### **INSIDE**

Sao Paulo Forum discusses struggle against imperialism

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPL

VOL. 81/NO. 30 AUGUST 14, 2017

# SWP takes its socialist program to working class

BY KEVIN DWIRE

MINNEAPOLIS — "A working class campaign? That's me! It seems all I do is work," Porsche Chasman told David Rosenfeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, when he knocked on her door and introduced himself and his party July 29. The 26-year-old postal worker invited Rosenfeld and campaigner Jacquie Henderson into her north Minneapolis home to talk some more.

"Under capitalism it's dog eat dog, every man for himself," said Rosenfeld. "They want us to look at fellow workers as the problem, not the capitalists who exploit us and push us further into misery. We have to change all that. We're the only class that can."

"I'd like to see that happen," replied Chasman. "But how can we do that? We spend so much of our energy just trying to get through the complications of the day."

"We have to struggle together Continued on page 3

# Protest US attacks on Venezuelan sovereignty!

BY SETH GALINSKY

Demanding Washington keep its hands off Venezuela, Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Affairs July 31 said, "Only Venezuelans can decide how to resolve their problems and chart their future."

Against strong objection by Washington and the Venezuelan opposition, the Venezuelan government of President Nicolás Maduro conducted a vote July 30 to elect a Constituent Assembly. Washington responded by imposing sanctions on Maduro — freezing assets, if any, he may have in the U.S. Washington had sanctioned 13 other officials in the run-up to the vote.

"Yesterday's illegitimate elections confirm that Maduro is a dictator who disregards the will of the Venezuelan people," claimed Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin at a White House press briefing. The governments of Canada, Britain, Spain, the European

# Texas gov't launches new attacks



Nathan Lambrecht/The Monitor

Defenders of abortion rights face opponent of right to choose, holding rosary at clinic in McAllen, Texas, Jan. 21, 2017. Texas governor signed new anti-abortion law June 6.

### BY LEA SHERMAN

Texas lawmakers have launched a new round of attacks on women's rights, passing a number of anti-abortion bills to deny women the right to choose or have access to abortion.

On June 6 Texas Gov. Greg Abbott enthusiastically signed a law banning all abortions performed by dilation and evacuation, the safest and most common method of second trimester abortion. The law, which goes into effect Sept. 1, also prevents women from donating fetal remains for scientific research and requires all abortion clinics to dispose of any fetal remains by paying for a burial or cremation.

Planned Parenthood and the Center for Reproductive Rights filed a lawsuit July 20 seeking to block provisions of the law. Seven other state legislatures have passed similar restrictions.

"The law we challenged today in Continued on page 3

# End US economic war against people of Cuba



AP/Ramon Espinos

Celebration in Pinar del Río, Cuba, July 26, on anniversary of opening of the Cuban Revolution with the 1953 attack on the Batista dictatorship's Moncada military barracks.

# Celebrations in Cuba, U.S. mark Cuban Revolution

**BY JIM BRADLEY** 

Tens of thousands gathered in Cuba's western city of Pinar del Rio July 26 to celebrate the 64th anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel Céspedes garrisons by Fidel Castro and other young Cuban revolutionaries that marked the opening of the revolutionary struggle culminating in the 1959 overthrow of the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship.

Supporters of the revolution in the United States and other countries also organized meetings and other events to commemorate the revolution, protest continuing efforts by Washington to attack it, and build the fall "In the Footsteps of Che Guevara International Brigade" to Cuba.

Castro was captured in the Monca-Continued on page 7

# SWP: Emulate example of the Cuban Revolution!

The following statement was released Aug. 2 by Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle.

The Cuban Revolution is living proof that working people can unite, organize, fight, transform ourselves in struggle,

# SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STATEMENT

take political power from the propertied rulers and begin to build a society qualitatively different from dog-eat-dog capitalism — a socialist society based on human solidarity.

This is the significance of the celebrations in Cuba, the U.S. and elsewhere marking the anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel

Continued on page 9

# Drive to impeach Donald Trump reflects political crisis of US rulers

### BY SETH GALINSKY AND JOHN STUDER

In their relentless furor to bring down the presidency of Donald Trump, liberal Democrats and their media cohorts, some Republicans and most middleclass left groups have latched onto the recent staff changes and disorganization in the administration to boost their clamor.

"The White House is imploding," screams the headline in a July 28 column by Ruth Marcus in the *Washington Post*. The only "remaining mystery is how, when and how badly this disaster of a presidency will end," she claims.

"Trump Tries to Regroup As the West Wing Battles Itself," is the headline in an

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# Inside

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Sign up for 'In Footsteps of Che' brigade to Cuba!

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West Papua miners strike to defend jobs, union rights UK rail workers strike against

crew size cuts

# **Manchester: Protests hit** arson attack on mosque

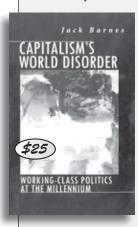
BY DAG TIRSÉN

MANCHESTER, England — After the Nasfat Islamic Centre was gutted here by an arson attack July 16, some 200 people joined a "Peace walk" five days later condemning the anti-Muslim attack. The mosque is used largely by working people originally from Nigeria.

The arsonists had smashed a window in the back of the mosque, poured in an accelerant, and started the fire. Three classrooms used by children were destroyed and the rest of the building was severely damaged. No one was inside at the time.

# Capitalism's World **Disorder**

by Jack Barnes



"A new pattern is being woven in struggle today as working people emerge from a period of retreat. The emerging pattern is taking shape, defined by the actions of a vanguard whose ranks increase with

every single worker or farmer who reaches out to others with the hand of solidarity and offers to fight to-

pathfinderpress.com

"Those who did this think we are going away," Monsurat Adebanjo-Aremu, secretary of the Nasfat Manchester branch, told the Militant. "But we are not. We're staying."

"This is a blow to the whole community the mosque is a part of," she said. "We have a drop-in center for everybody to come in and activities for children in the area."

Neighbors brought food and water to mosque members after the attack, she said. And there have been a few hostile comments as well.

The mosque has been attacked several times. In September 2014, a minibus belonging to the mosque, used to carry children and the elderly, was set on fire. A year later a second fire was put out before it caused any damage. The surveillance cameras set up by the mosque have been destroyed four times, and two pig's heads had been thrown inside.

"We are bitter at the police. When our bus was burnt, they didn't take it seriously," Adebanjo-Aremu said. "A police officer came and took the details and then we didn't hear anything from them. And no one was charged."

The march wound through the Manchester working-class suburb of Newton Heath where the mosque is located. Participants included not only people from the Nasfat and other mosques, but a Christian priest, a Sikh, Jews, Communist League members, members of the Manchester City Council, area residents and other working people.

A banner reading "WeStandTogether" led the march and many par-



Some 200 people joined march July 21 against arson attack on Nasfat mosque in Manchester, England, five days earlier. Participants included Christians, Jews and other workers in area.

ticipants wore T-shirts saying, "Islam is for peace. Say no to terrorism. Say no to bullying. Say no to hate crime. Nasfat Manchester."

"I came to express my solidarity with Nasfat," said Jay Charara, who joined the march along with three others members of the Jewish Representative Council. "In the Jewish community we understand the effect of hate crime. The firebombings in Prestwich are still in our mind."

In early June, 10 days after an Islamic State supporter carried out a terror bombing that killed two dozen people at an Ariana Grande concert in Manchester, two kosher restaurants in Prestwich, a Jewish area in north Manchester, were gutted by firebombs.

