

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Salute to fighting workers  
behind prison bars

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## U.S. gov't pushes to expand Pakistan war

### Aerial drones kill more than 560 in 2009



U.S. Reaper aerial drone firing Hellfire missile. CIA uses air base in Shamsi, Pakistan, for launching strikes in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Drones at base are said to be operated by U.S. mercenary company Xe Services, formerly called Blackwater.

BY DOUG NELSON

December 21—In what could be the opening of a stepped-up tempo of U.S. military operations in Pakistan, U.S. aerial drones carried out three separate attacks in west central Pakistan December 17–18. The two-day bombardment also sends a message that Washington will resort to unilateral action where the Pakistani government refuses to expand the war against Taliban and allied Islamist forces.

Some 20 people were killed in the U.S. attacks, which were all concen-

trated in the same area in the tribal agency of North Waziristan. One of the strikes involved an unprecedented five drones, unleashing about 10 Hellfire missiles.

There have been at least 50 U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan this year, killing more than 560 people, including scores of civilians.

The Pakistani army is conducting a major offensive that began in the Mehsud tribal area of South Waziristan in October. The operations have since spread to many other parts

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## Bay Area meeting demands release of 3 death row inmates

BY BETSEY STONE

OAKLAND, California—"We are here to demand justice for Kevin Cooper, for Troy Davis, and for Mumia Abu-Jamal," said Siri Briggs Brown, chair of African American Studies at Merritt College. Brown welcomed more than 300 people to a meeting to build support for struggles to free the three prisoners on death row.

The program, sponsored by Merritt African American Studies, the Stanley Tookie Williams Legacy Network, the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, and the Kevin Cooper Defense Committee, was attended by dozens of Merritt students as well as youth from other campuses in the Bay Area.

Barbara Becnel, organizer of the Tookie Williams Legacy Network, chaired the meeting, held on December 13 to mark the fourth anniversary of the execution of Williams by the state of California.

"Thousands mobilized for justice four years ago and we still need to mobilize today," Becnel said. Williams, a co-founder of the CRIPS gang, was convicted in 1979 on murder charges. He maintained his innocence. While

in jail Williams became known for his appeals to gangs to stop violence and as the author of several children's books with anti-gang violence themes. He was executed despite a broad appeal for clemency on his behalf.

Among the featured speakers at the meeting was Martina Correia, the sister of Troy Davis, who has spearheaded the campaign to win his freedom. Correia described the worldwide campaign to free her brother.

Davis is on death row in Georgia, convicted in a 1991 frame-up trial of killing an off-duty police officer. Since his trial, seven of nine state witnesses against him have recanted or contradicted their testimony. Several of them have said they were pressured by the cops to finger Davis.

On August 17, in the face of international protests, the Supreme Court ordered a hearing by a federal judge to determine whether new evidence exists that can prove Davis's innocence. "This is not a new trial," Correia said. "We have one judge who will decide. We have to continue to mobilize, so that judge knows we are watching!"

Crystal Bybee, of the Campaign

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## German rulers plan new cuts to social wage

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The capitalist rulers in Germany are preparing new attacks on the social wage won by workers there, as industrial production and exports decline in Europe's largest economy.

The ruling coalition government, which includes the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, and the Free Democratic Party, is hoping that "stimulating" the economy through tax cuts, rising budget deficits, and record debt, will resolve the economic crisis.

They also hope to delay precipitating a confrontation with the working class. About 20 percent of the 2010 proposed budget is based on new government borrowing, with the deficit to increase to about 6 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP), double the limit set for countries in the European Union. The government's debt will rise to 78 percent of GDP, up from 73 percent.

"What we are looking at frankly is the worst budget situation since the war [World War II]," stated Steffen Kampeter, deputy finance minister. The rising deficits and debt is essential "to prevent this dramatic economic situation from becoming worse," asserted Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble.

This assessment comes on the heels of reports that in Greece, capitalist investors fear a government default be-

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## Cops charged of cover-up in death of immigrant

BY JANET POST

PHILADELPHIA, December 15—Federal indictments were handed down today against the police chief of Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, two police officers, and two defendants tried in connection with the fatal beating of Luis Ramírez, an immigrant worker, in July 2008.

Police Chief Matthew Nestor, Lt. William Moyer, and Officer Jason Hayes are charged with conspiracy and falsifying documents. Lieutenant Moyer is also charged with witness tampering, destroying evidence, and lying to the FBI.

Nestor is in jail and has been denied bail. The three cops are scheduled to go on trial February 16.

Brandon Piekarsky and Derrick Donchak, previously tried in the death of Ramírez, were indicted on federal hate crime charges. Donchak is also accused of lying and conspiring with police to cover up the crime. They are scheduled to appear in federal court December 22 for a bail hearing.

