

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Book on 'Teamster Rebellion'
provides class-struggle lessons
 —PAGES 8-10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 75/NO. 25 JULY 11, 2011

Alabama protest stands up to attack on immigrants' rights



Steven Atha

Demonstration in Birmingham June 25 against Alabama anti-immigrant legislation

BY SAM MANUEL

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Some 3,000 people marched and rallied here June 25 against a new antiworker law that allows local cops to arrest and detain foreign-born workers they believe are undocumented. The Alabama law is the most sweeping of similar laws passed by several state legislatures.

"We just want to work. We don't break the law," Roberto Hernandez, a construction worker from Mexico,

told the *Militant*. Hernandez was among a group of construction workers who had come to the rally. "I have papers, but the cops are always stopping us. We have to stand up against this law."

"This law breaks up families," stated 16-year-old Gloria Morales. "I was born in this country. My brother came with our parents."

"I wasn't really aware of the effect

Continued on page 11

Illinois: Rally backs Steelworkers locked out by Honeywell for 1 year

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

METROPOLIS, Illinois—Supporters of the 230 locked-out members of United Steelworkers (USW) Local 7-669 rallied here June 25, marking the one-year anniversary of their fight against Honeywell.

Standing in front of a large sign that read "One Day Longer," local president Darrell Lillie addressed the rally. "This has been a long year for us, but

we know we are doing the right thing and we are proud of our struggle. We know we will win and go back in the plant to continue our fight."

Lillie pointed to the importance of solidarity with other workers in struggle. "We have gone to demonstrations supporting public workers in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as Keokuk, Iowa, where workers are

Continued on page 4



Militant/Laura Anderson

June 25 solidarity rally for workers locked out by Honeywell in Metropolis, Illinois.

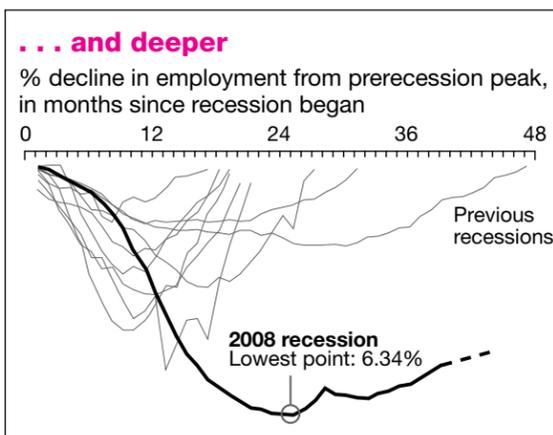
Long-term joblessness at record-high levels

Gov't 'stimulus' only postpones bigger crises

Longer . . .

Months elapsed between return of real GDP and of employment to prerecession peak

1948	6
1953	7
1957	6
1960	6
1969	8
1973	3
1981	6
1990	15
2001	39
2008	>60 months



In earlier recessions of past 65 years it took some six months for employment to return to prior levels. Since 1990 it has taken longer and longer.

BY SETH GALINSKY

Job losses in the United States since 2001 are the worst of any 10-year period since the 1890s. One-third of those unemployed have been out of work for more than a year—almost half for more than six months, higher than any time in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Employment in the United States is still 5 percent below its level more than three years ago, making this far and away the most sluggish jobs "recovery" of any capitalist recession since the end of World War II (see chart).

The wildly understated unemployment of the 1930s.

Continued on page 3

U.S. rulers rebuke imperialist rivals over Afghan, Libya wars

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

President Barack Obama's announced timetable for the "draw-down" of troops from Afghanistan over the next 15 months overrode the recommendation of top U.S. military officers. At the same time, tensions are rising between Washington and European powers not only over the Afghanistan operations, but also the ongoing NATO air assaults against

Libya. The aerial pounding of that country is now in its fourth month.

In a nationwide speech June 22

U.S., NATO OUT OF AFGHANISTAN!
Editorial — p. 11

the president said he had ordered the military to remove 10,000 U.S. troops from Afghanistan by the end of this

Continued on page 11

'I remember that paper,' say workers in Utah coal mine towns

BY MAGGIE TROWE AND ALYSON KENNEDY

PRICE, Utah—"I quit along with an entire crew in protest of what they did," a worker in nearby East Carbon told us, describing what happened when new management at a machine shop where he had worked cut wages

Continued on page 3

Also Inside:

UN hearing condemns U.S. rule in Puerto Rico	2
Teamsters march against lockout in Henry, Illinois	4
Women's right to choose: a matter of class solidarity	5
Cartoons by one of Cuban 5 shown in California	7

UN hearing condemns U.S. rule in Puerto Rico

BY DAN FEIN

UNITED NATIONS—"The people of Puerto Rico remain unable to exercise their legitimate right to genuine self-determination," said Cuban UN ambassador Pedro Núñez Mosquera in opening this year's session of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization of Puerto Rico June 20. "The United States of America, the colonial power, maintains its economic, political, and social domination over this sister Latin American and Caribbean nation, which has its own national and cultural identity."

Cuba was joined by representatives of Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela in sponsoring a resolution before the committee supporting independence for Puerto Rico. Representatives from two dozen political organizations petitioned in favor of the resolution, which was approved by consensus.

"Hundreds of Puerto Ricans had been imprisoned since 1898 for the mere fact of being fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico," said Elda Santiago Pérez, representing the Committee for Support of the González Claudio brothers. She is also the wife of Norberto González Claudio, one of the political prisoners.

Arrested in May this year, Norberto was charged with "conspiracy" in connection with a 1983 robbery. Prosecutors are seeking a 275-year sentence, Jan Susler of the National Lawyers Guild told the session. Norberto's brother, Avelino, was arrested in 2008 on the same charges and sentenced to seven years in prison.

The same day as Norberto's arrest, the U.S. Parole Board again refused to

grant parole to Oscar López Rivera. One of the longest-held political prisoners in the world, López has served 30 years of a 55-year sentence on trumped-up charges of "seditious conspiracy."

Fernando Martin of the Puerto Rican Independence Party called the continued imprisonment of López "truly barbaric."

Benjamin Ramos of the U.S.-based group ProLibertad Freedom Campaign called attention to mistreatment of the prisoners and stressed that the three are being punished by the U.S. government for their beliefs, not the alleged actions they are charged with. He spoke about the widespread support among Puerto Ricans for the freedom of López.

Others pointed out that during President Barack Obama's four-hour visit to the island June 14, thousands of protesters demanded an end to colonial rule and freedom for López, as well as the González Claudio brothers.

Normita Aponte, representing the Movement for Vieques Affirmation, spoke about the U.S. military's continued contamination of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, which had been used for live fire exercises for 60 years. "People's health has deteriorated, with the incidence of cancer higher there than in any other part of the country," she said.

The cumulative effects on working people of the capitalist crisis in the United States have been particularly harsh on workers and farmers in the U.S. colonial possession, who serve as a cheap source of labor for U.S. companies.

"The unemployment rate is at 17 percent, and 48 percent of Puerto Ricans



During June 14 visit by President Barack Obama to Puerto Rico, thousands demonstrated in San Juan for independence and for freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. jails.

depend on government assistance to survive. Agriculture—once the main industry—has been reduced to [nearly] nothing," said Hector Pesquera Sevillano of the Hostosian National Independence Movement.

Government austerity measures on the island include the layoff of 17,000 public employees and large tuition hikes. Protesting students and teachers have been met with police repression, said Eduardo Villanueva Muñoz of the Puerto Rico Committee for Human Rights.

Edgardo Roman Espada, representing the Puerto Rican Coalition Against the Death Penalty, reminded participants that Washington imposes use of the death penalty on the island, flouting Puerto Rico's 1952 constitution, which forbids capital punishment.

Plebiscite reinforces colonial status

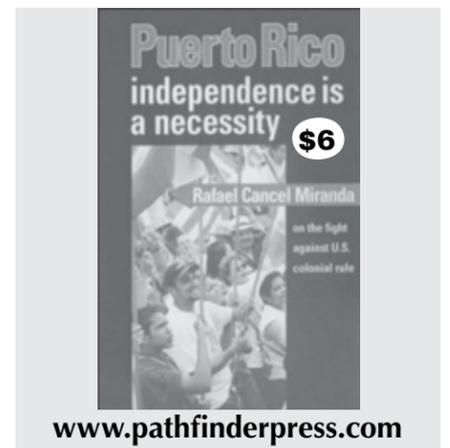
A number of petitioners spoke against the U.S. government "Task Force" proposal for a plebiscite on Puerto Rico's "relationship with the United States," designed to legitimize the island's colonial status. The U.S. Task Force was created under President Bill Clinton after a majority of voters selected a "none of the above" option in a 1998 plebiscite.

Working people of Puerto Rico and the United States share a common enemy, said Laura Garza, representing the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. Therefore, a successful fight for independence in Puerto Rico is in the interests of the workers in the United States, who under the impact of the capitalist crisis and the coming struggles it

will bring, can be won to support the independence struggle. She pointed to the Cuban Revolution as "a powerful example for those fighting for their freedom from the U.S. colonial boot" and called for the release of the Cuban Five—Cuban revolutionaries unjustly imprisoned in the United States who have been subjected to the same kind of vindictive treatment as fighters for Puerto Rican independence.

In the evening, dozens of people attended a reception at the Service Employees International Union Local 1199's hall for those who testified at the decolonization committee. It was followed by a forum sponsored by ProLibertad, attended by about 75 people, that featured a panel discussion with 11 of those who testified earlier in the day.

Many participants in the day's events were interested in the perspective of a revolutionary struggle to replace the crisis-ridden system of capitalism with the rule of working people. Ten bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.



THE MILITANT

The 'Militant' gets around the world

The 'Militant' is published in the interests of working people around the world. Workers and farmers from Egypt to China to Latin America and Africa to Europe and the United States face a common enemy as capitalism and its crises push us closer together.



Militant/Paul Mailhot
Selling *Militant* at April book fair in Cairo.

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., 10TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10018.

The Militant

Vol. 75/No. 25

Closing news date: June 29, 2011

Editor: Steve Clark

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Naomi Craine, Harry D'Agostino, Seth Galinsky, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Paul Mailhot, Doug Nelson, Jacob Perasso, Brian Williams, Rebecca Williamson.

Published weekly except for one week in January, two weeks in June, and one week in September.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th 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, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th 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, First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane), London, E2 6DG, England.

Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe: Send £75 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London at above address.

France: Send 76 euros for one year to Diffusion du Militant, P.O. Box 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris.

