Union are participating. The Australian government announced June 24 it would sign on as the 57th member country of the bank.

Summers argues that this decision made it harder, not easier, for Washington to maintain its standoff against Beijing's growing weight.

This "may be remembered as the moment the United States lost its role as the underwriter of the global economic system," Summers wrote. "As long as one of our major parties is opposed to essentially all trade agreements and the other is resistant to funding international organizations, the US will not be in a position to shape the global economic system."

The trade union officialdom has spearheaded a campaign against the TPP, arguing largely on nationalist and class-collaborationist lines for "protecting American jobs," particularly in manufacturing.

In mid-June many Democrats in the House of Representatives initially broke with Obama to block fast-track authority, which allows the White House to present this and other trade deals for an up-or-down vote with no amendments by Congress. After political maneuvering, however, fast track passed both the House and Senate and is now awaiting Obama's signature.

The fast-track authority applies not only to the TPP, but other deals over the next six years that are part of the U.S. rulers' attempt to better their position in the world. The largest currently being negotiated are the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership between Washington and the European Union and the Trade in Services Agreement, which would regulate services ranging from telecommunications to distribution, "representing 75 percent of the world's \$44 trillion services market," according to the U.S. Trade Representative website.

## Military 'rebalancing' in Asia

The TPP negotiations are intertwined with what the Obama administration describes as its "pivot" or military "rebalancing" in Asia. Washington is increasing its rotation of troops, fighter jets, and bombers through the military base in Darwin, on Australia's northern coast, aiming to prevent Beijing from being able to someday carry out a naval blockade of shipping lanes.

During an April visit to Washington, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe promoted both the TPP and increased military collaboration. Tokyo will help fund an upgrade of the U.S. military base in Guam, is deepening military ties to India and Australia and is seeking to use Japanese military forces beyond what the U.S.-drafted constitution imposed after World War II allows.

Philippine President Benigno Aquino announced June 5 that Tokyo and Manila are opening talks on giving Japanese military forces access to bases in the Philippines.