Ramírez, a 25-year-old Mexican-born worker, died of severe head trauma July 14, 2008, two days after being beaten to the ground and kicked in the head by several Shenandoah youth, including Piekarsky and Donchak.

Ramírez had worked for six years in the factories and fields of north-eastern Pennsylvania, an anthracite coal-mining region.

The assailants yelled racial slurs

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## Solomons students overcome block to medical study in Cuba

BY JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Twenty-five students from the Solomon Islands joined other students from that country to attend medical school in Cuba in November. They lost a month of study, however, after the ANZ Bank sent back money donated by the Iranian government to pay their airfares.

The students were able to fly to Cuba after Iranian government representatives handed over the aid money directly to their Solomons counterparts. The students join 50 others from the Solomons already studying medicine in Cuba.

ANZ said it refused to release the money "for political reasons" and would not process transactions involving Iran, Sudan, Syria, North Korea, Myanmar, or Cuba.

Some Solomon Islands government officials blamed "pressure" from the

Australian government for the decision. One told the *Solomon Star*, "If Australia does not want Iranian or Cuban influence in Solomon Islands—there's only one way to deal with it. Give our medical students

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# Homelessness on rise as layoffs, wage cuts mount

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Three-fourths of cities surveyed reported a jump in the number of homeless seeking shelter in the last year, as layoffs and cuts in wages make it harder and harder to pay the rent or mortgage.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors released December 8 the findings of its survey of 27 cities, among them Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, Philadelphia, and San Francisco.

More than 100,000 New York City residents applied for shelter in the last year, according to the Coalition for the Homeless. They included 15,800 children. The number of New Yorkers living in shelters or city-contracted hotels has nearly doubled over the last decade. Ninety percent of them are African American or Latino, the coalition says. These figures do not include the thousands who have moved in with relatives or sleep on the streets.

The Legal Aid Society and the Coalition for the Homeless have filed a lawsuit against New York City of-

ficials, charging they are violating a 1981 court order to provide adequate shelter to homeless people. The groups said individuals asking for shelter have been left to sleep on floors, tables, or chairs of city-run homeless centers. In one case homeless women were packed onto a bus after midnight and driven to Brooklyn where they were housed for five hours and then told to leave.

The commissioner of the Department of Homeless Services, Robert Hess, said the lawsuit was “alarmist.” He claimed those who didn’t get beds missed their curfew or refused to accept the bed offered them.

City officials have not given up on trying to charge rent from those in shelters who have jobs. Regulations announced in May that would have demanded rent from employed users of shelters were quickly suspended after a loud outcry. But Patrick Markee of the Coalition for the Homeless said the matter is now before the New York State legislature.

## Miami store features coming book on Malcolm X



Militant/Theresa Kendrick

MIAMI—The cover of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, a forthcoming title by Pathfinder Press, is featured in a prepublication promotional display here at the bookstore Libreri Mapou. Also featured in the display are Pathfinder titles by Thomas Sankara, leader of the 1983–87 revolution in the West African nation of Burkina Faso, and Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara. Libreri Mapou, located in a working-class section of Miami’s Little Haiti, carries titles in Creole, French, and English and hosts Haitian art and cultural events.

—THERESA KENDRICK

## Quebec meat packers dig in for long strike

BY ANNETTE KOURI

ST-HYACINTHE, Quebec—Workers on the picket line here at the Olymel pork legs processing plant said they are prepared for a long strike rather than accept the company’s demands for concessions. The 480 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers went on strike October 9 when the company demanded a four-year wage freeze, increased work flexibility, the right to sub-

contract work, and other concessions.

“Things are not well managed, and rather than lose money they attack our salaries,” Hugo Brouillard, who has worked there for 14 years, told the *Militant*.

The company had reopened negotiations for two days last week. Réal Ménard, the union president, told the local paper, “We quickly realized that the company was still inflexible.” He added that the company demands would bring layoffs and that was “unacceptable” for the union.

In 2005 the workers agreed to a 20 percent cut in wages and benefits in face of Olymel’s threats to close the plant.

The mood here is that workers are not prepared to give up more. Aghan, who has worked in the plant for three years, said, partly in jest and partly to express the workers’ determination, that the strike “could go ’til next summer. We don’t care.”

Workers on the line, in discussing where the attacks are coming from, referred to La Coop Fédérée and the Union of Agricultural Producers (UPA), saying that the Quebec government appears to be doing their bidding. La Coop Fédérée, which started as a farmer’s co-operative, owns a big part of Olymel, which claims to be the biggest exporter of pork and poultry in Canada.