New Zealand: Send NZ\$50 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\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140, New Zealand.

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

As UK real estate firm loses money, elderly face eviction

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON—The potential collapse of the biggest company operating care homes for the elderly in the United Kingdom highlights one way in which the capitalist crisis is devastating the lives of working people.

The company, Southern Cross, runs 750 homes that house 31,000 retired working people and employs 44,000 workers. In March the company announced losses of £311 million (US\$500 million) for the previous six months. Its auditors warned the company could go under, raising the prospect of home closures and evictions. Residents first learned about this through the media.

Using what the *Financial Times* called “a failed business model,” Southern Cross rapidly expanded without spending money through a “sale and leaseback strategy.” It bought up other care home companies, then sold these properties for a high price to a third party on the agreement that Southern Cross, which would continue to run the care operations and manage the dwellings, would lease the buildings from the new owners for 30 years at high and ever-rising rent. The new landlords borrowed cheaply and salivated over the promised profits. This all worked well for both capitalist parties until the debt-fueled housing market boom came to an end in 2008.

Southern Cross can no longer meet its rental payments as occupancy rates dwindle. The combination of rising rents

and deteriorating conditions are making the habitations increasingly unattractive, and local governments are refusing to pay ever higher care home subsidies as they tighten their budgets and impose austerity measures on working people.

Local governments are introducing “an average cut of 6 percent in social care budgets,” according to the *Independent*. In 1990, of 500,000 beds in residential care homes, 200,000 were provided either by local authorities or the National Health Service, according to Unison, the country’s biggest public workers’ union. That figure is 31,000 today and declining. A “restructuring” deal between Southern Cross and the 80 landlords it leases from includes laying off 3,000 workers, a move that will inevitably result in a further decline of conditions and care at the homes.

Meanwhile, the second biggest care home provider, Four Seasons, also faces serious financial problems. The now government-owned Royal Bank of Scotland owns 40 percent of the company as a result of a recent debt write-off.

A recent report illustrated a similar crisis in the “homecare” system, where retired people are looked after in their own homes. “Visits are sometimes so brief . . . that people have to choose between having a cooked meal or a wash,” the BBC noted.

Hong Kong meeting discusses Chinese diaspora



Militant/Martin Koppel

HONG KONG—Some 170 people took part in a regional conference of the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) held here June 21–22. The event, held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, drew participants from China—including this former British colonial enclave—and countries across Southeast Asia, the Pacific, North America, and Europe.

Numerous panels during the two-day conference—some in English and others in Chinese—discussed the history and evolution of the Chinese living in virtually every country. The various and changing religious practices that predominate in the Chinese diaspora were a focus of the gathering. The next issue of the *Militant* will report on discussions at the event.

Shown above is the opening session of the conference and one of the panels on “Religion and Society.” The speaker is Teresita Ang See, president of the Kaisa Heritage Center in Manila, Philippines, and secretary-treasurer of ISSCO.

—MARTÍN KOPPEL



Long-term unemployment at record levels

Continued from front page

ment rate the government wants the media to focus on is itself high, at more than 9 percent.

Adding in those who’ve been out of work for so long they’ve stopped bothering to look for the time being—plus those working part-time who want a full-time job—more than 15 percent of the labor force is jobless, by the figures of the bosses’ government itself.

And if you count the way Washington used to before 1994—when the Clinton White House rigged Labor Department jobs statistics to try to pretty them

up—then the jobless rate is almost 25 percent!

What’s more, nothing the U.S. government has done to “stimulate the economy” has reversed the capitalist crisis or its devastating impact on tens of millions of working people.

According to the latest official report, industrial production is stuck at 93 percent of its 2007 level, and the capitalists’ “utilization” of existing plant and equipment is a bit above 75 percent—nearly 4 percentage points below its average for the previous four decades.

Instead of fueling expanded produc-

tion and hiring, Washington’s massive increase in the money supply—so-called quantitative easing—has simply swelled bank reserves and done nothing to reverse the tendency of capitalists to pile up huge amounts of cash. By the third quarter of 2010 cash-hoarding by U.S. companies hit a record \$1.9 trillion, up from an already high \$1.5 trillion in 2007.

Even the spending on machinery and equipment that is taking place—itsself inflated by government subsidies—is not being used to expand productive capacity, output, and hiring.

Instead, big capitalists are buying so-called labor-saving equipment and software. Far from “saving” any labor for working people, however, this cost-cutting by the bosses leads to longer hours for fewer workers, intensified speedup, and more and worse injuries on the job.

“I want to have as few people touching our products as possible,” Dan Mishek, managing director of Vista Technologies in Vadnais Heights, Minnesota, told the *New York Times* recently. “You don’t have to train machines.”

In this “jobless” economic recovery the number of workers in manufacturing has declined by more than 32 percent since January 2000. More than 446,000 jobs in state and municipal governments have been cut since September 2008.

Neither Obama nor other Democratic or Republican politicians have any jobs program. As part of the 2009 Recovery Act, the president promised funds for construction and infrastructure projects to put millions to work.

“Shovel-ready was not as shovel-ready as we expected,” Obama joked June 13 to the guffaws of the capitalists, top-level managers, and well-heeled professionals on his Jobs and Competitiveness Council, admitting how few jobs have been created.

of America. In September 2003, when the bosses fired some of the miners involved in the fight, a big majority of the workers began a 10-month strike that was part of a fight that lasted until 2006. They won support and solidarity from workers in this region, across the United States, and in other countries.

In 2004, after the workers won their jobs back and the right to a union election, C.W. Mining filed a defamation lawsuit against 16 miners and more than 100 supporters, including the *Militant* newspaper. The suit was finally dismissed by a federal judge in 2006. Many miners were fired in December 2004 just days before the union election, after the company claimed they did not have proper work documents. The fired miners voted in the election but the National Labor Relations Board refused to count the votes.

Many workers we talked to here proudly told us the Kingston family was eventually forced to sell the mine. C.W. Mining was never able to come back from the steep drop in pro-

Continued on page 7

Continued from front page

from \$21 to \$14 an hour.

He was one of 28 people here in central Utah’s coal-rich Carbon and Emery counties who bought subscriptions to the *Militant* in late June, as a team of four socialist workers—from Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, and Des Moines, Iowa—knocked on doors in working-class neighborhoods and visited two mine portals.

While here, we rekindled political relationships with vanguard workers in the area. Beginning in 2003, this was the center of a battle by coal miners who worked at C.W. Mining Company’s Co-Op Mine near Huntington. The Kingston family, owners of the mine, paid workers \$5.25 to \$15 per hour, well below the \$20 and more paid by other mining companies in the region. Like at other mines, workers at Co-Op labored under dangerous work conditions because of the company’s disregard for safety.

The miners, most of whom were born in Mexico, fought for higher wages, safe working conditions, and union representation by the United Mine Workers

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Workers Rights Under Attack: Obama, Republicans Claim ‘Terror’ Threat. Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

FLORIDA

Miami

Why Are Women Always Paid Less? Speaker: Naomi Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 719 NE 79th St. Tel.: (305) 757-8869.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Threatening Minnesota Government Shutdown: An Assault on Working People. Speaker: Tony Lane, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 1, 8 p.m. 1311 1/2 E Lake St. Tel.: (612) 729-1205.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Fight for Women’s Liberation and the Road to Workers Power. Why There Can Be No Compromise on a Woman’s Right to Choose. Fri., July 1, 7:30 p.m. 307 W 36th St., 10th floor Tel.: (212) 736-2540.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Continuing Attacks on Democratic Rights. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. Suggested donation: \$5. 5418 Rainier Ave. S. Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

Montreal

The Fight for Women’s Liberation and the Road to Workers Power. Why There Can Be No Compromise on a Woman’s Right to Choose. Speaker: Annette Kouri, Communist League. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 7107 St-Denis, Rm 204. Tel.: (514) 272-5840.

Teamsters march against lockout in Henry, Illinois

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

One hundred people rallied June 9 to support union workers locked out of the Emerald Performance Materials chemical plant in Henry, a town of 2,600 in north central Illinois. The 42 members of Teamsters Local 627 were locked out March 21 for rejecting a union-busting contract.

The plant makes chemicals for jet engine lubricants, antifreeze, plastics, and rubber used in making tires.

The bosses' "last, best, and final offer" demanded a 30 percent wage cut, ending all personal and sick days, taking away two weeks' vacation, outsourcing quality control jobs, and eliminating a safety operator position.

The company is using bosses and line-crossers brought in from a union-

busting outfit in Ohio to operate the plant.

Workers at the protest told the local *News Tribune* that they were concerned about the safety of town residents, as hazardous chemicals have been released from the plant on several occasions since the lockout. The paper reported June 10 that "on June 4 and May 20 hydrogen sulfide was released. In addition, on April 9 and April 6, a report was made that both hydrogen sulfide and carbon disulfide were released."

The workers handle hazardous and deadly chemicals on a daily basis, from acids to caustics to toxic gases. "We just want to go back to work and do what we do best," Brett Wiedman, a machine operator at the plant for 22 years, told the *News Tribune*.

The Peoria *Journal Star* reports that talks will begin July 5 with a federal mediator. Until now, the plant owners have refused to negotiate with the union.

Public workers in Connecticut reject concessions

BY DAN FEIN

NEW YORK—Public workers in Connecticut voted down a concession contract. The rejection, announced June 24, surprised both state politicians and union officials, who together hammered out the agreement in mid-May.

The contract called for a two-year wage freeze and higher employee payments for health care. It also would have raised the retirement age by three years for most workers. In "return," the contract promised no layoffs for four years.

Democratic governor Dannel Malloy responded to the vote by saying he would start sending layoff notices "immediately" and that 7,500 or more workers could lose their jobs.

Connecticut has nearly 45,000 unionized public employees. Fifteen unions were involved in the contract negotiations with the state government. Under the collective bargaining rules, the agreement needed to be approved by 14 of the 15 unions, with an 80 percent approval necessary to make changes in insurance and pensions.

Sixty percent of the ballots were for the contract; two unions voted it down.

The attack on the public workers mirrors similar moves by state and local government across the country.

On June 23 the New Jersey State Assembly passed a law cutting benefits to 750,000 government workers and retirees. The legislation will require public workers to pay thousands of dollars more each year toward their pensions and health-care coverage. The law also limits collective bargaining over health care. Republican governor Chris Christie is expected to sign the bill quickly. Contracts for 48,000 state employees expire at midnight June 30.

