

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Class-struggle road for workers to take political power

Lessons from 1930s Teamster struggles — PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 82/NO. 26 JULY 16, 2018

Build fight to win amnesty for immigrants across the US

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK — Opposition by working people to recent factory raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement shows that the fight to win amnesty for 11 million undocumented workers in the U.S. can gain broader support than ever. It's a demand we have won before, and we can win again!

After ICE cops raided Fresh Mark's meatpacking plants in Ohio June 19, both the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters union condemned it. "Seeking a better life for yourself and your family is not a crime," said AFL-CIO spokesperson Chip Shannon June 29. "The attacks on these workers call to question the freedom of all working people."

"An attack on any one worker is an attack on our shared goal of lifting up all workers in our country," said Teamsters President James Hoffa.

But the organizers of protests that drew tens of thousands across the country June 30 did not raise the demand for amnesty. Instead, they

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Join July 12th protest against pension cuts!

Join Mine Workers, Teamsters in Columbus



Mine Workers union rally Oct. 14, 2015, Brookwood, Alabama, protests attacks on pensions, health care.

BY EMMA JOHNSON

On July 12 thousands of union coal miners, teamsters, bakery workers, musicians and other workers from across the Midwest and beyond will rally in Columbus, Ohio, demanding the government take steps to maintain pensions of tens of thousands of retired and working members.

The unions are urging a big turnout for the protest. The fight for union-scale retirement benefits for all workers guaranteed by the government needs to be the cause of the entire labor movement.

"We have buses coming from cities across the Midwest and from Alabama," Phil Smith, communications director with the United Mine Workers

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New struggles today open door to build labor unions

Union officials, meritocratic heads of "progressive" nongovernmental organizations and the liberal media are predicting doom and gloom over a June 27 U.S. Supreme Court ruling called the Janus decision. On a 5-4 vote, the black-robed arbiters of ruling-class "justice" held that government agencies can no longer be required to pay dues or "agency fees"

EDITORIAL

to the unions of public workers.

The court's ruling aims "to destroy public-sector unions," wrote the *New York Times* editors. "Preparing for the worst": unions brace for loss of members," headlined the *Washington Post*.

The fact of the matter is unions have been losing ground for decades, and it's not because of anti-union laws or court rulings. It's because top union officials have tied our unions to getting out the vote for mostly Democratic Party politicians, instead of organizing the unorganized, building a fighting union movement, part of a broad social movement that speaks out for and inspires all workers, the unemployed and the oppressed.

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Protests win support in fight to jail cop who killed Antwon Rose



Above, Mark Dixon/Blue Lens/Flickr; inset, taken from Pittsburgh Action 4 news video. Protests in Pittsburgh area have won broad support in working class to fight to convict Michael Rosfeld, cop who killed Antwon Rose. Above, truckers say, "Killing has got to stop!"

BY MALCOLM JARRETT

PITTSBURGH — Protests demanding justice in the East Pittsburgh cop killing of 17-year-old Antwon Rose continue throughout the area. They are pressing for the conviction for murder of Michael Rosfeld who shot Rose three times in the back after a traffic stop. The June 19 cold-blooded killing was cap-

tured on a cellphone video that has been viewed by hundreds of thousands.

The outrage against the killing has spanned workers of all nationalities across the region and beyond.

Allegheny County District Attorney Stephen Zappala Jr. filed charges of criminal homicide against Rosfeld.

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SWP conference: Workers respond to shifts shaking world capitalist 'order'

BY TERRY EVANS AND JOHN STUDER

This is the second of two articles on discussions and decisions at the Socialist Workers Party-sponsored

US rulers, Moscow set summit meet to discuss decreasing Mideast tensions

BY TERRY EVANS

President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin have set a July 16 summit in Helsinki, Finland, seeking a new level in collaboration between the two central military powers in the Middle East. The liberal press, driven perpetually by their determination to oust Trump from office, denounced the summit, hinting darkly Putin must have something on the U.S. president.