In his interview with the local press, Ménard explained that the company negotiators say that they have been told by “those on high” to stick to their guns. “On high?” he asked. “Is that God, Olymel, or the Coop Fédérée?”

... As we go to press the union and company reached an initial agreement.

**Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power**  
by Jack Barnes

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# THE MILITANT

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Striking truck drivers in June 2008 rally in Busan, South Korea.

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# Protests condemn ban on Kurdish party in Turkey

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Protests broke out in southeast Turkey after the country's highest court banned the only Kurdish party in parliament December 11. The court's action stood in contrast to the government's recent steps to remove some of the most severe restrictions on rights of the Kurds as part of Turkey's bid to join the European Union.

A demonstration in the Kurdish city of Diyarbakir December 14 drew thousands. In Istanbul on December 13 a peaceful demonstration by about 200 Kurds was later attacked by Turkish nationalists, some of them armed with guns. On December 15 two demonstrators were shot dead in the town of Bulanik.

The court banned the Democratic Society Party (DTP) following the killing of seven Turkish soldiers by guerrillas of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and demonstrations organized by the DTP to protest the prison conditions of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan.

In addition to the banning order, two DTP deputies were expelled from parliament December 11 and 37 party members were barred from joining any political party for five years.

The court said, "The DTP's closure was decided due to its connections with the terror organization [PKK] and because it became a focal point of the activities against the country's integrity."

Kurds are an oppressed nationality in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. They face pervasive discrimination in jobs, housing, education, and language rights. The PKK, a group of Maoist origins, took up arms in Turkey in 1984 to fight for an independent Kurdistan. The Turkish ruling class responded with a reign of terror in Kurdish communities. Today the PKK calls for negotiations to end the conflict based on granting Kurds autonomy within Turkey.

The DTP denies any connections with the PKK but does advocate including PKK representatives in negotiations to end the 25-year military conflict. Istanbul has rejected talks that would include the PKK.

In an effort to gain admittance to the European Union, Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan has taken some steps to acknowledge basic Kurdish rights. These include the teaching of the Kurdish language at one university and permitting Kurdish prisoners to speak their native tongue during visits by relatives.

Erdogan said December 14, "We are against the closure of parties. We think individuals should be punished."

On December 9 FBI chief Robert Mueller visited Istanbul where he met with top ministers and police officials. According to a press statement by the U.S. embassy, they discussed an "even closer and more effective cooperation in our common struggle against terror and lawbreakers." According to the *Kurdish Globe*, published in Iraqi Kurdistan, Washington has provided Istanbul with surveillance on PKK movements for its air strikes against the guerrillas' camps.

The DTP announced December 14 that all its members of parliament would resign. If their resignations are accepted it could mean new elections are called to fill the empty seats.



Reuters/Osman Orsal

People leave funeral ceremony for Necmi Oral in southeastern Turkish town of Mus December 16. Oral was one of two demonstrators killed in nearby town of Bulanik the day before.

## Solomons medical students to study in Cuba

Continued from front page

placements and meet their costs in Australian medical schools. It's that simple."

ANZ is the largest bank in New Zealand and the fourth largest in Australia. It is the government bank in the Solomons and has interests throughout the Pacific Islands. In August it was fined \$5.75 million by the U.S. Treasury Department for allegedly violating Washington's embargoes against Cuba and Sudan. Bank officials then agreed to take measures to prevent further violations.

The *Solomon Times Online* reported in 2008 that the island nation had only 59 doctors in total, out of a population of about 550,000.

Students from Timor Leste and five Pacific Island nations are also studying in Cuba at the Pacific School of Medicine. They are from Kiribati, Nauru, Tuvalu, Tonga, and Vanuatu. Cuban doctors are in most of these countries. The Cuban government meets the costs of this.

Kiribati provides an example of the enormous impact of this internationalist solidarity. Ten Cuban doctors arrived there in 2006 and one year later the child mortality rate had fallen by 80 percent, from 50 in every 1,000 down to 9.9.

Speaking at a meeting in Auckland September 6, Tim Anderson, a lecturer at the University of Sydney, highlighted

Cuba's extensive assistance to Timor Leste, also known as East Timor.

Between April 2003 and mid-2009 nearly 300 Cuban health workers carried out more than 2.7 million consultations in Timor Leste and saved an estimated 11,406 lives. Many of the doctors work in rural areas that have never before had a resident physician, Anderson explained. About 80 percent of the country's 1.1 million people live in the countryside.

As well as paying for these doctors, the Cuban government provides scholarships for students from Timor to study in Cuba, and has helped set up a medical school in Dili, Timor's capital. This year there were 700 Timorese students enrolled at the faculty in Cuba and 165 in Dili.