"Whoever did this didn't count on a march like this happening," Abiola Ojo, former chair of Manchester Nasfat, told Communist League member Pete Clifford. "We're determined our mosque will stay here."

"The police and government will focus the blame for this attack on Caucasian people living in the area. They'll try to draw our eyes off our common class interests and divide us against each other," Clifford said. "My party explains the dog-eat-dog capitalist system is in the midst of a deepening crisis today, and working people need to unite and support each other, so we can chart a road to fight back against the devastating conditions we all face."

Some groups on the left echo the rulers' efforts to blame Caucasian workers for the attacks on Muslims, Clifford said. "The mosque is isolated in a poor area with an active far right," the Socialist Worker said, as if this meant they were responsible for the attack. The article also cited the "high level of unemployment" and "few migrants" in the area as causes. The presence of a British flag and a rightist slogan in a neighborhood window is also presented as evidence.

But when campaigners for the Communist League went door to door in the working-class and predominantly Caucasian area near the mosque, to introduce the League and discuss the arson attack, they found broad opposition to the assault on the mosque. They also found a few workers who were critical of the mosque being located in the area.

The CL members also went to show solidarity with striking building maintenance workers nearby, and discussed the arson at the mosque. Keith Morris, one of the strikers, decided to visit the mosque and donated £50 (\$66). "I gave the strike pay that I received for that day to show my sympathy and support," he said.

# THE MILITANT

# Fight for medical care, not medical insurance!

The 'Militant' explains workers need health care, not insurance. To win free, lifelong medical care, working people must fight for government-funded health care on the road towards taking political power. Socialist Cuba shows that genuine health care for workers is possible.



Thousands of working people turn out for free medical care July 22 in Wise, Virginia.

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

# SWP takes program to workers

**Continued from front page** 

against the brutal attacks coming down on us as a class," Rosenfeld said. "In the process we begin to learn our own worth, to look to ourselves as a class for strength."

Chasman, who signed the petition to place the SWP candidate on the ballot, asked Rosenfeld and Henderson to come back later in the week to talk more when she has the money to get a copy of Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

SWP members and supporters across the country are stepping up efforts to get out into working-class neighborhoods near and far to discuss what our class faces today and the party's program and activities. They're introducing the Workers Power book, as well as Are They Rich Because They're Smart? and The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record, also by Barnes, and Is Socialist Revolution in the US Possible? by SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters, and expanding the reach of the *Militant*. Most importantly, they're looking for people who want to talk, study and do things together to build a revolutionary working-class

Over the week SWP supporters sold 16 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 22 campaign books in the Minneapolis area. They also gathered another 154 signatures to put the SWP campaign on the ballot, raising the total to 485 toward the goal of getting 750, well over the requirement. SWP campaigners are planning a big weekend for August 5-6 to complete the ballot effort.

"When is the next meeting I can attend?" Floyd Lewis, a retired welder, asked campaigners Rose Engstrom and Kofi Komla July 30 after they talked for awhile about the need for workers to unite in struggle to end the dictatorship of capital.

"This gives me a lot to think about," said Lewis. "It would be great if we can come together for a government of the people." He bought Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power and signed the petition to put Rosenfeld on the ballot.

"I support Trump. Things are bad and have to change," a former masonry worker named Brad, who said he had to retire after hurting his back, told Engstrom. "I don't know if he will help, but he is a start." After more discussion about the SWP's working-class perspectives he signed the petition and picked up a subscription to the Militant.

"I'd like to see Cuba and learn how they changed the priorities of the country with the revolution so that I can come back and work to do that here," said Delinia Parris, a food bank worker from St. Paul, after hearing about the "In the Footsteps of Che International Brigade" to Cuba from SWP campaigners who knocked on her door. "If I can't go this time, I'd like to help raise money for someone else who can." She got a Militant subscription and Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power."

### BY ELLEN BRICKLEY

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — When Maggie Trowe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Albany, New York, and I spoke with Lucy Colon on her porch here July 30, Colon said she especially liked the Militant article on the deepening crisis in health care under capitalism and bought a subscription.



David Rosenfeld, center, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, and campaign supporter Kofi Komla, right, speak with Mohamed Shein on his doorstep July 30.

"I have Massachusetts state health care, but it doesn't cover medications," the patient care assistant and mother of four children told us. "I have to take medicine to control a benign brain tumor, but the four pill monthly dose costs \$382. I can't afford that!"

"Health care in the U.S. is a capitalist business," Trowe replied. "The two parties that represent the rulers debate over different plans, but they all benefit the profit-hungry insurance, hospital and pharmaceutical bosses. They don't care if we live or die."

Trowe explained how workers and farmers in Cuba transformed themselves as they overthrew capitalism and the U.S.-backed dictatorship in 1959 and allocated the social surplus working people produce to provide health care for all. "I'm going on the brigade to Cuba in October to learn more firsthand about the revolution there and how we can make a revolution here," she said. "Send me information about that brigade," Colon replied. "I'd like to go

Milly Guzman, a Puerto Ricanborn worker from Hartford, Connecticut, and her daughter Amanda joined Trowe campaigning door to door. Guzman explained why workers should oppose the U.S.-imposed Financial Oversight and Management Board in Puerto Rico that is driving the government there to make deeper and deeper cuts in public employees' wages, pensions, health care and other services to pay investors and speculators who have bought up Puerto Rico's bonds.

Esperanza Medina, 66, a retired dishwasher born in Puerto Rico, told Trowe and Guzman about how she worked seven-day weeks for \$5.25 an hour in Pennsylvania and was never able to make ends meet.

"The bosses want cheap labor," Guzman said. "They try to solve their economic crisis on our backs."

"My mother, who has cancer, lives in Arroyo, Puerto Rico," Medina said. "Her gas and electricity was cut off as part of the government's budget cuts."

"The working class in the United States must oppose the super-exploitation of Puerto Rican workers both here and in Puerto Rico," Trowe said, "as part of unifying working people and building a mass movement that will become capable of taking power."

# Texas gov't launches new attacks on abortion rights

### Continued from front page

Texas is part of a nationwide scheme to undermine these constitutional rights and ban abortion one restriction at a time," Nancy Northrup, president of the Center for Reproductive Rights, told the press.

According to the Guttmacher Institute, legislators in six states this year introduced "measures to ban all abortions, and in 28 states to ban abortions under some circumstances." Major restrictions have been adopted in 11 states.

Abbott called a special session of the legislature that began July 18 to adopt more laws to prevent women from ending an unwanted pregnancy. The Senate has approved two bills now heading to the House. One bans insurance plans from covering abortions and the other prevents any government funds from going to affiliates of abortion providers that do not offer the procedure.

"They want to close down the Planned Parenthood in Austin that does not perform abortions," Lexie Cooper, president of the Austin chapter of the National Organization for Women, told the Militant Aug. 1.

This facility provides other services, including birth control as well as cancer and HIV screening. Shutting down Planned Parenthood "hurts the most vulnerable, low-income women," Cooper said. At the same time, "there's been an explosion of so-called crisis pregnancy centers. They get government funds, tax dollars, but their aim is to prevent women from getting an abortion. They give false information like abortions cause cancer."

A number of previous Texas government attacks on women's access to abortion have been reversed. In June 2016, after a three-year legal battle, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a Texas law requiring any doctor who performs abortions to have admitting privileges at a local hospital and demanding abortion clinics meet hospital-like standards.

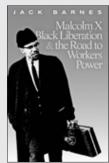
This was a victory, but over half the

40 clinics in Texas closed in the meantime. Only four have reopened.