In New York State, Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo has reached a deal with officials of the state's largest union that includes a three-year wage freeze, only nine days of unpaid days off over two years, and health-care givebacks.

The new \$66 billion New York City budget projects cuts to libraries that leave them open just five days instead of six, after-school programs will get more crowded, and more than 1,000 city workers will be laid off.

Illinois rally backs Steelworkers' struggle

Continued from front page

locked out," he told the crowd.

The Honeywell plant is the only uranium conversion plant of its kind in the United States. The company locked out workers after the union voted down its "last, best, final offer." The company is demanding elimination of seniority and retiree medical benefits, pension cuts, and a wage reduction of 10 percent over three years.

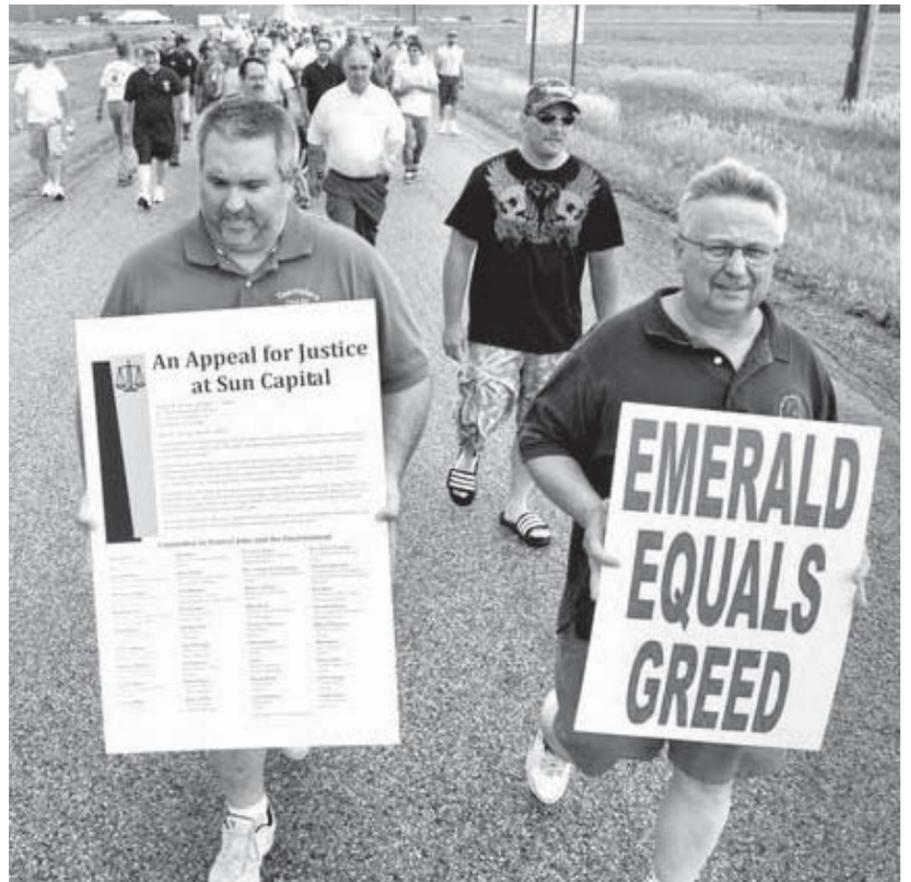
Honeywell brought in "replacement workers" immediately after the lockout. Incidents since then demonstrate the bosses' disregard for the safety of workers and the surrounding community in their drive for profit.

Just three days before the rally, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) announced that Honeywell was cited for "17 serious safety violations . . . after its Metropolis processing plant experienced a release of hydrogen fluoride vapor." The violations were for incidents in which there was a "substantial probability that death or serious physical harm could result from a hazard about which the employer knew or should have known." OSHA is proposing a \$119,000 fine. The agency's investigation was prompted by a release of hydrofluoric acid in December last year.

"Unions are under attack everywhere," locked-out worker Rick McConnell told the *Militant*, saying that the paper should write about the lockout in Henry, Illinois. (See article on this page.) Rick is one of the union's "road warriors" who travel around the country speaking to workers at other union locals to win solidarity and financial support for their struggle.

About 200 people took part in the rally. Solidarity came from USW locals in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. This included a busload of workers and USW union officials from Gary, Indiana, several of whom were active in Women of Steel.

A former striker at Vale, a Steelworkers-organized nickel processing company in Sudbury, Ontario, was



David Zalaznik/Journal Star

Teamsters Local 627 members and supporters march to gates of Emerald Performance Materials chemical plant in Henry, Illinois, June 9. Bosses locked out unionists in March after they rejected union-busting contract that included 30 percent wage cut.

among three at the rally who signed up for subscriptions to the *Militant*. "We didn't win the strike," he said. "But we were stronger for fighting." Several locked-out Honeywell workers renewed their subscriptions and 15 participants bought copies of the paper.

Following the rally, the union sponsored a social event at its hall across from the Honeywell plant. The event was packed with supporters who were treated to a meal of pulled pork, hot dogs, and pop. Spirits were high to continue the fight.

"We came to support the locked-out workers," said Theresa Harmon,

who drove to the rally with her husband from Keokuk, Iowa. Both are locked-out members of Local 48G of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers union (BCTGM). "Sometimes it's hard, but we got to stay out one day longer," she said. The BCTGM workers have been locked-out by Roquette America for nine months.

Invitations for "road warrior" tours can be sent to USW Local 7-669, PO Box 601, Metropolis, IL 62960. Call (618) 524-7474. Email lockouthelp@usw7-669.com. Donations are payable to USW Local 7-669.

Canada postal union ends strike under gov't back-to-work order

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL—The Canadian parliament voted to order 48,000 postal workers back to work June 25, 11 days after the government-owned Canada Post Corporation locked them out following nearly two weeks of rotating strikes by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) against a series of contract concession demands by the mail bosses.

The workers returned to work June 28 after the CUPW National Executive Board announced that it voted unanimously to respect the law, saying they feared the threat of heavy fines.

Immediately after the law was passed, postal workers on the picket line at the massive Canada Post sorting plant in St. Laurent near Montreal talked to the *Militant*.

"It's an injustice and it's disappointing," said CUPW shop steward Daniel Valade, a postal worker for 12 years. "The government has taken away our fundamental rights. I think the union is weaker now, but the struggle will continue inside."

"This has opened my eyes like never before," said a forklift operator with 22 years seniority who requested his name not be used. "A whole generation of workers won't have a future

and later they will revolt."

"Our union gave up without a fight. We need to go back to the spirit of '65," said Taryn Boudreau, a postal clerk for five and a half years. The CUPW was forged through an illegal strike in 1965 for the right of postal workers to unionize and strike.

Boudreau said she thought many younger workers like herself wanted to fight the back-to-work law.

The strikebreaking legislation imposes a four-year contract on the workers with pay increases lower than those presented in Canada Post's final offer. Other issues have been submitted to binding arbitration where the arbitrator must choose between the final offer of CUPW and that of Canada Post. "The arbitrator's hands are tied," wrote the June 26 *Globe and Mail*. "Because the legislation requires him to take into account conditions at comparable postal services, the financial viability of Canada Post and the solvency ratio of the pension plan."

The legislation was adopted by a vote of 158 to 113 with the New Democratic Party (NDP) and Bloc Quebecois members of parliament voting against. An NDP proposal to remove the wage provisions of the law was rejected by the Conservative Party majority.

Women's right to choose abortion: a matter of working-class solidarity

BY CINDY JAQUITH

This year volunteers who support the *Militant* have visited thousands of workers and farmers to discuss the impact of the world capitalist crisis on our lives and how working people can organize to defend our interests here and around the world. Among the more than 3,000 people who subscribed, a number have written the *Militant*, in some cases to take issue with something in the paper they disagree with. We welcome the opportunity for a discussion.

The letter below is from two readers in Wisconsin who canceled their subscription. They say they signed up during protests against the law initiated

REPLY TO A READER

by Gov. Scott Walker taking away most collective bargaining rights for state employees.

"As much as we agree with some of what you write," they say, "we were greatly displeased to see the latest issue [June 6] that so prominently supported 'abortion rights.' What an irony. The one group pledged to defend the vulnerable will not defend unborn babies?" Legal abortion, they write, "has done more damage than you can possibly imagine."

Ending back-alley butchery

In face, among other factors, of a rising movement for women's rights, the U.S. Supreme Court decriminalized abortion in 1973. Before then, working-class women with an unintended pregnancy either had to attempt a dangerous self-induced abortion, find someone who would perform the procedure (often at exorbitant prices and using unsanitary methods), or have the baby they were unable or not ready to raise.

The human toll when abortion was illegal is staggering. In 1930 nearly 2,700 women in the United States died of illegal abortions. While the number dropped as medicine advanced, in 1965 about 200 women died from botched abortions, 17 percent of all maternal deaths that year.

Letter from two readers

Dear Editor,

Please unsubscribe us from your newspaper. We signed up during the Walker protests, and as much as we agree with some of what you write, we were greatly displeased to see the latest issue that so prominently supported "abortion rights." What an irony. The one group pledged to defend the vulnerable will not defend unborn babies?

Further, we know too many women recovering from abortion (30 years later) to know that it's not a "healthcare issue." It is a quick alternative that, long-term, has done more damage than you can possibly imagine, and in the end, it still benefits men more than women. Shame on you for trying to paint it otherwise. Do your homework next time.

Jim and Jane Jeffries
Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Many more were maimed. In 1968, for every 14 women giving birth at the Los Angeles County Medical Center, one woman was admitted with abortion complications.

Not all women faced these barbaric conditions. Those from wealthy or better-off middle-class families usually could afford a safe procedure. But for women from working-class or farm families, it was a life-or-death matter. Like other social conditions afflicting working people, the consequences of "back-alley abortions" fell heaviest on women who were Black or Latina. In New York City in the 1960s, one in four childbirth-related deaths for women who were Caucasian was the result of an illegal abortion. The figure for Blacks and Puerto Ricans was one in two.

Capitalist politicians and groups that oppose a woman's right to choose seek to divert attention from the butchery women faced when the procedure was illegal by raising the issue of "unborn babies." While there are many conflicting views about when life "begins," it is a matter of simple fact that the criminalization of abortion killed thousands of women. Why return to that era?

A working-class question

The demand to make it a woman's choice whether or not to proceed with a pregnancy arose, above all, as a product of growing numbers of women entering the workforce during and after World War II. Women gained greater confidence in their ability to be productive members of society on an equal footing with men.