Fifty Cubans are also implementing their *Yo Sí Puedo* (I Can Do It) program to teach Timorese to read and write. Timor Leste's adult illiteracy rate is more than 50 percent, and in some remote areas it is as high as 90 percent.

Anderson contrasted Cuba's medical solidarity with the response of the Australian government, which provides a measly 20 scholarships each year for

Timor Leste while the New Zealand government provides 10. Meanwhile, the two imperialist powers have a significant commitment of more than 800 troops and police in Timor.

The Cuban government has offered medical scholarships to other Pacific nations. Radio New Zealand reported in July 2007 that the Australian government warned the government of Papua New Guinea (PNG) "not to recruit Cuban doctors because of Australian fears that it would destabilize security in the Pacific."

An obstetrician from PNG, Gunzee Gawin, said September 22 at a health hearing in Wellington that the risk of a woman dying in childbirth in PNG was one in 20, compared with one in 10,000 in New Zealand. "Three years in Australia I didn't see any single maternal death, I've been two years back home and I've already seen 15," he said.

"Teenage pregnancies are very high. A huge proportion of the maternal deaths are teenagers trying to abort unwanted, unplanned pregnancies," Gawin said, appealing to the New Zealand government for medical funding and training.

## Meeting for death row prisoners

Continued from front page

to End the Death Penalty, urged redoubled efforts to defend Cooper, whose appeal to the Supreme Court was denied on November 30. Cooper was convicted and sentenced to death nearly 25 years ago for the 1983 murders of four people in Chino Hills, near Los Angeles.

In 2004, on the day set for his execution, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals granted Cooper a stay. DNA tests were then carried out that a judge claimed did not exonerate him. In May 2009 the appeals court denied Cooper's request for a rehearing.

Five justices signed a 103-page dissent to that decision, which cites numerous instances of police and prosecutorial misconduct: false testimony, destruction of evidence, and planting of false evidence.

Executions have been on hold in California since 2006, due to chal-

lenges by opponents of the death penalty and others to the lethal injection method used to kill inmates. If this is resolved, the state could set an execution date for Cooper at any time.

Crystal Bybee brought paintings made by Cooper while in jail that she presented on his behalf to Martina Correia and to Angela Davis, another featured speaker at the meeting.

**Support for Mumia Abu-Jamal**

Clarence Thomas, past secretary-treasurer of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, spoke on the need to build union opposition to the death penalty and racist frame-ups. He pointed to the shutdown by the ILWU of West Coast ports to demand freedom for Abu-Jamal in 1999 as an example. Abu-Jamal has been on death row in Pennsylvania after being framed up

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## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Venezuela International Book Fair: **Thirst for Communist Literature.** Speaker: Paul Pederson, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Jan. 3, 2 p.m. 188 W Wyoming Ave. Tel.: (215) 455-2682.

Revolutionary Cuba, Black Liberation, and the International Fight for Workers Power. Speaker: Janet Post, SWP. Sat., Jan. 9, 7:30 p.m. 188 W Wyoming Ave. Tel.: (215) 455-2682.

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# Police use Facebook and Twitter to spy, entrap

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Elliot Madison, a New York social worker, was arrested in Pittsburgh during the September protests at the G20 summit. He was charged with hindering arrests and prosecution, criminal use of a communication facility, and possession of instruments of crime.

What were those instruments? A computer. Madison sent out a message on the social networking site Twitter to other demonstrators that the police had issued an order over radio to disperse. By the cops' twisted reasoning, that apparently meant some protesters didn't get arrested and prosecuted because they received the message and dispersed.

The cops had signed up on the Listserv Madison setup to transmit messages during the protests. They tracked the message to the hotel room where Madison was staying. They burst in, guns drawn, and handcuffed everyone there while they searched the room. Madison was not allowed to see what was in the search warrant. This is but one example

of how the police are increasingly utilizing social networking sites like Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter to conduct surveillance, entrap, and make arrests.

*Newsweek* magazine interviewed Max Kelly, a former FBI computer analyst now in charge of "security" for Facebook. "Kelly estimates police contact Facebook regarding up to half the crimes that attract national media attention," the magazine said. "The company says it tends to cooperate fully and, for the most part, users aren't aware of the 10 to 20 police requests the site gets every day."

The police department in Montgomery County, Maryland, creates fake profiles on Facebook to attract teenagers and learn the location of parties where alcohol might be served to underage youth. Cop William Morrison told *Washingtonian* magazine that when the police raid a party, "they usually ask us how we found out. We say, 'You told us.'"