By 2014 no clinics provided abortions in 96 percent of Texas counties. This situation falls particularly hard on women from the working class and from families on farms and in rural towns.

A new 2017 Pew Research poll found that 57 percent of all adults, as high as it has been in two decades, support legal abortion in all or most cases.

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# Iraq: Kurdish independence referendum faces US opposition

**BY JIM BRADLEY** 

The leaders of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq are pressing ahead with plans for a Sept. 25 independence referendum, despite opposition from Washington, Baghdad, Tehran, Ankara and other Mideast capitals.

At the same time, the Kurdish Democratic Northern Syria Federal System Constituent Assembly, whose armed forces are leading the drive to take the city of Raqqa from the reactionary Islamic State, have called for elections in communes, town and village administrations and for national parliament from September to January.

This move was strongly opposed by the dictatorial Syrian government of Bashar al-Assad, which declared them "illegal."

The backdrop for these developments are the continuing wars in Iraq, unleashed by Washington's interventions and exacerbated by the bitter social and political divisions based on religious privilege in Iraq, and the seven-yearlong Syrian civil war.

In 2011, Assad brutally crushed widespread popular mobilizations for democratic rights in Syria and against his regime. Tens of thousands were killed, or jailed and tortured.

Since then more than 400,000 people have been killed and over half of Syria's 22 million people driven from their homes, creating a catastrophe for working people.

The unintended consequences of these developments have been the emergence of strong, disciplined and wellarmed Kurdish forces with control over most of the Kurdish regions in both countries.

Lacking any other viable alternative on the ground, the Washington-led anti-Islamic State coalition maintains a tactical alliance with both the KRG's peshmerga and the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) in Syria in the fight to push back IS and defend the imperial interests of the U.S. rulers in the region.

Opposition to Kurdish independence or autonomy by the capitalist rulers in Damascus and Baghdad is rooted is deep fears of the effects on their rule, and fears in Tehran and Ankara of their inspiring renewed moves for independence by Kurds under their rule.

Washington wants the KRG to put off any referendum, at least until sometime in 2018 after the Iraqi general election.

"Having a referendum on such a fast

# -MILITANT LABOR FORUMS-

**GEORGIA** 

Atlanta

U.S. Hands Off Venezuela! Speaker: Susan LaMont, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 11, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 777 Cleveland Ave. SW Suite 103. Tel.: (678) 528-7828.

## **UNITED KINGDOM**

Manchester

Gains in Fight for Women's Right to Choose Abortion Strengthen the Working Class. Speaker: Caroline Bellamy, Communist League. Fri., Aug. 11, 7 p.m. Donation: £2.50. Room 301, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St. M1 2EH. Tel.: (0161) 478-2496.

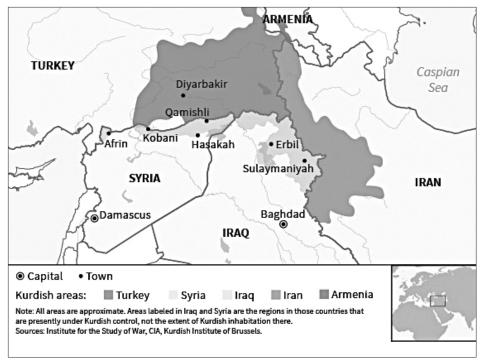
timeline, particularly in disputed areas would be, we think, significantly destabilizing," Brett McGurk, U.S. envoy to the U.S.-led Global Coalition against Islamic State recently told the Kurdish newspaper *Rudaw*. One of the disputed areas is the oil-rich city and region of Kirkuk, taken by the peshmerga in 2014 after Bahgdad's forces fled in face of an IS offensive.

Speaking at his weekly press conference July 25, Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi said that the KRG referendum is "unconstitutional and illegitimate," and "we will not deal with it" or recognize the results.

Addressing a Washington conference July 28, Chancellor of the Kurdistan Regional Security Council Masrour Barzani reminded the gathering of "all these atrocities that the [Kurdish] people had been through, all these chemical bombardments and the infamous Anfal operations."

During the Saddam Hussein regime's 1988 Anfal campaign tens of thousands of Kurds in northern Iraq were slaughtered — many with chemical weapons. At the time Washington was backing Saddam's regime in its war against Iran, seeking to do damage to the continuing legacy of mass working-class radicalization that followed the overthrow of the U.S.-backed shah in 1979.

The deadliest attack was in Halabja in March 1988, when Iraqi warplanes dropped mustard gas and the deadly nerve gas sarin. Some 5,000 people — mainly women and children — were



Map of Kurdish areas in Middle East. The 30 million Kurds are largest nationality in world without their own state. Washington and most capitalist powers in the region oppose their struggle.

killed and thousands more died from the effects years later. Survivors of these attacks were driven from their villages, which were burned to the ground while Washington looked the other way.

"When is the right time?" Masrour Barzani said in Washington. "We think the time has come," referring to the scheduled referendum.

About 30 million Kurds inhabit a large contiguous region that spans the borders of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, the largest nationality in the world without a state.

The Turkish government accuses the YPG of being terrorists allied with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has fought the Turkish rulers for over 30 years in the name of Kurdish national rights. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan says he will never allow a

Kurdish state on Turkey's border.

Moscow, which has had a consul in the KRG capital Erbil since 2007, recently signed deals for Kurdistan oil — a 20-year-long deal with the Russian state company Rosneft. It includes an investment of \$3 billion in KRG territory, added to a February deal to purchase up to a million barrels of oil per day through 2019. Moscow, Washington and Ankara are now all players in the Kurdistan oil market.

"We see the referendum as the expression of the ambitions of the Kurdish people," Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov told *Rudaw* in a July 24 interview. But, in no uncertain terms, Lavrov warns the KRG leaders against taking any steps to transform that "expression" into actual moves to independence.

# Terror attacks on Jews blow to Palestinian struggle

BY SETH GALINSKY

Palestinian college student Omar al-Abed, 19, from the West Bank village of Khobar, walked to the nearby Israeli settlement of Halamish on July 21 and stabbed three members of a Jewish family to death during their Sabbath dinner. The brutal terror attack came in the midst of a series of protests on the West Bank around the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. "All I have is a sharpened knife," he wrote before the attack, "and it answers the call of Al-Aqsa."

The protests began after three Palestinian Israeli citizens killed two police officers July 14 in a terror attack near the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Israeli government responded by closing off all access to the religious complex — one of the three most important sites to followers of Islam.

The two slain police officers, Hael Sathawi, 30, and Kamil Shanan, 22, are Druze, an Arabic-speaking minority of more than 100,000 in Israel.

After the attack the Israeli government closed off the site. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ordered metal detectors, railings and cameras installed.

Sami Abu Zhouri, a spokesperson for Hamas, the reactionary Islamist group that rules the Gaza Strip, hailed the terror attack in Jerusalem, calling it "a natural response to Israeli terrorism and the desecration of the Al-Aqsa Mosque." The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine said it was "a qualitative achievement in the resistance of the Palestinian people against the occupation."

In a phone call with Netanyahu, Mahmoud Abbas, president of the Palestinian Authority that governs the Israeli-occupied West Bank, condemned the attack, but demanded that Israeli authorities immediately reopen the mosque.

After two weeks of sizable protests, with thousands of Muslims praying in the streets near the mosque, Israeli authorities reopened access and took down fencing, metal detectors and surveillance cameras they had installed.