This opposition flies in the face of the progress Trump's government is making in advancing U.S. imperialist interests in the region and elsewhere.

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Active Workers Conference, held June 14-16 in Oberlin, Ohio, and post-conference meeting of the party's National Committee.

Last week's article described how teachers' strikes and fights in West Virginia and other states this year announced a new stage in the class struggle, inspiring workers across the U.S. "Build the Labor Movement" will be the axis of work of the party's

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—On the picket line, p. 5—

Coal miners in Ukraine mobilize to get back wages

Doug Ford election in Ontario reflects working-class unrest

BY BOB CARTER

MONTREAL — On June 29 political outsider, “anti-establishment politician” and millionaire businessman Doug Ford took office as the premier of Ontario, Canada’s most populous province and industrial heartland. His Progressive Conservative Party won the June 7 election there.

The Liberal party, which had governed the province for 15 years, suffered a historic and humiliating defeat. The social democratic New Democratic Party, backed by the trade union officialdom, also made gains at the expense of the Liberals, coming in second and is now the official opposition in the Ontario legislature.

Ford’s election, and the sizable vote against the Liberals, reflects the unease and anger of millions of working people who have for years faced the debilitating effects of the ongoing crisis of capitalist production, jobs and trade in Canada and worldwide. Stagnant wages, the disappearance of stable good-paying industrial jobs, and the bosses’ unrelenting productivity and profit drive that has led to deteriorating and unsafe working conditions have been the result. At the same time, workers have been hit with increased prices for necessities like gasoline and electricity.

Ford’s sudden rise and his election was opposed by most of the bourgeois press. The editors of the conservative Toronto *Globe and Mail* declared him “unfit for the job” because he is not part of the traditional political establishment. His victory

follows recent, similar developments like the election of Donald Trump as U.S. president, the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom and recent election results in Italy.

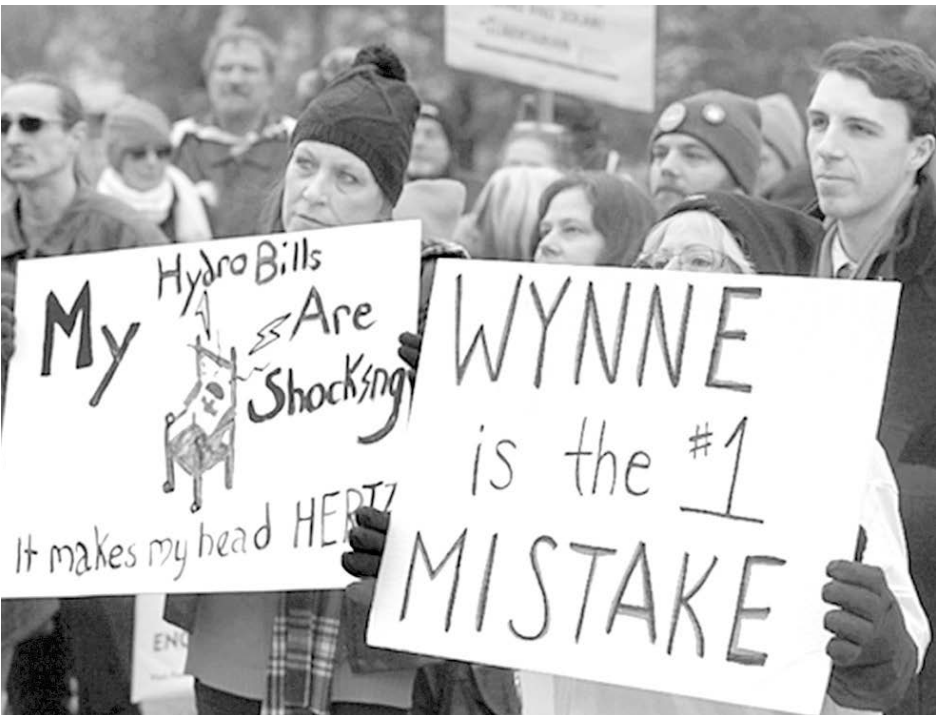
Ford’s victory is a harbinger of turbulence and instability in the Canadian rulers’ traditional political parties as the country moves toward a federal election in 2019.