As more and more women cast off the stereotype that their place was in the bedroom, nursery, and kitchen, they began to confront all the reactionary attitudes, practices, and laws holding them back. Chief among these were laws making it a criminal offense for a woman to decide for herself whether to carry a pregnancy to term, as well as the bourgeois social norms stigmatizing women as "sluts" if they had sexual relations for reasons other than to reproduce.

Defending a woman's right to choose is a class question—one of decisive importance to the working class and unions. Without the right to decide when or whether to bear a child, women cannot participate as equals in economic, social, and political life. And without women's equality, the solidarity the working class needs to fight the bosses—and to wage a victorious revolutionary struggle to take political power out of their hands—is impossible.

Workers determined to end capitalist exploitation and all the forms of oppression it perpetuates must fight uncompromisingly for the right of the woman—only the woman, not the state, the church, doctors, parents, husbands, or boyfriends—to decide to bear a child. If women cannot control their own bodies, they will never be able to struggle effectively for their full emancipation.

Not a 'population policy'

Not only does the *Militant* oppose all laws or practices denying a woman the right to choose, we are equally intransigent in rejecting the use of abortion by any government as a "population policy."

We speak out against the privileged

social caste and growing capitalist layers in China—and the misnamed Communist Party that acts on their behalf—which force women to end pregnancies if they already have one child.

In the latter half of the 20th century, we condemned the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union for its brutal use of abortion as virtually the only form of available birth control. Just as in the 1930s we exposed Stalin's effort to boost the population (cynically extolling the "joys of motherhood") by reversing the right to abortion guaranteed from the very first days of the victorious October 1917 revolution by the Bolshevik-led workers and peasants government.

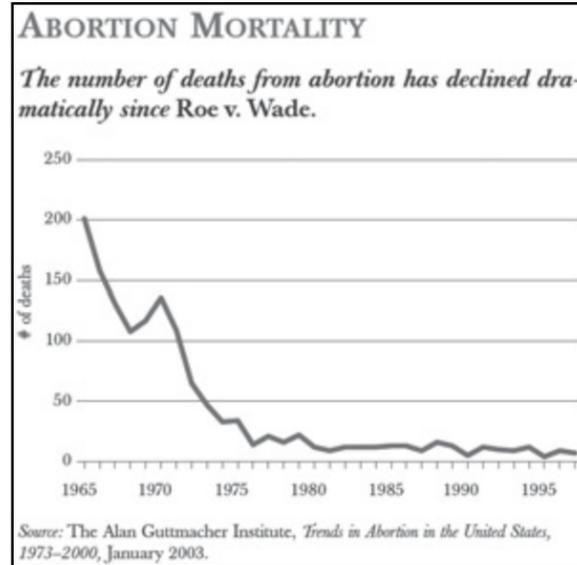
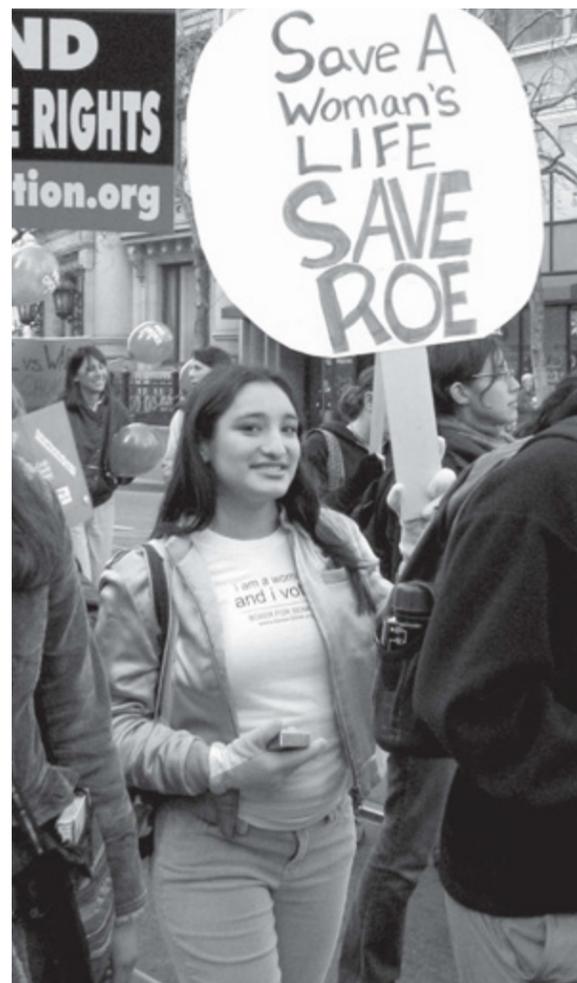
We reject the U.S. government's racist campaign that, by 1968, had sterilized one-third of all women in Puerto Rico, as well as the forced sterilization of countless African American women prior to the conquests of the Black struggle in recent decades.

The Cuban Revolution and its proletarian leadership have set an example in this regard. Not only did the revolutionary government make abortion accessible to women as a right from the outset in 1959. But as some in the government began emulating bureaucratic layers in the Soviet Union and relying on the procedure as a primary method of contraception, the Federation of Cuban Women started fighting back and campaigning to reduce the rising rate of abortion.

* * *

Even in face of the worst of penalties and dangers to their lives, women will choose abortion when there is no alternative. The question for the working class is, will women do so under safe legal conditions? Or will the days of back-alley butchers return?

Like the readers whose letter is printed here, tens of thousands of women and men took part earlier this year in mobilizations against union busting in Wis-

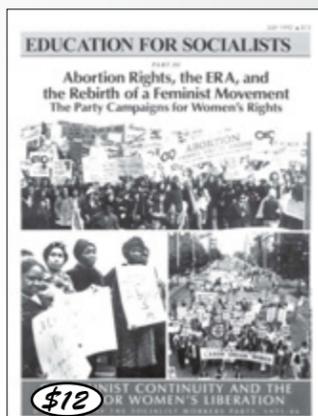


Militant/Robby Kopec
March in San Francisco, Jan. 22, 2005, commemorating 1973 Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* decision decriminalizing abortion. Chart shows how right to choose saved women's lives.

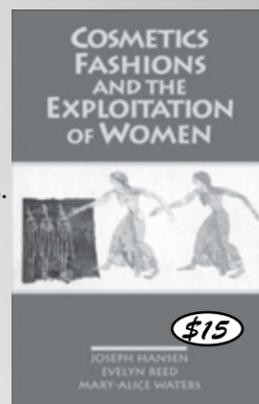
consin. As workers' resistance grows to the capitalist crisis and assaults by the employers and their government, women will continue to make up a growing portion of the ranks and leadership of coming class battles.

The same working-class solidarity we organize for public employees under attack, or for workers engaged in a fight against capitalist employers, needs to be extended to struggles for equality and human dignity by women, Blacks, immigrants, and all those oppressed under capitalist social relations. That includes active support for women's right to control their own bodies, free from government interference or restrictions of any kind.

For further reading...



How big business plays on women's second-class status and social insecurities to market cosmetics and rake in profits.



Last part of three-part series written to politically equip the generation of women and men joining battles in defense of women's rights today.

Contact distributors on page 6 or pathfinderpress.com

Right to abortion central to fight for women's equality

Below is an excerpt from *Abortion Is a Woman's Right! The Spanish edition is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for July. The booklet explains why defending women's right to choose abortion is central to the fight for the full emancipation of women and to strengthen the unity and fighting capacity of the entire working class. Amid the waning of the struggle for women's rights in the decades that followed the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion, Democratic and Republican party politicians have moved to limit access for the medical procedure. The number of abortion providers has declined, particularly in rural areas. Today, 87 percent of all counties lack an abortion provider; most states don't allow patients to use Medicaid to pay for abortions; and a growing number of states impose other restrictions. Copyright © 1985 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*



Militant/Diana Newberry

San Francisco protest backing women's right to choose abortion, 2005. Issue is key to fight for women's equality, and therefore necessary part of forging united, fighting labor movement.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY PAT GROGAN

On January 22, 1973, women won their most important victory in decades.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Roe vs. Wade*, ruled that women had the constitutional right to have abortions. The ruling legalized abortion through the first twenty-four weeks of pregnancy and struck down all laws that restricted that right.

For the first time the right of women

to decide whether or not to bear children—not the state, church, husband, father, or priest—was recognized.

The women's liberation movement saw reproductive freedom as the most fundamental right of women, a precondition for full equality and liberation. Without the right to control her own body, a woman could not exercise effective control over her life.

Beginning in the 1960s, contraception was becoming more available and accepted, but it was not foolproof—and still isn't. Advances in medical science had made abortion a safe, simple, medical procedure. But in most states, abortion was against the law. Women were forced to bear children against their will, or risk dangerous—and often deadly—illegal or self-induced abortions.

In 1969, the year before New York State adopted liberalized abortion laws—a step that laid the basis for the later Supreme Court victory—approximately 210,000 women entered city hospitals due to abortion complications.

The restrictions on abortion were powerful and barbaric chains on women. Black women and Latinas suffered the most from the illegal status of abortion.

And many Black women and Latinas were forced to submit to sterilization in order to obtain an abortion.

Prior to the emergence of the feminist movement in the late 1960s, many supporters of legal abortion presented their arguments in terms of population control—arguments that are used to bolster the racist practice of forced sterilization.

The feminist movement put the axis for the fight to legalize abortion where it belonged—on the right of women to control their own bodies. It was on this basis that majority support for legal abortion was won.

Because of the stakes involved in the fight for abortion rights, this right was never secure.

Several years ago, Democrats and Republicans alike began to step up their attacks on the right to abortion.

The Hyde Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976, was the most serious blow. It cut off Medicaid funding for abortions, except in cases of rape, incest, or when a woman's life is in danger. In May 1981, Congress cut off funds even in cases of rape and incest.

In October 1984, Congress once again denied abortion funding for victims of rape and incest.

Since the Hyde Amendment was passed, thirty-six states have cut off state funding for abortions. . . .

The ruling class ideological offensive is aimed at undermining the powerful idea that *women should have equal*

rights. It is aimed at convincing both men and women that a woman's place is in the home, and that the family, not the government, should bear the cost of caring for children, the sick, and the elderly.

It is aimed at justifying lower pay for women who work and making unemployment of women more acceptable.

The fire is aimed particularly at abortion rights because the right of women to choose whether or not to bear children is an elementary precondition for women's liberation. . . .