But the lack of a revolutionary leadership in the region capable of charting a working-class road forward remains.

This is shown in the refusal of any Palestinian leadership to recognize the right of Israel to exist and the policies and actions of the Israeli government. Tel Aviv treats Palestinians within its borders as second-class citizens and prevents Palestinians on the West Bank from winning a contiguous, viable homeland.

The killings are the latest in a wave of terror attacks on Jews that began in late 2015. From October 2015 to March 2016 there were 100 attacks on Jews a month, mostly by young Palestinians from the West Bank and East Jerusalem. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, there were 21 "significant" attacks on Israelis in April and May this year.

At the same time, more than 200 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli forces mostly while carrying out attacks on Jews. At least 60 of the Palestinians were killed during demonstrations against Israeli policies.

After seizing control of East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordanian rule in 1967, Israeli rulers gained control of the religious complex revered by both Jews and Muslims that includes the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Jews call the area the Temple Mount and Muslims the Noble Sanctuary

Hoping to prevent the compound from becoming a focal point for Palestinian protests, the Israeli government negotiated a compromise with Jordanian authorities. Under the deal, the Waqf, run by the Jordanian Ministry of Sacred Properties, manages the site and is responsible for arrangements and religious and civil affairs there. Jews can visit but are prohibited from praying on the Temple Mount. Israeli police are responsible for security.

Despite giving lip service to Palestinians having their own state, the Israeli government continues to expand settlements there that balkanize the

Continued on page 7

# \_CALENDAR\_

**CONNECTICUT** 

Hartford

Picnic/Barbecue to Support Area Residents Who Will Travel to Cuba with the 'In the Footsteps of Che' Brigade Oct. 1-15. Tues. Aug. 15, 5:30-8 p.m. Donation: \$10. Riverside Park. Tel.: (860) 794-7384. Sponsored by Greater Hartford Coalition on Cuba.

## NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

**"All Guantánamo Is Ours" Film Showing**. Speaker: Cuban Ambassador Mario Alzugaray. Sat., Aug. 12, 5:30 p.m. *Unite Union, 6A Western Springs Road, Kingsland.* 

# West Papua miners strike to defend jobs, union rights

BY PATRICK BROWN

Fighting to defend jobs and union rights, thousands of workers at Freeport's Grasberg copper and gold mine in West Papua, members of the Chemical, Energy and Mines Workers Union, have been on strike since May 1. Bosses at the mine, which is run by Arizona-based Freeport-McMoRan in partnership with U.K.-based Rio Tinto, have sacked more than 4,000 striking workers, claiming they have "resigned."

West Papua, the western half of the island of New Guinea, was seized by the Indonesian government from the Netherlands in 1963. The indigenous people there are engaged in an ongoing struggle for self-determination.

The CEMWU launched the strike at an 8,000-strong May Day demonstration. Involving up to 6,000 workers, it began as a one-month work stoppage, but was extended through June, and again through July. Union officer Tri Puspital told the press July 21 that union members would stay out for a fourth month as "there is still no solution for worker concerns."

The Indonesian government is pressuring foreign mining operations to part with a greater share of profits from the extraction of Indonesia's immense mineral resources. Freeport-McMoRan, the world's second-largest copper mine and biggest gold mine, holds concessions on almost 6 percent of West Papuan land.

Pushing Freeport to divest a 51 percent stake in its operations, pay new

# UK rail workers strike against crew size cuts

LIVERPOOL, England — "I don't want the guards [conductors] off the trains," a woman passing by the Rail, Maritime and Transport union Merseyrail picket line in Kirkdale here told strikers July 23. "It's not safe."

Merseyrail, Northern Rail, and Southern Rail guards are fighting the introduction of driver-only-operation on passenger trains. Continuing a series of strikes, 207 Merseyrail guards walked out July 8-10 and again on July 23. Some 1,250 RMT guards at Northern Rail also struck July 8-10.

"For Merseytravel this is all about money," Stuart Holt, RMT Central North Mersey branch secretary, told the *Militant* on the picket line July 23. "They're spending £500 million [\$650 million] on new trains and they want to claw back £5 million by getting rid of safety-critical guards." Public transportation company Merseytravel pays Merseyrail to run its service.

"The support we've had locally has been really good," said Holt. "People keep bringing us food and drinks. The guy next door cooked us pizzas, a man stopped by with his burger van and told us to choose whatever we wanted."

On Northern Rail the company is refusing to talk to the union about anything but "meaningful modernization," boss lingo for its driver-only plan. "It's a bit of a stalemate at the moment," said RMT North-West/Wales regional council secretary Neil Sharples.

— Caroline Bellamy

taxes and royalties, and construct a second smelter to boost processing capacity on Indonesian soil, the government imposed an export ban on the company Jan. 12. During the 15 weeks of reduced production that followed, Freeport began furloughing workers. The company slashed its "contractor-dominated workforce ... to approximately 26,000 workers," Reuters reported June 9, "from about 33,000 at the start of 2017."

"Workers are having tough times but are keeping their spirits high to fight to get their jobs back," Darmawan Puteranto, CEMWU vice secretary of Social and Economy, told the *Militant* in a July 3 phone interview.

Darmawan said the "the workers must not become the victims" of the dispute between the Indonesian government and the bosses.

While they continued to receive wages, workers placed on furlough lost their benefits, including overtime and housing. The CEMWU launched the strike to protest these conditions. When production cranked up again, the company demanded workers return to the mine



Chemical, Energy and Mines Workers Union members launched strike at Grasberg copper and gold mine in West Papua, New Guinea, May 1 (above) against layoffs, working conditions.

and began sacking them for staying out on strike. As of June 22, the union reported that 4,220 had lost their jobs.

Freeport Indonesia must "guarantee the return of all furloughed workers to their jobs ... without any preconditions," said IndustriALL, the international labor federation to which CEMWU is affiliated. The company "must stop discriminating and harassing workers, who are members of CEMWU."

The mine is now producing between 40 and 60 percent of normal production levels, Darmawan said, indicating the impact of the strike. While the CEMWU is the largest union, "there is also a union of workers based on their native tribe," he said. About a third of the workforce is indigenous Papuan.

Baskaran Appu contributed to this article

# Bundy supporter given 68 years for joining ranchers' fight

BY JOEL BRITTON AND DENNIS RICHTER

LOS ANGELES — Sixty-eight years in prison. That's the outrageously vindictive sentence imposed on 53-year-old Greg Burleson by Judge Gloria Navarro in federal district court in Las Vegas July 26.

Burleson was one of several hundred ranchers and others from around the West who joined Cliven Bundy and his family at their Bunkerville, Nevada, ranch in 2014 to defend their right to graze cattle on federal land. A few came with firearms. They joined Bundy in demanding the release of some 400 of his cattle seized by the Bureau of Land Management. Members of the Bundy family had been using these lands since 1877.

Burleson — who is now blind and frail, and spent the entire trial in a wheelchair — was convicted in April

on eight frame-up charges, including assault on a federal officer, obstruction of justice, as well as multiple gun charges. He had traveled from his home in Phoenix to join the protest.

An FBI entrapment scheme was central to the prosecution's case. FBI agents set up Longbow Productions, a fake video company that claimed to be making a documentary on the ranchers' protest. The *Las Vegas Review-Journal* reported that federal agents fed Burleson alcohol before his "interview." "I said a lot of crazy things," said Burleson during the trial. "I'm ashamed of them actually."