Where did Ford come from?

Ford’s only previous political experience was a four-year term as a Toronto city councillor from 2010 to 2014. His brother Rob Ford — also viewed by the rulers as a political outsider — was then mayor of Toronto, elected on a promise to “end the gravy train” of perks, privileges and high salaries for political hacks and government bureaucrats, as well as to cut taxes.

Like his brother, Rob Ford said he would be the defender of the “little guy” against the downtown Toronto “liberal elites.” Workers who voted for the Ford brothers — residents of the suburban working-class and heavily immigrant Toronto neighborhoods — call themselves “Ford Nation.” But scandals, centered on Rob Ford’s substance abuse, plagued his four-year tenure as mayor. His candidacy for a second term was cut short when he became sick and subsequently died of cancer. Doug Ford ran for mayor in his place but was defeated.

Doug Ford became the Progressive Conservative leader on the eve of the election at a special party convention



Protest in Toronto against rising cost of electric bills, Nov. 23, 2016, part of widespread working-class anger directed against Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne. Her Liberal Party, governing for 15 years, lost to Progressive Conservative’s Doug Ford, reflecting workers’ frustrations.

called after the previous party leader was forced to resign under accusations of sexual improprieties.

Doug Ford’s campaign centered on reducing government interference in people’s lives; lowering the cost of living through cuts in electricity rates, which dramatically increased under the Liberals; as well as cuts in provincial income taxes and gasoline taxes. He campaigned for an end to “identity politics” sex education classes in schools and the myriad of other government moves to interfere and regulate the lives of working people imposed by the Liberals.

He promised to create jobs by ending Liberal “green” policies, like the carbon taxes, that Ford labeled anti-business. Ford said he would eliminate provincial income taxes for those making minimum wage, while also rolling back Liberal government-backed legislation that would raise the minimum wage to \$15.

Workers’ lives devastated

In the election, the Progressive Conservative Party got its votes in small towns, rural areas and in working-class suburban Toronto. The NDP came in second, with just over half as many seats, with its votes from industrial towns and cities and the mining regions of the province.

With a population of 14 million, Ontario has over one-third of Canada’s population. It is the center of steel, auto, machinery production, chemicals as well as hard rock mining, such as nickel and other minerals. Seventy-six percent of Canada’s exports go to the U.S. and 52 percent of these come from Ontario. One million unionized workers are members of the Ontario Federation of Labour, about one-fifth of all unionized workers in Canada.

The unending, grinding worldwide capitalist slowdown in production and trade has devastated the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers across Ontario’s “rust belt.” In the decade up to 2014 over 365,000 well-paid union jobs had been wiped out. In industrial cities like Hamilton, opioid overdoses among workers are rising dramatically.

The *Globe and Mail* predicted Ford would win the election, saying there was an “eerie resemblance” in parts of Ontario to the hard-hit working-class regions in the U.S. that “helped propel Donald Trump to the presidency.”

The article said three-quarters of those in a recent poll said they “believe the economy is rigged to benefit the rich and powerful,” with a majority seeking a leader “who is willing to break the rules.”

THE MILITANT

Workers in Puerto Rico respond to social disaster

In the face of the indifference and negligence of the U.S. capitalist rulers and the colonial regime in Puerto Rico, working people there have been organizing to confront the social catastrophe that followed Hurricane Maria. Read the ‘Militant’ for eyewitness reports.



Militant/John Studer
Raúl Laboy, left, and Wilfred Abreu, in interview with *Militant* on situation in Yabucoa.

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Build fight to win amnesty

Continued from front page

focused on denouncing the Donald Trump administration's policy of separating children from their parents detained near the southern border, a policy that had already been reversed. They chose to make the "Resistance" against Trump the all-consuming issue.