In Kentucky Ellen Hause, a substi-



Riot police mobilize during protests at September G20 summit in Pittsburgh. Cops arrested Elliot Madison for sending Twitter messages to other protesters.

tute teacher, was sent to jail because of a photo posted on Facebook. It was taken in Hause's home and shows her with her children and their friends. Some of the youth are holding bottles of alcohol. The judge sentenced her to 30 days in jail and barred her from drinking alcohol or having it in her home during her three-year probation.

Bosses are also getting into the act.

In the United Kingdom a man wrote on Facebook, "I Work At Argos and Can't Wait to Leave." The company fired him, claiming that "placing inappropriate entries on Facebook is against our company policy."

Kevin Colvin, a former intern at a U.S. branch of Anglo Irish Bank, emailed his boss telling him he could not come to work the next day because of a family emergency. Colvin was fired after his boss looked at his photos on Facebook and discovered he had attended a party instead.

Kimberley Swann, 16, of Clacton in the United Kingdom was fired after three weeks working at Ivell Marketing & Logistics. Why? "I came home from work one day, sat on the computer and said something about my job being boring," she says. Swann did not mention what company she worked for, but her bosses were checking her Facebook page anyway and spotted her comment.

Nathalie Blanchard of Canada had gone on a medical leave from her job due to depression. Suddenly her sick paycheck stopped coming. When she called the insurer to find out what happened, the agent said he had seen photos on Facebook that showed her at a party, on a vacation, and at a bar. She looked like she was having fun, he said, so she must no longer be depressed.

## Cops charged in cover up of immigrant's killing

Continued from front page

during the attack, said eyewitnesses. At the preliminary hearing, Eileen Burke testified that she heard Piekarsky yell at a friend of Ramírez at the scene, "Tell your . . . Mexican friends to get the f... out of Shenandoah or you'll be laying next to him."

During the trial the prosecution showed a photo of Donchak at a Halloween party three months after Ramírez's death. He was wearing a T-shirt with the words "U.S. Border Patrol" written on it. Donchak had been charged with aggravated assault with a deadly weapon—a metal device in his fist while punching Ramírez.

In May, an all-white jury acquitted Piekarsky of third-degree murder and ethnic intimidation and Donchak of aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation. Both were convicted of simple assault, a misdemeanor, and are in the Schuylkill County Prison. Piekarsky is scheduled to be released in December.

Following the federal indictments, Crystal Dillman, who was the fiancée of Ramírez, said in a statement, "I truly believe in my heart that Luis can now rest a bit more peacefully knowing that these criminals and accomplices are being charged."

Thomas Saenz, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), said in a press release, "These indictments are an encouraging step toward obtaining a measure of justice for the victims of this heinous crime—Luis Ramírez and

his surviving loved ones." MALDEF organized support for Ramírez's family during the trial. After the verdicts, the

organization led a national petitioning campaign asking the U.S. Department of Justice to further investigate the case.



Protest of killing of Mexican immigrant Luis Ramírez in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, August 2008. Second from right is Ramírez's fiancée Crystal Dillman.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



January 11, 1985

PRICE, Utah—Nineteen members of United Mine Workers of America Local 2176, and eight company executives and foremen, were killed by a fire that started Dec. 19, 1984, at the Wilberg mine outside Orangeville, Utah. The mine is located in the main coal-producing region in the southeastern part of the state.

The bodies of the 26 men and one woman remain inside the mine despite attempts to rescue them. On December 23 rescue teams were evacuated from the mine on the order of federal mine inspectors as explosive gases reached a dangerous level. On December 29 the mine portals were sealed.

The dead miners were all working in a section of the mine where a longwall, the most modern and mechanized machine for producing coal, was in use. The company was attempting to achieve a 24-hour world production record at the time of the fire.



January 4, 1960

Variations of the policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," has dominated the politics of American union leaders since the time of Samuel Gompers, when it was openly proclaimed as the policy best suited to the needs of the working people.

With the expansion of American industry, the growth of the unions, the increasing intervention of the government in labor-management disputes—especially with the advent of Roosevelt's New Deal—the policy underwent a subtle transformation. Organized labor became part of a coalition within the Democratic party. To reward "friends" and punish "enemies" was transmuted into supporting Democrats as against Republicans for public office.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the labor-Democratic coalition has led to a series of defeats for the unions in the political arena.



January 5, 1935

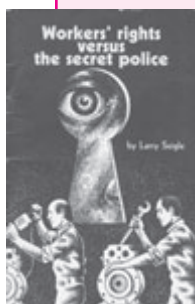
The Japanese denunciation of the Washington Naval Treaty at the close of 1934 was a bold stroke to overcome the obstacles placed in her way by American and British imperialism. The struggle for the markets and raw materials of the Orient, especially China, is of primary importance to these three powers. At the present juncture this struggle revolves around the question of the naval strength of the Big Three. With the rejection of the 5-5-3 ratio a new naval race begins. It will go a long way in determining who is to control the gateway to the Chinese waters.