"He does not deserve to spend life in prison for exercising his First Amendment rights," Carol Bundy, Cliven's wife, said after Burleson was convicted. Terrence Jackson, Burleson's attorney, told the press they would appeal the ruling, saying it amounts to a death sentence.

There were five other defendants at Burleson's trial. One, Todd Engel, was convicted on two felonies and will face sentencing in the fall. The jury leaned toward acquitting the other four, but was unable to reach a unanimous verdict. They are now being retried in front of Navarro.

Cliven Bundy, several of his sons and others who protested the BLM's actions have been denied bail, thrown in jail for over a year, much of it in solitary.

There was no violence during the actions.

The *Review-Journal* described the judge's remarks at the sentencing as "lengthy — and at times emotional," concerning "mental anguish" supposedly inflicted on law enforcement officers by the Bundy protests. It is clear she is out to teach the ranchers a costly lesson.

# -25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

# THE MILITANT

August 14, 1992

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — UAW members who struck Caterpillar continue to express their determination to defend their union. John Grayned, a longtime UAW member at Caterpillar, said, "Caterpillar is looking to break our union to up their profits."

The UAW Local 974 News outlined aspects of the final offer implemented by Caterpillar. The wages for new or recalled workers at two parts distribution facilities will be reduced to less than half of what workers there presently make and their benefits will be slashed as well. Caterpillar has also gotten rid of contractual limits on how much work is sent out to nonunion shops.

Seniority rights have been weakened. Workers can no longer transfer from one plant to another in order to hold a particular job or pay scale.

# THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PROPLE On 4 Mar York, N. I. MINICAL FRANCIST IN, INI

August 7, 1967

NEW YORK — On July 23, on the island of Puerto Rico, a vote was taken to continue that island's dependent ties with the U.S. On the same day, on the island of Manhattan, in "El Barrio," the oldest Puerto Rican community in the city, Reinaldo Rodriguez was shot to death by a plainclothes cop.

A crowd gathered and a patrol car sped to the scene. Two cops got out and the crowd continued to grow. Someone asked one of the cops what happened. "Nothing," he replied, "A *spic* got fresh and had to be made to mind." That's how it began.

Puerto Ricans have been killed by cops in New York's Lower East Side and on New York's West Side; they have been found hanged in police cells, they have been shot in police cars, while on the way to police stations.

# THE MILITANT

August 15, 1942

Throughout India, millions of workers and peasants are moving into action to smash the shackles of century-old British domination. The Socialist Workers Party supports the struggle of the Indian masses because as a revolutionary socialist party it stands four-square for the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

The SWP urges Indian workers that while participating in the present movement under its present leadership, they do not trust their fate to Gandhi and Co. They must organize independently and set up their own organs of struggle.

Arm the Masses! Withdraw all British and American troops! Release the Congress leaders, lift the ban on the Congress Party! For the alliance of the Indian workers and peasants with the workers of Britain and the United States!

# Sao Paulo Forum discusses struggle against imperialism

Youth organize to build Oct. World Festival in Russia

### BY PHILIPPE TESSIER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Over 300 delegates from 32 countries came together here to participate in the 23rd annual Sao Paulo Forum July 15-21. "It is an honor, in the land of Sandino, to welcome everyone in the name of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua [FSLN], Daniel Ortega and all the Sandinistas," Jacinto Suarez, international secretary of the FSLN, told delegates at the opening session.

Large delegations came from Cuba, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico, along with delegates from throughout Latin America and the Caribbean and invited guests from North America, Europe, Asia and Africa.

The Sao Paulo forums began in 1990 at the initiative of Cuban President Fidel Castro and Brazilian Workers Party leader Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. They aim to bring together left political parties and activists from throughout the region to discuss and debate political perspectives to counter Washington's ongoing interventions and to advance the fight for sovereignty and independence.

This year anti-imperialist youth at the forum took the occasion to discuss building the World Festival of Youth and Students in Sochi, Russia, Oct. 14-22.

"We must all come to the defense of Venezuela," José Ramón Balaguer, a member of the Communist Party of Cuba's Central Committee Secretariat and head of the Cuban delegation, said at the opening session, pointing to the importance of the fight to defend Venezuela's sovereignty against Washington and the pro-imperialist opposition forces. This is important for the sovereignty and independence of all countries in the region, he said.

"We demand an immediate end to hostile actions and interference in Venezuela by the United States," Balaguer said.

"Our country is in a serious and very difficult situation," Roy Daza, representing the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV), told delegates. He said that the Constituent Assembly election called for July 30 would proceed. At the same time, he said that the PSUV is "ready to engage in a national dialogue" with the opposition in Venezuela and with the government of the United States, while demanding an immediate end to violent protests against the government of Nicolás Maduro.

Gabriel Aguirre from the Young Communists of Venezuela (JCV), the youth group of the Communist Party of Venezuela, said they disagreed. We oppose any negotiations with "fascist" opposition forces in Venezuela, he said.

Several meetings, workshops and seminars were held during the forum, including a women's meeting, an indigenous and Afro-descendants workshop, and one on the anti-colonial struggle. One of the largest was the youth meeting, with more than 100 young people coming together to discuss perspectives. Oscar López Rivera, a Puerto Rican independence fighter who was framed up and jailed in the U.S. for 36 years, opened the meeting. A growing world-wide campaign was waged to win his

freedom, and he was released in May.

"Cuba's revolution showed the importance of the youth. It helps in other countries like no other country in Latin America can," López said. "We have to emulate that example."

"In October we will celebrate the World Festival of Youth and Students," said José Maury de Toro, secretary general of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and a leader of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba. "It will be a great pleasure to have Oscar there with us to show the world what solidarity can accomplish."

Maury and some 20 representatives of youth organizations in the Americas region met the following morning to discuss political preparation for participation in the festival in Sochi. Over 1,500 delegates are registered to participate.

Ronald Hidalgo Rivera, second secretary of the Union of Yong Communists of Cuba, thanked delegates "for all the solidarity against the U.S. blockade on Cuba," noting that Washington continues its efforts to undermine and overthrow the Cuban Revolution.

Jacob Perasso, representing the Young Socialists in the United States, emphasized the need for youth groups across the hemisphere to campaign for "U.S. Hands Off Venezuela!" and an end to U.S. sanctions and attacks by the Organization of American States.

Perasso saluted López's presence and spoke about the deepening class struggle in Puerto Rico, saying the fight against U.S. colonial rule should be supported by all working people in the U.S. Perasso also pointed to the importance of speaking out against Washington's economic war against the Cuban Revolution and demanding Washington get out of Guantánamo.

One ongoing discussion at the forum was what the election of President Don-



Militant/Linda Joyce

Over 300 delegates and guests from 32 countries attended the 23rd Sao Paulo Forum July 15-21 in Managua, Nicaragua. Participants discussed and debated how to counter Washington's imperialist moves in Latin America and advance fight for sovereignty.

ald Trump signified about developments in the U.S. working class. Most middle-class left groups, and many of those at the forum, said Trump's election reflects the fact that U.S. workers are becoming more racist, sexist and reactionary.

Perasso argued that workers in the U.S., like their brothers and sisters south of the border, are seeking a way forward out of the brutality and carnage wrought by today's deepening crisis of capitalism. They aim to find a way to take on the government of the Democrats and Republicans in Washington that does nothing to meet their needs, to "drain the swamp," as the Trump's popular election slogan goes. Many voted for Trump, Perasso explained, not because they were excited about his ideology, but in hopes of a change, as many had done earlier when they voted for Barack Obama. In fact, workers are less racist and more open to revolutionary change than in many years.