The government recently announced a "zero tolerance" policy, and began prosecuting "unauthorized" immigrants for first-time illegal entry — a misdemeanor.

Under the administration of Barack Obama, most first-time "offenders" were issued "forcible removal" orders and summarily deported. Prosecution and jail time prior to deportation was reserved for those charged with illegal "re-entry," which became a felony when President Bill Clinton signed the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act.

The June 30 actions also protested the Supreme Court's 5-4 ruling upholding President Trump's executive order limiting entry to the U.S. from seven countries — Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela and Yemen. The governments of these countries, the administration says, do not cooperate with U.S. anti-terrorism screening.

The main goal of protest organizers was to use outrage over the children's treatment to get out the vote to defeat the Republicans and elect Democrats to office in November. They portrayed immigrants as helpless victims, as opposed to fellow fighters whose presence here strengthens the working class and its capacity to stand up to the bosses.

Bosses need immigrant labor today

The capitalists depend on immigrants to maintain a superexploited layer of the working class, push down the wages of U.S.-born workers and compete with their rivals. This is certainly true today, when an uptick in markets, production and trade has pressed them to look for more workers. The rulers use the *threat* of deportations to try to keep undocumented workers in line. They scapegoat immigrants to divide the working class and weaken its ability to unite and fight against boss attacks on wages and working conditions for all workers.

If you look at a chart showing the yearly numbers of deportations since the 1950s, you wouldn't be able to tell

if a Democrat or Republican was in the White House. The U.S. rulers promote or restrict legal and "illegal" immigration based on their need for workers.

It was Republican President Ronald Reagan who yielded to pressure and granted amnesty to nearly 3 million people in 1986. And it was George H.W. Bush who presided over amnesty for another 1.5 million in 1990.

It was Democratic President Clinton who oversaw the highest number of deportations in a single year — 1.8 million his last year in office. And it was Obama who prosecuted and jailed more people for immigration violations than any other president in history. Trump's immigration "enforcement" is a continuation of the rulers' divide-and-rule strategy.

'Abolish ICE' is a diversion

Organizers of the June 30 actions raised the demand "abolish ICE," which sounds very radical, but is in fact a sham. Despite the rhetoric, they're not calling for dismantling the immigration police, but for "restructuring" them into something impossible — a kinder, gentler deportation police.

This has happened before. ICE was set up to replace the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service in 2003. But Latino workers have called both "la migra," and looked for allies to fight for the right to remain and work in the U.S.

Less anti-immigrant sentiment

There is less racism and anti-immigrant sentiment among working people today than ever. A good example is what happened in Morristown, Tennessee, after immigration cops raided the nearby Southeastern Provision meat-processing plant April 5, arresting 97 workers.

This is an area that voted 77 percent for Trump in the presidential elections. The raid and others like it have sparked a debate, with hundreds meeting and marching in solidarity with immigrant workers.

In last week's issue we reported on a march of a few hundred through Morristown April 12 to protest the raid. There was also a meeting of nearly 1,000 people at the local elementary school auditorium April 9 that drew large numbers of U.S.-born residents who came to show solidarity with those threatened with deportation. The week

1944 ruling to imprison Japanese-Americans thrown out

BY PATTI HIYAMA

On June 26, as part of its decision to uphold the Donald Trump administration's restrictions on travel to the United States, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned its infamous 1944 decision in *Korematsu v. United States* supporting the mass incarceration of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

"Korematsu was gravely wrong the day it was decided, has been overruled in the court of history," Chief Justice John Roberts wrote, "and — to be clear — 'has no place in law under the constitution.'"

Both the administration's travel restrictions upheld by the majority of black-robed justices and the more than 70-year-old Korematsu decision upholding President Franklin Roosevelt's actions to imprison all Japanese-Americans in concentration camps were justified in the name of "national security." The ruling class routinely speaks

of a classless "national security" to attack political rights at home and to justify U.S. imperialist war moves abroad. There is no common "national security" in our class-divided society.