The right of women to control their own bodies—which is what is at stake in the fight over legal abortion—is an elementary precondition for the liberation of women from the oppression they suffer as a sex.

It is the women's liberation movement, which championed the fight for abortion rights, that is kindred to the fight for civil rights and against Washington's war.

Women's liberation and civil rights fighters stand together against inequality, discrimination, and exploitation. Both immeasurably strengthen the capacity of the labor movement to resist the current employer-class offensive. . . .

Of course, legalized abortion cannot solve all the problems facing women. But the right to choose is the most fundamental step toward women being able to achieve full equality.

That's why after women began pouring into the work force in the last three decades, the question of legalizing abortion became a burning issue for millions. When women can control their childbearing functions, it allows them to begin to participate more fully in all aspects of social life. The right to choose means qualitatively more freedom and mobility for women.

We've already seen this in the 12 years that abortion has been legal. Even though access to it is far from universal, it has meant significant changes in the lives of millions of women.

This change in the scope of women's choices led to demands for even greater freedom and opportunity, to a fight for full control by women over their minds and lives as well as their bodies.

July BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS 25% DISCOUNT

El aborto: derecho fundamental de la mujer
(Abortion is a Woman's Right!)
by Pat Grogan, Evelyn Reed
Why abortion rights are central not only to the fight for the full emancipation of women, but to forging a united and fighting labor movement.
\$6. **Special price: \$4.50**

John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s
by Frank Kofsky
\$25. **Special price: \$18.75**

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory
by Ernest Mandel
\$11. **Special price: \$8.25**

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II
by James P. Cannon
\$25. **Special price: \$18.75**

Out Now!
A Participant's Account of the Movement in the United States against the Vietnam War
by Fred Halstead
\$35. **Special price: \$26.25**

Their Morals and Ours
by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey
\$15. **Special price: \$11.25**

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

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

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: Los Angeles: 4025 S. Western Ave. Zip: 90062. Tel: (323) 295-2600. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net
San Francisco: 5482 Mission St. Zip: 94112-1015. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

FLORIDA: Miami: 719 NE 79th St. Zip: 33138. Mailing address: P.O. Box 381063 Zip: 33238-1063. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 476 1/2 Edgewood Ave. Zip: 30312. Tel: (404) 525-5200. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 806 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 202. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 455-0111. E-mail: Chicagoswp@att.net

IOWA: Des Moines: 3707 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 255-1707. E-mail: swpdesmoines@qwestoffice.net

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 13 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Bos-

ton. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: swpboston@verizon.net

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: 1311 1/2 E. Lake St. Zip: 55407. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwestoffice.net

NEW YORK: Manhattan: 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: newyorkswp@mac.com

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

TEXAS: Houston: 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-50L. Zip: 77092. Tel: (713) 688-4919. E-mail: swp.houston@att.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

FRANCE

Paris: P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 40-10-28-37. E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 4/125 Grafton Rd., Grafton. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140. Tel: (09) 369-1223. E-mail: clauck@xtra.co.nz

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND: London: First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane). Postal code: E2 6DG. Tel: (020) 7613-2466. E-mail: clondon@fastmail.fm
Manchester: Room 301, 3rd floor, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St. Postal code: M1 2EH. Tel: 0161-478-2496. E-mail: clmanchr@gmail.com

'I remember that paper'



Militant/Maggie Trowe

Brenda Frye from Huntington, Utah, buys subscription from *Militant* volunteer Zach Liddle, June 22. Team sold 28 subscriptions during visit to coal mining towns in state.

Continued from page 3

duction as a result of the struggle and ended up in bankruptcy. According to several miners we spoke with, the new owner, Rhino Resource, pays \$19 to \$20 per hour.

We spent an evening in the living room of a trailer in Huntington with some of the miners who—along with Alyson Kennedy, one of the authors of this article—were central leaders and participants of the Co-Op strike. They and their families warmly greeted us, and we discussed the importance of the strike and broader politics. Three renewed their *Militant* subscriptions and picked up *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Jack Barnes and *Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?* by Mary-Alice Waters.

Many former Co-Op miners like themselves are working in other coal mines in Utah and Wyoming now. Several mines now have a significant number of Mexican-born miners.

Other workers in this area were also interested in the revolutionary working-class perspective of the *Militant*.

A miner in his 20s, who lives in East Carbon and works at the West Ridge Mine, told us, "I'd like to see a union there," but said overcoming the owner's opposition would be a big challenge. He listened with interest when we said that workers and farmers produce all the wealth and need to build a powerful movement of millions to put an end to the dictatorship of capital and put power in the hands of the working class. He bought a subscription.

The West Ridge Mine, owned by Robert Murray, is one of eight underground coal mines in the area, all but one nonunion. In 2007, Murray's Crandall Canyon Mine near Huntington collapsed, killing six miners. Three miners on a rescue team died trying to reach the men. In addition to mines in Utah, Murray owns mines in Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other eastern states.

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution

by Jack Barnes
As the proletarian-based struggle for Black right was advancing in the U.S., the social transformation fought for and won by Cuban toilers set an example that socialist revolution is not only necessary—it can be made and defended. \$10



Pathfinderpress.com

In Price, a town of 8,200, we knocked on the door of Ernie Herrera, a retired miner, now a construction worker, who was a staunch supporter of the Co-Op strike. "I remember that paper," he said, and bought a subscription and a copy of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*.

"This area has been in a depression since the '80s," Herrera told us. "I'm holding on, but I know families that are falling further and further behind."

As in other parts of the country, we found many people looking for work. According to government statistics, unemployment in Carbon County was below 3 percent in 2007. It is now around 7 percent after hitting 8.6 percent earlier this year. There are many empty houses and vacant trailers, a product of joblessness and foreclosures over the past three years.

In Elmo, a town of 1,000 south of here, we talked with Jennie Jensen, 32, a former Walmart worker whose husband is a miner. We mentioned the Supreme Court's decision the previous day not to hear a case about Walmart's discriminatory practices against women. "I was fired when I asked permission to take my son to be treated for an asthma attack," she told us. "I had a good work record, but sometimes I had to take time off when he couldn't breathe. I would always make up for the missed time,

Cartoons by one of Cuban Five shown in California

VENICE, California—Some 75 people turned out June 4 for "Humor From My Pen," an exhibit of political cartoons by Gerardo Hernández—one of the Cuban Five political prisoners in the United States—that debuted here at the Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC). "Cuba sure hurts," reads the caption above the cartoon of Uncle Sam with a Cuba-shaped bone in his throat.

Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González are Cuban revolutionaries who were framed up and railroaded to prison by the U.S. government. When they were arrested by the FBI in 1998, they had been monitoring the activities of U.S.-backed paramilitary groups in South Florida with a long history of violent actions and sabotage against Cuba.

Hernández is serving a double-life plus 15-year sentence on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" and "conspiracy to commit murder." The latter is based on the government's wild accusation that Hernández bears responsibility for the Cuban military's shutdown in 1996 of two hostile aircraft—flown by the counterrevolutionary outfit Brothers to the Rescue—that invaded Cuban airspace. The other four have sentences ranging from 15 years to 30 years. René González is scheduled to be released in October.

The well-attended event was publicized on the "¡SiCuba! SoCal" website, which is promoting a several-month celebration of Cuban art and culture in Los Angeles. If you are interested in bringing the cartoon exhibit to your city write to info@thecuban5.org.

—ARLENE RUBINSTEIN



but that wasn't enough for them." She signed up for a subscription.

We met workers injured on the job. A construction worker, who broke his back four years ago when the earth-moving equipment he was operating fell into a ditch, subscribed.

Not everyone was open to a discussion about the working-class and revolutionary outlook of the *Militant*. The manager of a trailer court in Price told us to leave the property. A man in East Carbon took sharp issue with us when we mentioned the number of workers who had lost houses to foreclosure. "They should never have bought houses

they couldn't afford," he told us. "There are plenty of jobs for people who want to work," his wife said.

At a morning portal sale to miners and power plant workers at the Energy West Mining Company's Deer Creek operation near Huntington, we sold eight copies of the *Militant*. Afterwards we drove to the Crandall Canyon Mine. The entrance is plastered with concrete and the mine is closed. Near the mine there is a memorial to the miners killed in 2007.

The team sold 9 books and 46 single copies of the paper, in addition to the 28 subscriptions.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 11, 1986

The biggest timber strike in the Pacific Northwest since the early 1960s began June 16 when thousands of woodworkers shut down Weyerhaeuser, the industry giant. Weyerhaeuser Co. forced the strike on 7,500 workers in Oregon and Washington by insisting on massive wage and benefits cuts and union-busting work rules changes.

In mid-April the company proposed a \$4.30 an hour cut in wages and benefits, mandatory overtime, elimination of the eight-hour workday, gutting seniority rights in bumping and promotions, and elimination of the right to strike over grievances. In return for wage cuts the company offered a productivity bonus plan.

A total of 22 Weyerhaeuser mills and logging operations have been struck. The outcome of the strike will affect the entire lumber industry in the United States and Canada.



July 10 & 17, 1961

NEW YORK—The first annual conference of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, held here July 1–3, ended with a pledge by both leaders and members of the organization to redouble their efforts to reach more Americans with the truth about Cuba and to work harder to bring about an improvement of U.S.-Cuban relations.

The conference warned against further U.S. military, political and economic intervention in Cuba and condemned the Kennedy administration for continuing violations of the U.S. neutrality laws and international agreements respecting the sovereignty of Cuba.

In his opening report to the conference, FPCC Acting Executive Secretary Richard Gibson declared, "The threat to revolutionary Cuba is also a threat to men who would be free everywhere on this continent and, indeed, throughout the world."



December 5, 1936

Spain's proletarian armies more than held their own as the siege of Madrid drew to the close of its fourth week.

The lines around Madrid held the fascists at bay, while flank and rear attacks on fascist lines forced Franco to divert to endangered points more and more of the troops previously facing Madrid.

All serious observers concur in the conviction that Hitler and Mussolini's recognition of Franco's regime has committed them irrevocably to a fascist victory in Spain. Fascist Italy and Germany are moving with caution at the moment, first testing the relation of forces in Europe to determine how speedily they can come to Franco's aid, but their shipments to Franco continue. The military pact between Germany and Japan with Italy as silent partner is a decisive step in preparing for open intervention in Spain.

‘This book will be read in picket shacks in Introduction to ‘Teamster Rebellion’—account of 1934 strikes pro

Speaking to the 350 workers and youth at the Active Workers and Socialist Education Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, June 9–11, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed to the importance of introducing thinking workers to *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs. It is the first in a four-book participants’ account of the organizing drives and strikes that transformed the Teamsters union in the 1930s, from the Dakotas to Michigan to Texas, into a fighting social movement.