"The Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party find growing interest in our revolutionary program and activities as we join discussions with workers in the U.S.," he said, "including among workers who voted for Trump."

"We point to the example of the Cuban Revolution," Perasso said, "and explain the need for workers and farmers in the U.S. to follow its example and make a socialist revolution."

The forum ended in a festive atmosphere as delegates joined a rally of some 200,000 people July 19 to celebrate the 38th anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution, which dealt a blow to imperialism in the region. Speakers included Daniel Ortega and Rosario Murillo, president and vice president of Nicaragua; Evo Morales, president of Bolivia; Salvador Sánchez Cerén, president of El Salvador; and Oscar López Rivera. Miguel Díaz-Canel, vice president of Cuba, also participated.

There was a lot of interest by participants in revolutionary literature brought by members of the Socialist Workers Party, Communist League of Canada and Young Socialists to the forum. Delegates purchased 181 books by revolutionary leaders, including 22 copies each of Are They Rich Because They're Smart? and The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, and Is Socialist Revolution in the US Possible? by SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters, as well as three Militant subscriptions. The second bestseller was Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power, also by Barnes, with seven copies.

# Sign up for 'In Footsteps of Che' brigade to Cuba!

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

DENVER — More people are signing up to join the "In the Footsteps of Che International Brigade" to Cuba Oct. 1-15, to have the opportunity to see revolutionary Cuba for themselves. Brigade members will do agricultural work alongside Cubans, meet with leaders of Cuba's mass organizations, and visit places where Che Guevara led battles during the revolution.

Along with the 19th World Festival of Youth and Students taking place in Sochi, Russia, Oct. 14-22, the brigade will be an important way for anti-imperialist fighters and supporters of the Cuban Revolution to learn how to better prepare to engage in politics today.

The Che brigade, organized by the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), will mark the 50th anniversary of the 1967 death in combat of Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban Revolution. In late 1966 Guevara led a detachment of Cuban internationalists to Bolivia, where they joined with revolutionists from Bolivia and Peru in a guerrilla movement to overthrow

the U.S.-backed military dictatorship there. Wounded and captured by the Bolivian army in a CIA-organized operation on Oct. 8, 1967, Guevara was murdered the next day.

The 14-day brigade includes trips to several Cuban cities where Che led combatants during the 1956-58 Cuban revolutionary war and participation in events celebrating Che's legacy.

Brigadistas will visit Santa Clara, where Che led a column in the final offensive against the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship. They will meet with Cubans who fought with Che in Las Villas, as well as with veterans who traveled with him to the Congo to join the struggle for independence from colonial rule there.

"Six people have put in their applications for the brigade from the Hartford, Connecticut, area," Tim Craine, a member of the Greater Hartford Coalition on Cuba, told the *Militant* Aug. 1. "We're organizing a picnic Aug. 15 and contacting people to raise \$1,000 for the trip."

"I feel like the Republicans and Democrats will not change anything here. I can go to Cuba and learn and bring it

back to America and make our system better," Bridgete Burke, 33, from Denver, told the *Militant*, explaining why she is going on the brigade. "America isn't going to change politically until individuals open our minds to something different"

Some 20,000 delegates from over 120 countries are expected at the World Festival of Youth and Students this year. It provides an opportunity to discuss, share experiences and learn about social struggles worldwide.

"We will be part of the debates and workshops in the Americas region that includes North, South and Central America and the Caribbean," Jacob Perasso, a member of the National Preparatory Committee organizing U.S. participation in the youth festival, told the *Militant*. He said that over 100 people will be going from the U.S. "There will be discussion on how we can work together to defend the Cuban Revolution and defend Venezuelan sovereignty against U.S. imperialist interference."

To sign up for the brigade, contact the Chicago Cuba Coalition at (312) 952-2618 or ICanGoToCuba@gmail.com.

# **Celebrate Cuban revolution**

### **Continued from front page**

da attack, then tried and imprisoned. His speech to the courtroom — "History Will Absolve Me" - became the program the July 26th Movement campaigned around to win support and members. This underground struggle helped to build political pressure that forced the dictatorship to release Castro and other founders of the movement.

"This is the first time we are having this celebration without Fidel," José Machado Ventura, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and veteran of the revolutionary war, told the crowd. Castro died last November at the age of 90. "But this does not mean that his image, work and example do not remain alongside our heroic people, committed in their daily work."

Machado compared the living and working conditions of Cubans in Pinar del Rio under capitalism and today. Before the revolution 85 percent of farms did not belong to the peasants who worked them. There were only 248 doctors in Pinar del Rio. Today 4,577 doctors provide health care, along with a nursing staff of 5,635. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births today stands at 1.7, it was 60 in 1958. Life expectancy has gone from 53 years to 79. Three thousand additional health care workers from the province are serving in 43 countries, many in Venezuela.

Illiteracy has been reduced from 30 percent to practically zero and unemployment from 30 percent to 1.3 percent, Machado said.

"In this long difficult battle, we are convinced that the children of this indomitable land will continue to take the front lines, as did your parents and grandparents," Machado said, speaking to the new generations of Cuban revolutionaries who, over the next decade, will shoulder day-to-day leadership of the socialist revolution.

Machado condemned Washington's recent moves to tighten its decadeslong economic embargo against Cuba and called for the U.S. to end its intervention into the internal affairs of Venezuela, reaffirming "once again, our unwavering solidarity with the Venezuelan people."

In New York 125 people, including a

large delegation from the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, attended a celebration July 29 organized by Cuba Si!, July 26 Coalition, and Casa de las Americas at the New York State Nurses Association hall.

### 'We will not return to the past'

"No! We will not return to the past. We will never again be the people who suffered torture, inequality, social exclusion, exploitation, poverty, illiteracy, marginalization and oppression," said Anayansi Rodríguez, Cuba's ambassador to the U.N. "We reaffirm that any strategy that seeks to destroy the revolution, whether through coercion and pressure or through subtle methods, will fail, as they have failed during the last 55 years."

"We will never resign ourselves to giving up the construction of our socialism," she said.

"Before the indelible remembrance of the martyrs of the Moncada, we ratify our most firm conviction of being faithful to the ideas of Fidel; to continue building a prosperous and sustainable socialism; to remain deeply internationalist," Rodríguez said. "And in that endeavor we are sure that we will continue to count on your permanent support."

Organizers showed a 12-minute video of Fernando González, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), addressing delegates at the Fifth Continental Africa Conference in Solidarity with Cuba in Windhoek, Namibia, June 5-7. It was introduced by Willie Cotton, who had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party delegation to the conference.

González was one of the Cuban Five, who spent a decade and a half in U.S. prisons for their actions in defense of Cuba's revolution. He was one of the over 400,000 Cubans who volunteered between 1975 and 1991 to fight in Angola to defend that country's newly won independence, to help defeat the invading apartheid South African army and to win the liberation of Namibia.

"That's when I realized I didn't know anything about colonialism. No matter how many books I had read, this was the real experience," he told conference at-



Cuban UN Ambassador Anayansi Rodríguez speaking to July 26 celebration in New York City, July 29. "We will never resign ourselves to giving up the construction of our socialism."

tendees in Namibia, "seeing the effects of colonialism in Africa, but seeing also the peoples of the continent fighting the consequences of colonialism and fighting to overcome colonialism itself."