So why was Korematsu overturned? Under the impact of the popular victory over Jim Crow segregation in the South led by Black workers, Japanese-Americans organized a redress movement in the 1970s to fight for recognition of the injustice suffered by those put in concentration camps during World War II. They won wide support. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1988, officially apologizing to Japanese-Americans and providing reparations of \$20,000 to each of the 56,000 survivors of the camps.

The Supreme Court decisions justifying the concentration camps have become widely discredited, earning comparison with the Dred Scott decision that upheld slavery.

'Don't deport Alonso Zaragoza! Amnesty now!'



Militant/Carole Lesnick

OAKLAND, Calif — As part of the effort to keep her husband Alonso Zaragoza from being deported, Maria Torres, center, who works at both Walmart and McDonald's, organized with her co-workers to pass out flyers to win support for the fight among participants in a June 30 rally here, where thousands demonstrated against the separation of families at the border.

Zaragoza, a cook, had been held without bail at a county detention facility in Richmond since his arrest in July 2017 for being in the country without documents the government accepts after having been deported 25 years ago. A legal fight over the last year challenged his original deportation, but in late May the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled him deportable.

On their signs and in discussions supporters of Zaragoza and Torres raised the need to fight for amnesty, not only for Zaragoza, but for the over 11 million immigrant workers who don't have papers recognized by the U.S. government.

An announcement at the rally urged people interested in learning about the case to meet Torres after the program. Many came forward to offer support. But two days later Zaragoza was transported without warning to an ICE building in Stockton, and then deported to Tijuana, Mexico.

— BETSEY STONE

before 120 schoolteachers met to discuss what they could do to help students whose relatives had been picked up. Local churches had so many offers to help they turned away some volunteers.

The longer native-born workers and those without government-approved papers live and work side by side, the more they join together to protest deportations.

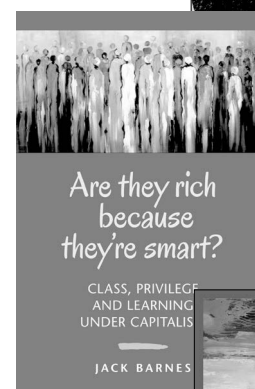
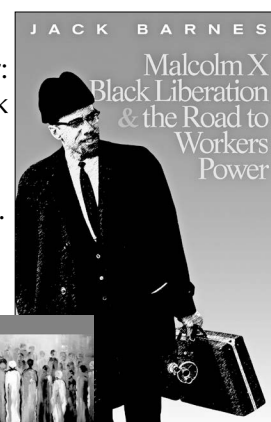
"This is going to hurt so many people in the community. It's going to hurt their kids, our kids," 42-year-old Angela Smith, a longtime resident of the Morristown area, told the *New York Times* after the raid. "It's going to have a ripple effect throughout the entire community because these people are part of Morristown. Immediately I drive over to the parish center to see what I can do

to help. I had to park way at the end because it was so packed."

Fighting for amnesty can mobilize broad sections of the working class — from the unions and working-class neighborhoods of all kinds — in a sustained struggle we can win. And it's part of organizing the unorganized and rebuilding a militant, fighting labor movement.

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New Jersey march demands ‘Driver’s licenses for all!’

BY JANET POST

CAMDEN, N.J. — Carrying a large banner reading “Driver’s Licenses for All,” and chanting, “Licencias sí! promesas no!” (Licenses yes, promises no), immigrants rights group Movimiento Cosecha led hundreds of workers and youth on an 11-day protest walk across New Jersey. Cosecha means harvest in Spanish. The group took the name from the historic marches of farmworkers for their rights in the 1960s.

The protest was part of a fight to make New Jersey the 13th state to grant driver’s licenses to immigrant workers who don’t have other papers authorities consider proper. A bill before the state legislature would allow such workers to get a special “limited” driver’s license to drive legally.