If Japan succeeds with her naval policy a gigantic step forward in the further penetration of China is assured. But the United States will not concede, nor will Britain. Already we hear that the president plans to recommend increased naval and military appropriations. Japan's aim is naval supremacy in the Eastern area.

### Workers' Rights vs. the Secret Police

by Larry Seigle  
How, since the inception of the modern revolutionary workers movement in 1848, the ruling classes have responded with police spies, agents, provocateurs, and political frame-ups. —\$5

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# Lessons from the 1925–27 revolution in China

Printed below is an excerpt from Leon Trotsky on China, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for January. In articles and letters compiled in this book Trotsky explains that the 1925–27 revolutionary upsurge in China opened the possibility for working people in that country to take political power and follow the road of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Trotsky was a central leader of the Bolshevik Revolution. But the revolt in China was crushed by Chiang Kai-shek and his bourgeois and landlord allies. A central cause of the defeat was the disastrous course of Joseph Stalin in subordinating the Chinese Communist Party to an alliance with the capitalist Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). Trotsky sought to lead a fight against this course as the piece below, written on Sept. 27, 1926, explains. Copyright © 1976 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY LEON TROTSKY

Facts and documents from the political life of China in the recent period provide an absolutely indisputable answer to the problem of further relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The revolution-



Rally in Guangzhou (Canton), China, Dec. 12, 1927. With rising strike wave in China, Trotsky wrote, the immediate political task of the Chinese Communist Party was to break with the Kuomintang and “fight for direct independent leadership of the awakened working class.”

ary struggle in China has, since 1925, entered a new phase, which is characterized above all by the active intervention of broad layers of the proletariat, by strikes and the formation of trade unions. The peasants are unquestionably being drawn into motion to an increasing degree. At the same time, the commercial bourgeoisie, and the elements of the intelligentsia linked with it, are breaking off to the right, assuming a hostile attitude toward strikes, communists, and the USSR.

It is quite clear that in the light of these fundamental facts the question of revising relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang must necessarily be raised. The attempt to avoid such a revision by claiming that national-colonial oppression in China requires the permanent entry of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang cannot stand up under criticism. At one time, the Western European opportunists used to demand that we Russian Social Democrats should work in the same organization not only with the Social Revolutionaries but also with the “Liberationists” on the grounds that we were all engaged in the struggle against tsarism. On the other hand, with regard to British India or the Dutch Indies, the very question of the Communist Party entering the national-revolutionary organizations does not arise. As far as China is con-

cerned, the solution to the problem of relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang differs at different periods of the revolutionary movement. The main criterion for us is not the constant fact of national oppression but the changing course of the class struggle, both within Chinese society and along the line of encounter between the classes and parties of China and imperialism.

The leftward movement of the masses of Chinese workers is as certain a fact as the rightward movement of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Insofar as the Kuomintang has been based on the political and organizational union of the workers and the bourgeoisie, it must now be torn apart by the centrifugal tendencies of the class struggle. There are no magic political formulas or clever tactical devices to counter these trends, nor can there be.

The participation of the CCP in the Kuomintang was perfectly correct in the period when the CCP was a propaganda society which was only preparing itself for future *independent* political activity but which, at the same time, sought to take part in the ongoing national liberation struggle. The last two years have seen the rise of a mighty strike wave among the Chinese workers. The CCP report estimates that the trade unions during this period have drawn in some 1.2 million workers. Exaggeration in

such matters is of course inevitable. Moreover, we know how unstable new union organizations are in situations of constant ebb and flow. But the fact of the Chinese proletariat's mighty awakening, its desire for struggle and for independent class organization, is absolutely undeniable.

This very fact confronts the CCP with the task of graduating from the preparatory class it now finds itself in to a higher grade. Its immediate political task must now be to fight for direct independent leadership of the awakened working class—not of course in order to remove the working class from the framework of the national-revolutionary struggle, but to assure it the role of not only the most resolute fighter, but also of political leader with hegemony in the struggle of the Chinese masses.

Those who favor the CCP's remaining in the Kuomintang argue that “the predominant role of the petty bourgeoisie in the composition of the Kuomintang makes it possible for us to work within the party for a prolonged period on the basis of our own politics.” This argument is fundamentally unsound. The petty bourgeoisie, by itself, however numerous it may be, cannot decide the main line of revolutionary policy. The differentiation of the political struggle along class lines, the sharp divergence between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, implies a struggle between them for influence over the petty bourgeoisie, and it implies the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie between the merchants, on the one hand, and the workers and communists, on the other. To think that the petty bourgeoisie can be won over by clever maneuvers or good advice within the Kuomintang is hopeless utopianism. The Communist Party will be more able to exert direct and indirect influence upon the petty bourgeoisie of town and country the stronger the party is itself, that is, the more it has won over the Chinese working class. But that is possible only on the basis of an independent class party and class policy.