In Chicago 70 people came together July 28 to celebrate the Cuban Revolution and to build the "In the Footsteps of Che Guevara" brigade that will travel to Cuba Oct. 1-15. Guevara, one of the central leaders of the revolution, fell in combat in 1967 while leading a guerrilla column as part of the struggle against the Bolivian dictatorship of René Barrientos and its backers in Washington.

One of the featured speakers was José López, executive director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, who brought greetings from his brother. Oscar López recently won his freedom after more than 35 years in U.S. prison for his activities in the fight for Puerto Rican independence. "Today we are here to celebrate the attack on Moncada that set in motion the Cuban Revolution which has meant so much for Latin America," José López said.

Maintenance worker Chris Oyola came to the meeting after he heard about it that afternoon at a rally organized by his union, part of their fight for a new contract. "I didn't know much about Cuba. What I had heard was a lot of bad stuff," he told the Militant. "Here I heard positive stuff. I would like to go on this brigade." Meeting participants contributed some \$450 toward brigade

In Washington, D.C., Miguel Fraga, first secretary of the Cuban Embassy in Washington, spoke to 40 people at a meeting sponsored by the D.C. Metro Coalition in Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, held at the Plymouth Congregational United Church of Christ.

Fraga repudiated slanders in the U.S. press saying Cuba only sends doctors and other volunteers to Venezuela to get oil.

"We defend Venezuela. Our unity with that sister country is based on cooperation," Fraga said. "Cuba's relations with countries lacking medical care are not for oil, but for solidarity."

Cuban health workers went to Pakistan after they had a devastating earthquake there in 2005," he said. "We did not have relations with Pakistan and expected nothing in return."

Naomi Craine in Chicago, Sara Lobman in New York, and James Harris in Washington, D.C., contributed to this article.

# **Example of Cuban Revolution for workers**



### To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End

Fidel Castro, Che Guevara

In speeches before UN bodies, Castro and Guevara address the peoples of the world, explaining why Washington fears the example of the socialist revolution and why its effort to destroy it will fail.

## Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban **Revolutionary Underground**

Armando Hart Also in Spanish

## **Cuba and the Coming American Revolution**

Jack Barnes

Also in Spanish, French, Farsi

**Women in Cuba:** The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution

Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, Yolanda Ferrer Also in Spanish, Greek

See distributors on page 8 or visit:







# Terror attacks against Jews

### **Continued from page 4**

West Bank, making establishment of a viable state increasingly difficult.

When Israeli officials first reopened the site, they refused to remove the metal detectors. Abbas, and others called for a boycott.

Tens of thousands of Muslims refused to enter the site, holding daily prayers and rallies in the surrounding streets and across the West Bank. Some of the actions were broken up by Israeli police firing tear gas, water cannon and stun grenades, killing at least three Palestinians.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan also condemned the restrictive measures at Al-Aqsa. The Jordanian government sought negotiations to put an end to the crisis.

After Netanyahu agreed to remove the metal detectors and cameras July 26, in the face of domestic and international pressure, thousands of Muslims celebrated at Al-Aqsa.

No Palestinian groups or officials condemned al-Abed's attack on the Jewish family, because they all view the Israeli settlers as "targets." No group has a perspective that can break the senseless cycle of terrorist attacks against Jews and murderous retaliation by Tel Aviv. And no one puts forward a course of action that could win Israeli workers to the side of Palestinians.

What needs to be said is: We demand an end to all terror attacks. We oppose any new settlements, but in a Palestinian state all those who are already here would be welcome to remain as equal members of our society if they choose

Sheikh Asaid Sathawi, a cousin of one of the slain officers, did issue a public statement that points to a way forward.

"I hope this conflict ends already," he told the press after the attack. "Enough bloodshed already. This is an unnecessary war and an unnecessary killing. We seek to calm things down, to give each nation its country, to reach a peace agreement and to achieve quiet and a pleasant life for everyone."

# Karl Marx: Trade unions — their past, present, and future

Below is an excerpt from Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay by Leon Trotsky, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for August. The book contains "Trade unions: their past, present, and future," a resolution written by Karl Marx and adopted by the first congress of the International Working Men's Association (the First International), in September 1866. It is printed in its entirety. The Sheffield trades union conference the article refers to, brought together 138 delegates representing 200,000 organized workers in Britain. From 1865 to 1867 British unions helped lead a broad campaign for working-class voting rights. During

# BOOKS OF THE MONTH

the 1861-65 U.S. Civil War workers in Britain fought efforts by the British rulers to support the slavocracy. Also excerpted is an unfinished article on the unions by Trotsky found in his papers after his assassination in August 1940. Copyright © 1969 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

### BY KARL MARX

### (a) Their past

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force [labor power]. The *contract* between capital and labor can



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Tom Mooney, framed-up union militant incarcerated by U.S. rulers for 22 years, addresses Labor Day rally in Minneapolis, Aug. 27, 1939. Trade unions, Marx said, must learn to act "as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation."

therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labor on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves*.

Trades' unions originally sprang up from the spontaneous attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of trades' unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediences for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labor. This activity of the trades' unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalized by the formation and the combination of trades' unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trades' unions were forming centers of organization of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trades' unions are required for the guerrilla fights between capital and labor, they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wages labor and capital rule.* 

### (b) Their present

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trades' unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International [Working Men's] Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

## (c) Their future

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the nonsociety [unorganized] men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.



### BY LEON TROTSKY

It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves... The primary slogan for this struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

The second slogan is: *trade union democracy*. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state.

In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, that is, ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. Either the trade unions of our time will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers and to obstruct the revolution or, on the contrary, the unions will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

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# -SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STATEMENT——

# **Emulate example of Cuban Revolution!**

### Continued from front page

Céspedes garrisons by Fidel Castro and other young Cuban revolutionaries, opening the revolutionary struggle that led to the 1959 overthrow of the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship.

The introduction to the book *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes says, "Cuba showed us that with class solidarity, political consciousness, courage, focus and persistent efforts at education, and a revolutionary leadership of a caliber like that in Cuba — a leadership tested and forged in battle over years, it is possible to stand up to enormous might and seemingly insurmountable odds and win."

In October, young people, workers and others from the U.S. and around the world will spend two weeks in Cuba as part of the "In the Footsteps of Che International Brigade." Che Guevara was a central leader of the revolution who fell in combat in 1967 at the hands of the CIA while leading Bolivian, Cuban and other combatants in an effort to mobilize workers and farmers to overthrow the Bolivian dictatorship.

Join me on the brigade, to see firsthand Cuba's social advances, such as free health care and education for all, part of social relations that can only exist in a country where the working class holds political power.

Above all we'll talk with Cuban workers and farmers whose solidarity, confidence, determination and

internationalism made possible the sending of some 425,000 volunteers to Angola between 1975 and 1991 to defend that country's newly won independence, help defeat the invading apartheid South African army, and win the liberation of Namibia.

The Cuban people extend solidarity with others fighting around the world, expecting nothing in return. They know the future lies in the hands of workers and youth who emulate their example and overthrow capitalist exploitation, racism and war. That is what my party, the Socialist Workers Party, is about.

The capitalist rulers of the United States fear that working people in the U.S., looking for a way out of the deepening economic, political, social and moral crisis of the capitalist system, will become attracted to the Cuban road. This is why Washington has never stopped seeking to overthrow the revolution, tightened its decadeslong economic embargo against Cuba, and refuses to give up its naval base and notorious prison at Guantánamo Bay.