“We started out strong in New Brunswick on May 31 and people joined us along the route,” Catalona Adorno, one of Cosecha’s organizers, told the *Militant*. “We walked through the towns and we were welcomed,” added Cata Santiago, another Cosecha organizer.

The march passed through Camden, Vineland, Voorhees, Rahway, Red Bank, Plainfield, Perth Amboy, Atlantic City, Elizabeth, Jersey City and Newark, ending June 11 with a rally at the state Capitol in Trenton.

Cosecha initially thought they could win through lobbying the state government, Carlos Rojas told walkers in Vineland, but found very little support from elected officials. “We know now that only through our labor power, joining with others, can we win,” he said.

Rojas also talked about the mass nationwide immigrant rights strike and protests in 2006 demanding amnesty, and more recently, “Day Without Immigrants” rallies.

“We don’t have many buses here, so sometimes we have to walk or take a cab to the doctor’s,” one young person said at the meeting. “If we take a chance and drive we have to worry about seeing the flashing lights of police behind us.”

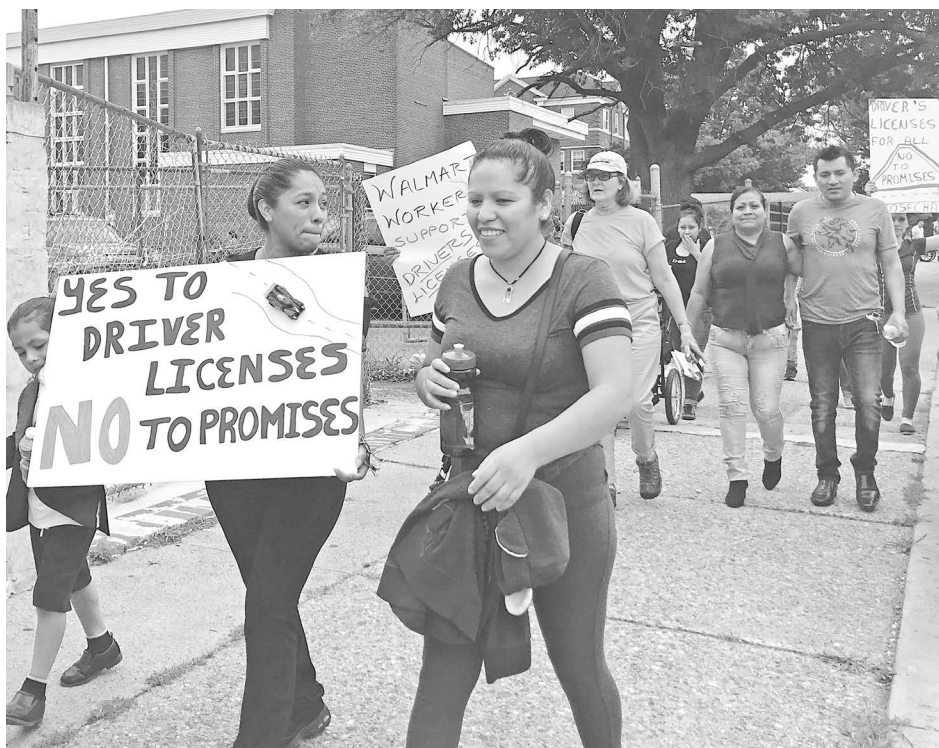
Other workers, including a number of Walmart workers from both northern New Jersey and Philadelphia, including this correspondent, joined different legs of the march. “Some people might think this demonstration is not all that large, but it looks big to me,” Walmart worker

Chris Slater told the *Militant*. “I think this is something monumental.”

“This is a point of unity for us, for different nationalities to struggle together across New Jersey,” warehouse worker José Ortiz told participants at the final rally in Trenton. “We can win driver’s licenses, but this is not the only thing we are fighting for. Our demand for dignity is part of a popular movement.”

“For 15 years the Democrats and Republicans have done nothing for us, but promise,” Cosecha organizer Carlos Castañeda said. “We start now to organize a movement until we have enough to change the law. We are not alone so we must work to mobilize.”