January

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# Salute fighting workers behind bars

We extend holiday greetings this week to the 2.3 million fellow workers behind bars in the United States, which has the highest incarceration rate in the world. Including all those on probation or parole, 1 out of every 31 adults is entangled in the American “justice” system.

We salute Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, René González, and Fernando González, five Cuban revolutionaries unjustly held in U.S. jails for 11 years now. As a result they are, not by choice, on the front lines of the class struggle in the United States. These working-class fighters were arrested for monitoring right-wing Cuban-American groups in south Florida that have carried out armed attacks on Cuba with Washington’s support. Framed up on charges ranging from “conspiracy to commit espionage” to “conspiracy to commit murder,” three initially got life terms and one, Gerardo Hernández, continues to serve a double life sentence. The international campaign to win their release has forced the U.S. government to back down and reduce the sentences for three of these fighters. In the coming year we can build on that momentum to press for the freedom of the five.

Carlos Alberto Torres and Oscar López Rivera, both incarcerated for nearly 30 years, and Avelino González Claudio are three Puerto Rican independence fighters also behind bars, jailed for opposing the U.S. colonial subjugation of their homeland. Native American activist Leonard Peltier has entered his 32nd year of prison on frame-up charges of killing two FBI agents.

Disbarred civil liberties attorney Lynne Stewart sits in a New York City jail awaiting resentencing on her conviction of “conspiracy to provide material support to terrorist activity” by sending out a press release for an imprisoned client. Her case is a reminder of the growing number of prosecutions in U.S. courts based on “terrorist” and “conspiracy” charges.

The rulers will use this kind of charge more widely against worker militants as resistance grows to the impact of the capitalist economic crisis. Donnie Thornsbury, former president of United Mine Workers Local 2496 who remains behind bars today, reminds us of

this. He was convicted in 1987 on frame-up charges of killing a scab coal hauler during a 1984–85 strike against the A.T. Massey Coal Company.

The cases of Troy Davis, Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Kevin Cooper are at the center of the fight against the death penalty, a weapon of terror in the hands of the capitalist class. Davis, a Black man, has been on death row since 1991, framed up for killing a cop. The majority of non-police witnesses who testified against Davis have recanted, but he is still being denied a new trial. Abu-Jamal, a Black rights activist framed up for killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981, remains on death row despite the fact that a federal court has overturned the death sentence in his case. Cooper is facing execution in California for murder based on “evidence” the police had tampered with, according to a state forensics expert. In 2009 there were 52 executions—more than in 2008 or 2007.

We also greet all those inmates jailed through sweeps by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency (ICE), as the Obama administration intensifies attacks on the rights of the undocumented.

The U.S. prison system is a fitting symbol of what the dictatorship of capital means for working people—from its shackling of women inmates during childbirth to its abuse of teenagers in juvenile detention centers. Guantánamo is not an aberration but an extension of the prison system at home.

The *Militant* is proud to offer complementary or reduced-rate subscriptions to men and women behind bars. Requests from prisoners for subscriptions have increased this year. To our prisoner readers and others, spread the word so other inmates can also get subscriptions. Contribute to the Militant Prisoners’ Fund so we can continue this working-class tradition.

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# Meeting to free death-row prisoners

## Continued from page 3

for the 1981 murder of a cop in Philadelphia. Earlier this year the U.S. Supreme Court declined to consider an appeal by Abu-Jamal, letting the murder conviction stand. The appeal was based on the unfair exclusion of many Blacks from the jury.

Prosecutors continue to try to reinstate the death sentence against Abu-Jamal, following an appeals court order in 2008 for a new capital sentencing hearing over improper instructions to the jury.

# German rulers plan cuts to social wage

## Continued from front page

cause of mounting debts and a deficit four times above the EU-required 3 percent limit.

In presenting the 2010 draft budget to Chancellor Angela Merkel’s cabinet December 16, Schäuble expressed hopes that the economic crisis in Germany would soon be winding down. According to the *Financial Times*, he said that Germany is heading for a severe fiscal crackdown once the economic crisis is over. Reducing the budget deficit will “not be achieved with the conventional instruments,” he added.

Schäuble didn’t elaborate upon what unconventional measures the government would take, but the message was clear that social services for working people would be targeted for cuts.