Dobbs was a central leader of those battles and, until his death in 1983, of the Socialist Workers Party.

Teamster Rebellion will find a ready audience today, given the responsiveness communist workers are finding among broad layers of the working class living the devastating social and political consequences of the last three years of crisis-ridden rule and reckless war policies of the capitalist class.

After the book was first published in 1972, Barnes said, a couple of the younger leaders of the party told Dobbs they sometimes wondered how well its lessons—and those in other of the Teamsters series—would be understood after more than a quarter century of political retreat by the working class and labor movement.

“Don’t worry, Farrell always replied,” Barnes recalled at the conference. “Year after year, these books will provide additional lessons to different layers of workers, as they go through experiences in the class struggle. What a sentence means now will mean something different to a worker engaged in a broader struggle down the road. And something different again to wider layers of working people as the experience of class battles expands.”

Below we are printing Barnes’s December 2003 introduction to *Teamster Rebellion*. It was originally written for the first Spanish translation of the book, *Rebelión Teamster*, released in January 2004, and then for an upgraded edition of the English book later that year. The French translation was released in 2010.

In the introduction, Barnes describes the opening months in late 2003 of what was to become a more-than-two-year-long battle for safe working conditions and union recognition by coal miners near Huntington, Utah. With Barnes’s permission, we have added dates in a few places to make the story more accessible to workers more than seven years later.

Copyright © 2004, by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



Northwest Organizer
Published every Thursday under the auspices of the
Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council

OFFICE OF PUBLICATION, 257 PLYMOUTH AVE.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One year in advance	\$1.50
Six months in advance	.85
Bundle copies (10 copy minimum)	62 1/2

Entered as second class matter May 1st, 1935, at the Post-office at Minneapolis, Minn., under Act of March 3, 1879

EDITORIAL BOARD

FARRELL DOBBS **JACK SMITH**

Business Manager **DANIEL BURKE** Editor **MILES B. DUNNE**

When I ply my needle, trowel or pick
I'm a decent Shoeney, Wop or Mick,
But when I strike I'm a Bolshevik
I'm Labor.

Get Out of China!
The sinking of the United States gunboat, Panay, in Chinese waters by Japanese bombers, was the signal for all the war-mongers to set up a howl for "strong measures" for "action."
"Our" gunboat has been sunk.

Northwest Organizer, launched as Minneapolis Teamsters’ newspaper in 1935, brought proletarian internationalist perspective to fighting workers. December 1937 issue (above) opposed U.S. imperialist intervention in China. “What do they mean by ‘we’ and ‘our’?” editorial said. “Why should we send one penny or one man to China to ‘protect’ [the bosses]? Withdraw all American armed forces from China!”



Victorious coal miners march back to work at Co-Op mine in Utah in 2004 after pushing back company’s attempt to fire them for fighting for higher wages, against unsafe job conditions, and to be represented by United Mine Workers union. Inset: strikers’ picket shack, made of plywood and tarp.

BY JACK BARNES

It was graveyard shift on the picket line near the entrance to the Co-Op coal mine outside Huntington, Utah. In mid-October, nights are already cold in the mountains. The icy blasts of wind through Bear Canyon cut to the bone. The locked-out workers had tied down their picket shack, made of plywood and blue tarp, to keep it from taking flight. Inside seven or eight miners—most in their twenties, plus a couple of old-timers, including a woman and a veteran in his fifties, almost all from the state of Sinaloa in Mexico—huddled around the wood stove, donated by a retired union miner from nearby East Carbon.

A month earlier, in September 2003, the company had fired seventy-four miners for protesting the suspension of a fellow worker and union supporter who had refused to sign a disciplinary warning. Acting to crush the miners’ effort to organize to win recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, management then locked them out.

One of the miners in the picket shack was a Nicaraguan immigrant who worked in the Deserado mine in western Colorado, several hours away. He had gotten union time off to come over and help out. Before leaving home, he had stuck in his pocket a well-worn copy of *Teamster Rebellion*, the story of a bloody, hard-fought union organizing battle that took place almost seventy years ago in Minnesota, carried out by workers many of whom were Scandinavian in origin—Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, or Danish—with a substantial mixture of Irish. The author, Farrell Dobbs, whose forebears came from Ireland, had become the youngest leader of that strike. Like so many others facing Depression conditions in the early 1930s, Farrell had been struggling to find steady work, feed his family, and pay the rent.

The Nicaraguan miner, Francisco, began reading a few of the opening pages aloud, sight translating into Spanish as he went. The paragraphs described the working and living conditions and wages in the Midwest at the depth of the Depression. Amid expressions of surprise and sympathy, the strikers asked for more of the story, and soon were listening to other passages. The account was interrupted only to check the occasional late-night car going by, or to replenish firewood and survey the area outside.

Identification with struggle

Above all, the men and women from Sinaloa, trying to make their lives in the mountains of Utah, identified with the individual struggles of the men and women whose stories are told in *Teamster Rebellion*. Dobbs’s description in the book’s early pages of how his family lost their entire winter’s stock of canned vegetables and fruits one night when the weather suddenly dropped below freezing and they didn’t make it home in time to move the jars indoors elicited expressions of sympathy and understanding of what that blow must have meant for Farrell, his wife Marvel, and their children.

The photos of strikers battling the cops and bosses’ deputies, of the large, disciplined funeral cortege for one of the pickets gunned down in cold blood by the cops, of strike leaders being hauled away to jail by the National Guard—all were looked at with interest. When the miners learned that inside the Teamster strike headquarters they were seeing in the photos there was a round-the-clock commissary for meals and a hospital to treat the wounded, interest grew. And after discovering from Dobbs’s narrative how the drivers organized in the Minneapolis market square to beat back the cop and employer assaults—with courage, discipline, and above all a detailed battle plan—and went on to win the strike for union recognition, the pictures were studied with even more attention.

It is possible that among the striking Minneapolis Teamsters who laid the foundations for the transformation of the labor movement throughout the entire Midwest in the 1930s there was not a single worker who had been born in Mexico. (What a change a few decades have wrought!) But across the span of years, nationalities, languages, and lifetime experiences, the story told in *Teamster Rebellion* also belongs to the growing ranks of Spanish-speaking workers in the United States today as they enter into struggle. They can see themselves in those earlier generations of workers—many of them likewise first- or second-generation immigrants—who finally said “enough,” and began to take their own future in hand.

Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Rebellion is a book that stands on its own. It tells a hell of a story. It is at the same time an introduction to Farrell Dobbs, a worker still in his twenties who emerged in the course of those battles as a leader of his class.

He was twenty-five years old, with two children to support, when he turned his back on a secure and well-remunerated future as part of the supervisory personnel of Western Electric working out of Omaha, Nebraska. He was repelled by the horror of the person he would have to become, by the class values and attitudes he would have to adopt, if he sold his soul to stay in such a job. Without a backward glance, he unconditionally cut himself “adrift” from alien classes, as the *Communist Manifesto* puts it, and “joined the revolutionary class” in the fullest sense of the word. The “miserable halfness” of the petty-bourgeois spirit was the class attribute Dobbs came most to despise.

He quickly found himself in the ranks of the “great army of the unemployed.” Shoveling coal a couple of years later in a Minneapolis coal yard, he met Grant Dunne, a seasoned cadre of the Communist League of America, the forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, who enlisted him in a union organizing drive. The story unfolds from there through the pages of *Teamster Rebellion* and the subsequent volumes, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*, as well as numerous pamphlets, booklets, and the two

In mountains, prairies, cities, small towns' provides class-struggle lessons for present and future union battles

volumes of *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.* that Dobbs was to live to complete in the early 1980s.

As his political awakening unfolded, Dobbs became a citizen of the world, a proletarian internationalist, living the present as part of history—apart from which communism does not exist. He describes the impact on him of pictures in the Omaha newspapers of Imperial Japan's 1931 invasion of China. The photos showed scenes of U.S. troops stationed in Shanghai protecting, with Tokyo's assent, the privileged "international settlement," while nearby Chinese working-class districts, with a casual racist nod from the U.S. army brass, were devastated, often burned to the ground, and their inhabitants slaughtered by the Japanese imperialist forces.

In describing his developing class consciousness, Dobbs gives the news photos of those events a weight similar to the impact on him of being asked by his bosses at Western Electric to go along with the firing of a fellow worker a few months short of retirement and a pension, in order to cut costs and increase "productivity." In the later volumes of the Teamster series, we see the newspaper of the Teamsters Joint Council in Minneapolis, the *Northwest Organizer*, carrying lead editorials demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Asia and the Pacific and condemning preparations by the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt for the great imperialist slaughter of World War II.

The young Farrell Dobbs we get to know in the pages of *Teamster Rebellion* became one of the great mass organizers of the U.S. working class. Barely thirty, he was the chief architect and leader of the campaign—stretching from Texas, to Detroit, to Canada, to Seattle—that organized some quarter million over-the-road drivers into a powerful union and transformed the Upper Midwest into union territory, the legacy of which is felt to this day.

The leading cadre of General Drivers Local 574 (later Teamsters Local 544) became the class-struggle left-wing of a much broader militant labor leadership. They showed in practice how the unions, equipped with such a workers leadership, can and will be transformed into instruments of revolutionary struggle capable of leading growing layers of workers, employed and unemployed, and their allies—farmers, fishermen, devastated small producers—to political independence from the ruling class. They showed how class-conscious union militants begin to recognize themselves as part of an international class whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of their own bosses and the bosses' government. And to rest easy in the history they are a living part of.

Proletarian party

Dobbs more than anyone, however, knew that what he was accomplishing was possible only because he was part of the broad leadership cadre of the communist party founded in 1919 to do in the United States what the Bolsheviks had just done in Russia, the party that in 1938 took the name Socialist Workers Party. By 1940, with World War II fast approaching, reaction was growing in the trade union officialdom, the ranks were being prepared for war, and the prospect of further political progress either in the Teamsters or the wider industrial union movement had been virtually eliminated for the time being. In January of that year, Dobbs resigned his post as general organizer for the Teamsters international. He did so to become labor and organization secretary of a party whose membership, under the impact of the labor movement's retreat and the petty bourgeoisie's capitulation to patriotic hysteria, would soon drop well below 1,000. The next year the leadership of that party that would not bend to war pressures and many cadres of Local 544's combat, including Dobbs himself, would be indicted on conspiracy and sedition charges, convicted, and sent to prison by federal prosecutors making the first use of the soon-to-be-



Photo courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society

May 21–22, 1934, "Battle of Deputies Run," where strikers—with courage, discipline, and a detailed battle plan—routed cops and company goons aiming to inflict bloody defeat on Teamsters. Workers went on to win the strike a few months later.

come-infamous Smith "Gag" Act—an earlier ruling-class application of "homeland security."