Ruth Robinett contributed to this article.



Militant/Janet Post

Demonstrators walk in Camden, New Jersey, June 10, part of 11-day protest march across the state demanding government make driver’s licenses available to all immigrant workers.

US rulers, Moscow set summit to discuss Mideast

Continued from front page

Recognizing that Washington has not been able to impose its will through a series of seemingly unending and inconclusive bloody wars there, the current administration is seeking to reduce armed conflicts and secure some stability for the capitalist class. Though it has nothing to do with the intentions of the capitalist rulers in either Moscow or Washington, moves like this can open up greater political space working people can use to discuss, debate and organize to assert their class interests and defend themselves from the impact of the capitalist crisis.

One of the central questions on the table is the ongoing moves by the regime in Tehran to extend its military forces and counterrevolutionary alliances in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and elsewhere.

National Security Adviser John Bolton said July 2 that ending Tehran’s military presence in Syria was the administration’s priority in the region, a goal shared by the capitalist rulers in Israel. One of Washington’s bargaining chips in talks with Moscow is to agree that the regime of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad will remain in place. Bolton ruled out any moves by Washington to try to halt Assad’s current offensive against

opposition-held areas in southwestern Syria.

Moscow’s airstrikes backing the Assad government’s two-week offensive there have forced 270,000 people to flee their homes, most retreating either to the border with Jordan or toward the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights. The attacks violate the terms of a “de-escalation zone” agreement reached last year between the U.S. rulers and the governments of Jordan and Russia. Moscow is now seeking to broker surrender terms with opposition forces under assault, and many have complied.

The very victories scored by Moscow and Tehran in propping up Assad with their military intervention starting in 2015 have created conditions for their alliance to now come apart, as they seek to advance their separate interests. After meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Putin’s government has sat by while the Israeli rulers carry out airstrikes on Tehran-backed forces aimed at destroying their heavy weapons and driving them out of Syria.

An anti-Trump “Resistance” editorial in the June 28 *New York Times* denounced what it called the “Too-Friendly Summit” between Trump and Putin. The editors grumble the administration intends to pull U.S.

forces out of Syria, may offer Putin a reduction in sanctions on Russia, and might even propose to withdraw U.S. troops from the Baltics. Regardless of whether Trump raises any of these things — any reduction in Washington’s sanctions, which hit working people the hardest, and in their military forces and armed interventions would be good for our class.

One overarching theme of the liberal pundits is that Trump’s talks with Moscow mean he is downsizing the U.S. rulers’ world status. Writing in the *Washington Post* June 28, David Ignatius complains the president is allowing Moscow to become “the indispensable regional balancer, playing a role once proudly claimed by the United States.”

But the administration has advanced the U.S. ruling families’ interests in the Middle East by deepening collaboration with Arab governments to push back Tehran’s rising clout and to press Palestinian leaders to join negotiations with Israel. And the U.S. rulers maintain far and away the most massive military firepower throughout the region

Liberals look to 2018 elections

“A Stunning New York Primary,” “Ocasio-Cortez ... Giant Slayer” were two of the many plaudits that gushed from the *Times* following Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez’s defeat of Rep. Joseph Crowley, in New York’s June 26 primary election. Crowley is the fourth-highest-ranking Democrat in the House. Ocasio-Cortez is a former Bernie Sanders staffer and a member of the Democratic Socialists of America. A mere 27,000 voters bothered to turn out.

Writing in the *Washington Post* June 27, Dana Milbank says the victory of Ocasio-Cortez “gives the Democrats a vital chance to own the emerging electorate of young, female, nonwhite and progressive voters. This coalition can beat Trump in 2020 and thwart Trumpism for years to come.”

Millions of Caucasian and Black workers voted for Trump, just as they did for Obama in the two previous elections, looking for some relief from the impact of capitalism’s economic, social and moral crisis. In the liberals’ electoral schema these workers are the enemy.