The Socialist Workers Party is campaigning with workers on their doorsteps in big cities, small towns and rural areas across the country. We have seen how working people are more and more open to learning about the Cuban example.

Join me on the brigade to learn how better to explain the Cuban Revolution to workers and young people here. Join the Socialist Workers Party!

# Drive to impeach Trump reflects rulers' crisis

### **Continued from front page**

article by Peter Baker in the July 29 New York Times. Workers are bombarded with the same line on morning talk shows, evening "news" and from latenight comedians, as well.

The instrument tasked with finding a way to remove Trump from office is the special prosecutor's office led by former FBI Director Robert Mueller. The workers' movement has long experience with special prosecutors. They aren't appointed to investigate crime, but to dig as long as needed to find something to bring their target down. There are no restrictions or time limit on what they can "investigate."

They're a mockery of the protections of the U.S. Constitution and a threat to workers' rights. And this one is run by the former head of the rulers' anti-labor political police.

### Why the furor?

It's not Trump. He's a real estate boss who is as committed to defending the interests of his fellow ruling class members as anyone. What's different here is that behind his campaign and victory, the rulers see something else — the working class. They see how, under the deep crisis wracking the capitalism today, workers are looking for something different. They responded to Trump because he promised to work for the working class and "drain the swamp."

As Gary Abernathy, editor of the Hillsboro, Ohio, *Times Gazette* — one of the few papers in the country that endorsed Trump — put it, workers "like that Trump is a game-changer, a disrupter, a practitioner of what I see as 'crafted chaos.' Our stale system and its corrupted processes are in need of disruption."

The rulers see — and fear — deepening class struggle coming. This is what the furor is about. And it's self-reinforcing — the liberals are immersed in a world where everyone thinks the same way.

Trump "got the votes of more than 62 million people," Michael Kinsley admitted in a July 29 *Times* column, saying, "I am pretty sure I don't know any of them." These liberals are convinced workers are lesser creatures, without the smarts to choose their own leaders.

Under the pressure of the media barrage, a *USA Today*/Suffolk University poll June 29 states Trump's numbers "hit historic lows for a president in the early months of his term," getting approval from 42 percent of those questioned, but "his favorability standing was still better than the ratings" for both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Much of the media has focused on changes in White

House personnel, including the resignation of Sean Spicer as White House Press Secretary, the appointment and firing of Anthony Scaramucci as communications director, and the ousting of Reince Priebus as chief of staff, substituted by Homeland Security Director Gen. John Kelly.

President Trump spent a good part of the week complaining about the performance of former Republican Sen. Jeff Sessions, his attorney general. This turned Sessions, one of the country's more overtly right-wing Republican politicians, into a hero for the liberals.

They claim this is a sign of chaos in the administration. What it really shows is that Trump isn't really a Republican. The *Post* reported, "With every staff move, Trump seems to be moving ever further away from the Republican establishment."

Trump is more comfortable with his own people, businessmen, family and military figures who know something about the consequences of imperialist war.

### Democrats, Republicans in crisis

Both of the capitalist ruling families' political parties have been thrown into political crisis by the results of the elections.

One sign of the unraveling of the Republican Party was the collapse of all their attempts to repeal or modify Obamacare. The Republicans have a majority in both the Senate and House, but couldn't pass anything.

The Democrats are in no better shape.

On July 26 House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer rolled into Berryville, Virginia, an hour outside Washington — what Pelosi called "the heartland of America" — to announce the Democrat's new brand, "A Better Deal."

The "deal" is a rehash of liberal Band-Aids for the health care and jobs crisis without touching the real problem — capitalism in its decline.

"Democrats will show the country we are the party on the side of working people," Schumer, who took his tie off for the road trip, proclaimed. "This is the start of a new vision for the party."

But "in a country still seething at Washington, the two Democratic leaders," the *Financial Times* wrote after Schumer and Pelosi's media event, "have served a collective six-and-a-half decades in Congress" and "are struggling to present themselves as the face of a new Democratic Party."

The other wing of the fractured party — Bernie Sanders and his supporters — are fighting to oust the party bosses and take over. Only a rebuilt party of radical capitalist reform, they believe, can win workers back into the two-party shell game.

# Venezuela sovereignty

Continued from front page

Union, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina joined the U.S. in telling the people of Venezuela what they should do.

The pro-imperialist opposition Democratic Unity Roundtable in Venezuela boycotted the election, saying that rewriting the constitution is aimed at nullifying the legislature where the opposition won a majority in 2015. Since April the Roundtable has stepped up violent demonstrations and has openly called on the armed forces to stage a coup.

The Roundtable has tried to take advantage of the deep capitalist economic and social crisis in Venezue-la to win support for ousting the government. Inflation is running at more than 700 percent a year and there are long lines to attempt to buy scarce basic necessities at government-set prices. Basic life-saving medicines are increasingly hard to find. And violent crimes are common.

In the weeks leading up to the vote, the Roundtable organized two nationwide strikes to back their call for a boycott. While in middle-class neighborhoods the strikes had success, opposition supporters admitted they didn't get much traction in working-class areas.

Despite widespread discontent over the economic crisis and the government's inability to deal with it, working people don't trust the opposition. They have not forgotten the participation by many of the Roundtable leaders in the 2002 coup that overthrew Hugo Chávez before it was pushed back by a massive outpouring of workers. Maduro became president after Chávez's death in 2013.

Maduro announced at midnight July 30 that over 8 million people voted for candidates to the 545-member Constituent Assembly. But the head of the company hired to manufacture and oversee the voting system, said Aug. 2 that the government's figures were at least 1 million too high. The assembly is expected to meet within a few days.

Absent from Maduro's speech was any mention of the serious challenges facing working people in the face of the deepening capitalist economic crisis — the drop in the price of oil that is the main source of income for the country, the thousands of peasants without land, how to overcome the shortages of medicine.

What Maduro, like Chávez before him, called the Bolivarian Revolution or 21st Century Socialism, was a conscious decision to reject the road of the Cuban Revolution. Instead of organizing workers and farmers to take control of factories, farms and the government, Chávez and Maduro tried to use the state to administer the capitalist economy, using oil profits to fund social programs and subsidize basic necessities. This has come apart under the impact of the deepening worldwide capitalist crisis and growing corruption.

Maduro's effort to displace the opposition-dominated National Assembly with the newly elected Constituent Assembly, coupled with opposition threats of continuing violent protests, have the potential to escalate polarization and conflict that could open the door to a bloodbath.

The Roundtable says it will keep up its protests. Brushing off any idea of negotiations and dialogue, opposition leader Freddy Guevara said Aug. 2, "Now is a time for action not words." At least 10 people were killed during violent clashes during the vote.

Maduro said that part of the Constituent Assembly's moves to sideline the National Assembly will be to remove parliamentary immunity from opposition legislators. Less then two days later Leopoldo López and Antonio Ledezma, two prominent opposition leaders were sent back to prison.

Maduro also said the new body would investigate Luisa Ortega, the Chávez-appointed attorney general who opposed the election and other recent steps Maduro has taken.

So far Washington has been reluctant to use what they call the "nuclear option" of sanctions on oil trade with Venezuela. Venezuela sells 750,000 barrels a day to the U.S. and sanctions would hit both working people in Venezuela and the pocketbook of U.S. capitalists.

Washington wants to see the replacement of the Maduro government, but fears a total collapse of all government institutions and oil production.

Oil workers in several regions of Venezuela demonstrated against the sanctions Aug. 2. "We are here to show our rejection of U.S. intervention," one demonstrator said on television.