It was as a party man, especially shouldering responsibility as a national officer of the Socialist Workers Party for almost three decades, the majority of that time as national secretary, that Dobbs made his greatest leadership contributions—setting an example of working-class integrity from prison during World War II; charting an unwavering communist course for party cadres in the unions and in political action through the postwar witch-hunt; encouraging by word and deed the communist and labor movements to join in the mass proletarian fight for Black rights; helping lead the party in responding to and embracing the Cuban Revolution as its own; collaborating in mapping a military policy for the proletariat, a variant of which was carried out by young socialists within the broad movement opposing U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam; and actively pursuing the recruitment of a new generation of cadres that grew out of these momentous world political events.

Dobbs helped lead the communist movement through the retreat and decline of the labor movement from the late 1940s through the mid-1970s. He gave unstinting support and counsel to the younger party cadres who, in the latter seventies, led a turn to the unions, and more broadly to the working class, as new struggles and openings developed, beginning in the coal mines and steel plants especially, and organized the party to respond as proletarian internationalists to the initial triumphs of revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Iran.

Union defense guard

From World War II to Korea to Vietnam, Dobbs oriented the movement to reach toward our fellow workers in uniform, the GIs, those U.S. residents who pay the highest price of all for Washington's unending quest for world dominance. And he helped politically arm communist workers and youth to unflinchingly

recognize the inevitable necessity of organizing to combat and defeat intensified state repression, forms of military rule, and capitalist-sponsored fascist gangs as the imperialist order in the United States—through unknown twists and turns, and over a duration impossible to predict—once again entered into a period of world crisis comparable to that of 1914 through World War II. "To the members of Local 544's union defense guard," reads Dobbs's dedication to the third volume of the series, *Teamster Politics*.

Dobbs often pointed to the special contribution to the labor movement made by veterans of the armed forces. An example among the militants we meet in *Teamster Rebellion* is Ray Rainbolt, one of several field organizers of the cruising pickets during the 1934 strikes, later elected by members of Local 544's 600-strong union defense guard to serve as their commander. For workers in the mid-1930s to choose a Sioux Indian to lead them in combat—to issue them orders, to discipline them if necessary—was far, far from an everyday occurrence in this country, especially in the Upper Midwest or Western United

Continued on page 10

Special offers with Militant subscription

Teamster Rebellion

by Farrell Dobbs ~~\$19~~ \$10 with subscription

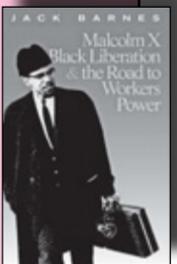
The story of the strikes and union organizing drive the men and women of Teamsters Local 574 carried out in Minnesota in 1934, paving the way for the continent-wide rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations as a fighting social movement.



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

by Jack Barnes ~~\$20~~ \$10 with subscription

This book helps us understand why it is the revolutionary conquest of power by the working class that will make possible the final battle for Black freedom—and open the way to a world based not on exploitation, violence, and racism, but human solidarity. A socialist world.



The Changing Face of U.S. Politics Working-Class Politics and the Unions

by Jack Barnes ~~\$24~~ \$10 with subscription

A handbook for those seeking the road toward effective action to overturn the exploitative system of capitalism and join in reconstructing the world on new, socialist foundations.

Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?

by Mary-Alice Waters ~~\$7~~ \$5 with subscription

The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

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

Contact distributors on page 6—subscription rates on page 2

Pathfinder Press

Teamsters

Continued from page 9

States. The standing Rainbolt achieved among the ranks of fighting workers is a demonstration of the depth of the changes in political attitudes, battle discipline, and human solidarity forged in the course of the class combat described in Dobbs's *Teamster* books.

Class traits of leadership

In an August 1966 talk, presented to an audience substantially composed of members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance at a West Coast Vacation School held in California, Farrell Dobbs summed up the world historical view that best describes his lifetime political course; the class characteristics indispensable for any proletarian revolutionist; and what the working class demands of its leaders, above all.

We must be constantly aware of the key role of the United States in the world. United States imperialism is today the powerhouse of world reaction, as the war in Vietnam is abundantly demonstrating.

It is an iron fact that until capitalism is overturned here in the United States of America, the gang of imperialist mad dogs that rule this country are going to remain a mortal threat to all humanity. We must never forget that.

That means the showdown battle for world socialism is going to be fought right here in the United States of America. And when the revolutionary victory is won, outlived, decadent capitalism is going to disappear literally overnight from the face of our planet. Humanity is going to march forward to the building of an enlightened socialist society where people for the first time can really live together on this planet in peace and in security and with freedom. Humanity will finally realize the type of rewarding life that human intelligence is so abundantly capable of making, even at the present level of technological development. Once humanity learns how to conduct itself politically, organizationally, and socially, it can take advantage of these wonders.

That's what we dedicate our lives to. We of the party, we revolutionaries in the United States—acting as best we can in solidarity with revolutionary fighters across the world—must always keep in mind that in the last analysis the fate of humanity rests on the socialist revolution in the United States. Our task is to build a party capable of leading that revolution, going up against the most heinous of the reactionary, monstrous ruling class regimes that exist on the face of this planet: the imperialist ruling class of the United States.

The road ahead in that struggle is going to be strewn with obstacles, and there are going to be many pitfalls. There's no roadmap, no way you can find some kind of a detailed handbook that's going to tell you what to do at each juncture. Our task is to chart a revolutionary course, based on a fundamental understanding of our program—a basic feel of our revolutionary strategy—and to hammer out the tactics in that direction as we go along.

There's no timetable. Nobody can say how long it's going to take or when it's going to happen. I personally feel that those of you sitting in this room today, who have got all your youth going for you, have got at least Damon Runyon's six-to-five chance of seeing that explosion.

But in saying so I want to add immediately: *don't make that a condition. Don't adopt the criterion that the revolutionary change must happen in your time.* Don't take as a guide to your active life that narrow, provincial, self-centered notion that if it doesn't happen during the time of your own subjective existence



Farrell Dobbs at 1972 banquet in New York to celebrate publication of *Teamster Rebellion*. Barnes writes that it was as a party man, shouldering central leadership in Socialist Workers Party for some four decades, that Dobbs made his greatest political contribution, "setting an example of working-class integrity."

on this planet, it's not important.

Always remember that history is magnificently indifferent to the problems of the individual. History doesn't care whether you die at six or live to be seven hundred, if that were possible, or what happens during your particular lifetime. As the German poet Goethe once said, "History marches like a drunken beggar on horseback."

A lot can happen during your limited lifespan, or you can live a dull existence. Some people have had the good fortune to live more in a year than others at a different historical juncture could live in their whole lifetime. Or, as Plekhanov once put it, "If it hadn't been for the French Revolution, Napoleon would probably have ended up as a corporal in the French artillery."

Don't make it a condition that the socialist revolution must come in your lifetime. Be not only a citizen of the planet; be a citizen of time. Recognize that what's fundamental is to be in rapport with the human race from the dawn of history, on to heights we can only vaguely begin to dream of.

And what's the alternative? The alternative is to make a compromise with this rotten capitalist system. Do you know what people who do that are like? You remember the movie, *The Devil and Daniel Webster*? Jabez Stone, you know, sold his soul to Scratch, the devil. He did so on the promise that his personal ambitions would thus be served. Later he regretted the action and asked to have his soul returned. Scratch, who was played by Walter Huston, that magnificent actor, finally said all right, he'd give it back.

So Scratch took a small matchbox from his pocket. He opened the box and began poking around in it with his stubby finger trying, and trying, to find the mean little soul of Jabez Stone so he could give it back.

That's symbolic of what you do to your own soul if you make a compromise with this rotten system.

Our job is to build a movement of men and women who emulate the seasoned fighters of the Continental line in the first American Revolution. Learn to be professional revolutionary fighters. Don't be summer soldiers. Don't dabble; don't vacillate. Put nothing above the considerations of the movement. Maintain your place in the front ranks of the revolutionary fighters, and stand in that place for the duration.

There is no other way in which you can find so rich, so rewarding, so fruitful, and so purposeful a life.

Farrell Dobbs would have toasted the translation into Spanish and publication of *Rebelión Teamster* with great pleasure. Above all he would have relished the story of young, fighting miners in Utah listening to a sight translation page by page during a long night in their picket shack. That would have struck a familiar chord.

He often pointed out how difficult it was in the 1930s, when he started searching for political answers, to find even one book that gave him the kind of historical perspective he was thirsting for, how he scoured the public libraries looking for something, anything. And he described the lightning-bolt impact on him of the first Marxist books and pamphlets he was given to read by cadres of the Communist League of America who recruited him, revolutionists like Vincent Ray Dunne, known as V.R., and Carl Skoglund, affectionately called Skogie by all his friends and comrades.

At that time, many fewer of the classics of Marxism had been translated into English, and those that had

been published were hard to come by. This was true not only of the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky, but also those of leaders of the communist movement in the United States.

During the frequent, long hours of driving that were part of the over-the-road campaign, Dobbs was often accompanied by Skogie, who had become a trustee of Local 544 and later its president, an "illegal" immigrant from Sweden under deportation orders on the day he died in 1960! One of the most widely respected leaders of both the union and the Communist League of America, Skogie was fluent not only in English and Swedish but also in German—the first language of Marx and Engels, the language of outstanding revolutionists such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and the political language of Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the early Communist International.

Over decades Skogie had accumulated a sizeable Marxist library, one that he put to use. As they drove the roads on union organizing assignments, Skogie would often read to Farrell—sometimes from English translations, sometimes sight translating from the German as they went along—giving Farrell access to works of Marxism he so eagerly sought.

Record of class-struggle experience

Teamster Rebellion is not a "manual" or a handbook. It is the record of a concrete experience in the class struggle—one that can be studied and absorbed by class-conscious workers and farmers who find themselves in the midst of other struggles, at other times, in other conditions, speaking many different languages.