Germany’s constitution requires a balanced federal budget by 2016 with debts to be reduced to 0.35 percent of GDP. This requires large spending cuts starting in 2011 for at least each of the next five years.

Among the programs currently on the chopping block is government funding to maintain workers on the payroll through shorter work weeks instead of lay-

offs. Government subsidies for this will end next year. According to the Ifo Institute for Economic Research in Munich, this will eliminate the jobs of 350,000 workers, raising the unemployment rate to 8.3 percent in 2010 from 7.9 percent this year. The Bundesbank predicts unemployment will rise from 3.4 million this year to 3.8 million in 2010.

The demand for industrial products from Germany collapsed at the end of 2008 and early 2009, with orders falling in February to a 10-year low. At the same time exports, a major component of the German economy, fell sharply. While exports have risen by about 12 percent from the low point in April, in October they were still almost 16 percent lower than a year earlier.

In October, employment in manufacturing dropped 4.6 percent. This included a 4.7 percent decline in the car industry, 5.1 percent in machinery, and 6.7 percent in the metal industry.

Against the backdrop of government demands for cutbacks, the Vendi union in Germany is demanding a 5 percent pay raise for about 2 million government workers. Negotiations are due to start in January.

# War in Pakistan

## Continued from front page

of the region. But North Waziristan—where the U.S. strikes have focused since the offensive began—has been exempt from Pakistani operations and remains a sanctuary for two major armed Islamist groups.

In North Waziristan the Pakistani government maintains a peace agreement with Pakistan-based Taliban forces led by Hafiz Gul Bahadur. The Pakistani government has also denied Washington’s requests to turn its army against Siraj Haqqani, who commands one of the main forces at war with U.S.-led troops across the border in Afghanistan.

Facing widespread opposition among Pakistanis against the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, top Pakistani government and military officials have resisted pressure from Washington to expand its war at this time. “We’re committed to this war, but we’ll fight it on our terms,” a Pakistani intelligence official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, told the *Washington Post*. “We’ll prioritize targets based on our interests. We don’t want them to be dictated to us.”

U.S. and Pakistani intelligence agencies supported the Haqqani group with arms and money in the 1980s when it fought as part of the rightist Mujahideen forces against the Soviet army in Afghanistan. The Haqqani network later allied itself with the Taliban movement after the Taliban wrested control over most of Afghanistan in the mid-1990s.

The Pakistani government continued to back Haqqani along with the Taliban as proxy forces in its contest with India over influence in Afghanistan. Islamabad may still consider these forces potential assets, as the contest between the two rivals over Afghanistan is once again heating up.

A key aspect of Washington’s Afghan war strategy hinges on calming hostilities between the capitalist rulers in Pakistan and India in order to reduce the Pakistani military’s focus on its rivalry with India. To this end, Washington has sought ways to encourage resolution to conflicts between the two nuclear powers.

Top Pakistani officials have leveraged this to press for U.S. support in resolving the territorial conflict with India over Kashmir to Islamabad’s favor and curbing growing Indian economic and political influence in Afghanistan. They have also accused New Delhi of aiding the Baloch separatists’ insurgency in Pakistan’s Balochistan Province.

## Anti-U.S. sentiment

The top echelons of the Pakistani military and government appear committed to Islamabad’s alliance with Washington, albeit on their own terms. But widespread anti-U.S. sentiment among the population and government bureaucracy remains strong and has been exacerbated by the expansion of U.S. military operations in the country.

At least 135 U.S. diplomats have been refused visa extensions, leaving parts of the U.S. embassy short-handed at a time when the White House is planning to increase embassy staff from 500 to 800 over the next 18 months, reports the *New York Times*.

“Unfortunately, the Americans are arrogant,” a Pakistani security official told the *Times*. “They think of themselves as omnipotent. That’s how they come across.”

Husain Haqqani, the Pakistani ambassador to the United States, denied there was any general harassment campaign against U.S. diplomats, attributing visa denials to the bureaucratic process and a sharp increase in requests.

Meanwhile, the end of a political amnesty law for politicians and government functionaries reveals a deep factionalism in the Pakistan ruling class and a weakening of President Asif Ali Zardari’s government. The U.S.-brokered National Reconciliation Ordinance—set up in 2007 to allow former prime minister Benazir Bhutto and her husband Zardari to return to Pakistan—was annulled December 16. As many as 8,000 corruption charges could now be reopened against officials, including the president himself.

Nearly 250 government officials were immediately put on an “exit control list.” An arrest warrant was issued for Interior Minister Rehman Malik and Defense Minister Ahmed Mukhtar was blocked from boarding an airplane to China where he was to close a warship deal with Beijing.