In a new century, increasingly marked by looming economic catastrophe, and an accelerating drive toward bloody wars unleashed by history's final imperialist power as it attempts to extend its life, the concrete experiences of the men and women of Local 574 will prove ever more current and valuable. In a world where vanguard workers and farmers, and youth attracted to their struggles, are daily seeking solidarity from and extending it to fellow combatants, *Teamster Rebellion* will be read in a growing number of picket shacks in mountains and prairies, in the middle of large cities and small towns, and translated into other languages, too, across the Americas and beyond.

Teamster Rebellion is dedicated "To the men and women who gave me unshakable confidence in the working class, the rank and file of General Drivers Local 574." It is their story, the record of what they were able to achieve when they could count on the leadership they deserved.

Today, those seeking to emulate the commitment and seriousness of the Teamster vanguard of 1934 will read it in anticipation of both present and future battles. Through it they will come to understand the truth that lies at the heart of the *Communist Manifesto*—communism is not a set of ideas, but the constantly renewed generalization of the line of march of a class fighting for its emancipation.

And they will join that line of march toward a state power of the working class, becoming a more and more conscious, and more and more battle-savvy part of its vanguard.

December 2003

Also by Farrell Dobbs



The Teamster Series (4 volumes)

Lessons of labor battles of 1930s—\$65

Revolutionary Continuity

Vol. 1: The Early Years, 1848-1917—\$20

Vol. 2: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922—\$19

How successive generations of fighters joined in the struggles that shaped the U.S. labor movement, seeking to build a class-conscious revolutionary leadership.

Order from www.pathfinderpress.com

U.S., NATO out of Afghanistan!

Working people have big stakes in demanding that Washington immediately withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan. The U.S. rulers' brutal, decade-long war has nothing to do with bringing freedom, democracy, or a better life to the people of that country. It is a bloody assault—one in which the sons and daughters of workers and farmers do the fighting and dying—to increase U.S. imperialist domination of the region.

As the U.S. capitalists pursue this course, they are also stepping up a war on working people at home, laying us off, foreclosing on farms and houses, cutting wages, speeding up work, disregarding safety, slashing health and pension benefits, and further restricting workers rights in the name of "fighting terrorism."

"The tide of war is receding," President Barack Obama pledged June 22 as he announced a timetable to "draw down" troops in Afghanistan. He said 33,000 would be withdrawn "by next summer." When and if that happens, the 68,000 U.S. troops left there will still be *twice as high* as when he took office. Obama also said drone strikes will be stepped up in Pakistan.

As of June 27, 1,527 U.S. troops have been killed in Afghanistan since 2001. Add to that 4,408 soldiers killed in Iraq, where some 47,000 U.S. troops remain,

along with an almost equal number of U.S. forces deployed in Kuwait and nearby.

Who are these soldiers? In their big majority they are from working-class and farming communities bearing the brunt of today's capitalist crisis. The states with the highest concentration of residents in uniform are in the South and Great Plains. Maine now has the highest casualty rate, with Wyoming second.

Contrary to Obama's claim that "we are all a part of one American family," there are *two* Americas: one for the propertied families who profit off our labor, the other for the working class, which pays for capitalism's declining system with sweat and blood, both on the battlefield and in mines, mills, and factories.

U.S. casualties pale, however, when compared to the toll for the Afghani people. From 2007 to 2010 the number of civilian deaths there almost doubled. May marked the highest month—368 deaths—since records began being kept in 2007.

Join us in distributing the *Militant*—which campaigns against imperialism's wars and the capitalist system that breeds them—in your factory or neighborhood.

U.S. and NATO troops out of Afghanistan! Hands off Pakistan, Iraq, and Libya!

U.S. rulers rebuke imperialist rivals

Continued from front page

year and another 23,000 by September 2012. That leaves 68,000 U.S. soldiers still occupying the country—double the number when Obama took office. Washington invaded Afghanistan at the end of 2001 and together with NATO forces has been conducting military operations there ever since.

The day after Obama's announcement, Gen. David Petraeus, top U.S. commander in Afghanistan who will shortly become CIA director, told the Senate Intelligence Committee that the president's decision was "more aggressive . . . in terms of the timeline" than he had recommended. "There is always a process of assessing risk," Petraeus said. He added that his "small differences" are nonetheless "significant from a military commander point of view."

Adm. Michael Mullen, outgoing chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the House of Representatives armed services committee that Obama's decisions "incur more risk than I was originally prepared to accept." He added, "More force for more time is, without doubt, the safer course."

In a visit to Afghanistan in early June, Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who is stepping down at the end of June, told troops that he "would try to maximize" combat capability. "I'd opt to keep the shooters and take the support out first." He said that the White House and Pentagon "certainly don't want to precipitate a rush to the exit" by allied governments in Europe, the Pacific, and Canada.

Ottawa is already in the process of withdrawing all of its 2,900 soldiers by the end of July. Paris says it will reduce its 4,000 troops in tandem with Washington. Berlin too says some of its 4,900 soldiers will be withdrawn later this year. London, with 9,500 soldiers in Afghanistan, has pulled out 200 troops, with more to follow shortly.

In his June 22 speech, Obama also made clear that Washington intends to continue and escalate armed drone attacks in Pakistan, which kill not only Taliban militants but also many civilians. In the seven weeks since a U.S. "special forces" hit squad acted as Osama bin Laden's judge, jury, and executioner, 18 drone air assaults have hit Pakistan, bringing to 212 the total such strikes since Obama took office. The latest two occurred June 27, killing at least 21 people.

NATO: a 'two-tiered alliance'

Speaking in Brussels June 10, in what was his final address to a NATO gathering, Gates strongly rebuked Washington's imperialist rivals in Europe for both a "lack of will" and a "lack of resources" in pursuing shared military objectives. NATO has become "a two-tiered alliance," he said, "between members who specialize in 'soft' humanitarian,

development, peacekeeping, and talking tasks, and those conducting the 'hard' combat missions." Many NATO members, he said, "don't want to share the risks and costs."

Washington now accounts for 75 percent of total NATO military spending, Gates said, up from 50 percent in the 1980s.

Pointing to the war in Afghanistan, where some 40,000 non-U.S. troops are deployed, Gates criticized "the inability" to "meet agreed upon commitments" and "wildly disparate contributions from different member states." Berlin and Paris, for example, have limited their troops to Kabul and northern Afghanistan, refusing to engage in combat in the south where fighting has been most intense.

"We cannot afford to have some troop contributing nations . . . pull out their forces on their own timeline in a way that undermines the mission," added Gates.

As to the NATO-led airstrikes against Libya, the outgoing defense secretary chastised European powers for "similar shortcomings—in capability and will." While every NATO member voted for this military operation, "fewer than a third have been willing to participate in the strike mission," Gates said.

NATO has conducted 4,700 airstrikes since operations began March 22. The bulk have been carried out by the imperialist governments of the United Kingdom and France. The regimes in Canada, Belgium, Norway, and Denmark are also participating, though Oslo has announced it is pulling out by August.

Gates took European capitals to task for failing "to meet agreed-upon NATO benchmarks for defense spending." As a result, he said, "We have the spectacle of an air operations center designed to handle more than 300 sorties a day struggling to launch about 150. . . . [M]any allies are beginning to run short of munitions, requiring the U.S., once more, to make up the difference."

On June 20 British prime minister David Cameron sharply rebuked Royal Air Force Marshal Sir Simon Bryant and Royal Navy Adm. Sir Mark Stanhope for publicly warning of dire consequences for the UK's air combat capacities if airstrikes in Libya continue beyond September. "You do the fighting and I'll do the talking," Cameron said at a news conference. The aerial assaults will go on "as long as is necessary," the prime minister asserted.

U.S. warplanes and drones have carried out airstrikes against Libya at least 90 times since handing over command to NATO in April, U.S. military officials told the *New York Times*. And Washington carries out 25 percent of all air surveillance flights, as well as most aerial refueling operations.

Alabama protest

Continued from front page

of this law until my Latino classmates started talking about it," added Brenda Morris, also 16, who joined Morales at the rally. "They're trying to take my best friend away."

"They say they won't be profiling," said Earnest Edmonds, an African American who is a retired forest agency worker. "The law itself is profiling because it singles out a group of people. It's just plain racism."

The march and rally were organized by a coalition of churches and social service organizations. Most participants were Latino immigrants, but included a substantial number of Caucasians and African Americans.

In addition to using local cops to check immigration status, the law requires schools to investigate the status of students and makes it illegal to knowingly provide a ride to undocumented workers seeking employment, rent to them, or provide a range of other services.

Obama's E-Verify crackdown

The new legislation also requires all businesses in Alabama to use the federal government's E-Verify program to check the legal status of workers. Georgia's law exempts companies with 10 or fewer employees from that requirement.

President Barack Obama's administration has stepped up use of this program and other measures making it more difficult for undocumented workers to get work.

During debate on the bill in the Alabama legislature, Rep. Micky Hammon, its sponsor, boasted that it "attacks every aspect of an illegal alien's life. . . . This bill is designed to make it difficult for them to live here so they will deport themselves."

According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Alabama's Latino population more than doubled over the last decade, spurred by the capitalists' hunt for cheap labor. Now, when unemployment is high and the bosses have a larger available pool of low-wage labor, the capitalist rulers are targeting the solidarity of the working class by making it harder for undocumented workers to work and live. The center estimates that there are some 120,000 undocumented immigrants in the state. Alabama's law takes effect September 1. Several groups have said they will challenge it in court.

Georgia governor: 'Use convicts'

A federal judge suspended two provisions of a similar law in Georgia June 27. One is a section that would punish people who—while committing another offense—transport or harbor undocumented immigrants or encourage them to come here. The other authorized police to check the immigration status of "suspects" who are not carrying IDs.

Several other parts of the law will go into effect July 1, including one that makes it a felony with hefty fines to use false information or documentation when applying for a job.

Georgia attorney general Sam Olens said he was pleased that parts of the law will proceed and that his office plans to appeal the court's ruling.

The assault on immigrants in Georgia has contributed to a labor shortage in the fields, where bosses have relied on undocumented workers to maintain a superexploitable workforce. Gov. Nathan Deal proudly asserts that the state's anti-immigrant law has created 11,000 job openings in agriculture.

The governor came up with what Agriculture Commissioner Gary Black called a "brainstorming idea"—to replace immigrants with people on probation, another section of the working class whose pariah status under capitalism brands them as more exploitable.

Our summer schedule

The next issue of the *Militant* will be mailed July 7. Following that issue we will publish biweekly for six weeks, resuming weekly publication with the issue mailed August 18.