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—ON THE PICKET LINE—

This column gives a voice to those engaged in labor battles and building solidarity today — from school workers in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arizona and Colorado, to retail and factory workers looking to stand up and fight. Send in articles, photos and letters on picket lines and other labor protests to themilitant@mac.com or mail them to: 306 W. 37th St., 13th floor, New York, NY 10018; or call us at (212) 244-4899.

Coal miners in Ukraine mobilize to be paid back wages

On July 2 miners on first shift at underground mine No. 10 Novovolynska in the Volyn region of Ukraine refused to leave the mine at the end of the shift, and later the second shift joined them. They haven't been paid in three months. The same day miners in the Capustina mine in the eastern Luhansk region went on strike. And the next day miners in the western Lviv region staged a protest, blocking and shutting down the international road between Lviv and the Polish border at Rava Ruska for hours.

Over the past year and a half miners have carried out occupations, strikes and other protest actions to press demands they be paid. Workers have forced the government to make some concessions, strengthening their union, the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine.

They demand legislators pass a law that includes funding the \$30 million back pay owed to them. In addition, they demand raises and safer working conditions.

Workers in state-owned mines from all coal regions in Ukraine rallied outside parliament and other government offices in Kiev June 19, demanding payment of wage arrears.

Since then, miners across the country have organized protests. Workers in four mines in the state-owned Selydivuhillia enterprise in the eastern Donetsk region have held several protests, including strike actions and cutting off traffic on main regional roads.

The Trade Union of the Coal Industry of Ukraine — a miners union that was the official government union before the collapse of the Stalinist regime there in 1990 — has joined a number of the actions. On July 3, Mykhailo Volynets, chair of the independent miners union, and Victor Trumanov, head of the former government union, together

met with the Minister of Energy and the Coal Industry of Ukraine Ihor Nasalyk.

Nasalyk claimed his ministry is working to solve the problems, and making an effort get a bill passed that would allocate adequate funds to the state-run coal industry. "Two weeks ago, the minister promised that the bill would be adopted," Volynets told the press. "But it hasn't even been taken under consideration. Let's see what happens this time."

Miners organized to again rally in Kiev outside parliament July 5.

—Emma Johnson

Join July 12 union protest against pension cuts!

Continued from front page

ers, told the *Militant* by phone July 3. "People are coming from as far as Utah and Colorado. We expect a pretty big rally."

UMW buses are leaving from six locations in West Virginia, two in Kentucky, two in Pennsylvania, and Illinois and Alabama.

The Teamsters are organizing buses from western Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.

"The Teamster Central States plan, the bakery workers pension plan and the miners plan are all on the brink of insolvency," Smith said. This comes from years of attacks by the bosses on the unions and government backing of employers against workers. It was exacerbated by "the 2008 financial crisis, when a lot of companies went bankrupt and stopped paying into the plans," Smith said. "Congress bailed out the banks. It should guarantee the pensions for the workers."

The pension crisis for working people is rooted in how these funds were set up. They're tied to the capitalists' production levels and profits, rather than the rights of workers, who have toiled their entire lives, to a decent retirement.



KVPU/Ivanna Bilischuk

Coal miners in Novovolynska in central Ukraine refuse to come out of the mine July 2, part of nationwide protests demanding back pay. They have not been paid for three months.

As the crisis deepened, unionists took the fight to keep pensions funded to Washington. These capitalist politicians did nothing to resolve the crisis. Instead, Congress passed the Multiemployer Pension Reform Act in December 2014, allowing the managers of pension funds deemed to be in "critical and declining status" to apply to the Treasury Department for permission to slash retirees' payments.

The setup is crooked. In 2017 over 30,000 Teamsters and retirees in nine New York Teamster unions were told they had to vote on whether to cut their own benefits. The vote was more than 2 to 1 against any cuts. But then they were told they had to have a majority of *all* the members to win, and, since over 20,000 didn't vote, they lost. Starting in October 2017, those who had worked more than 30 years on the job were hit with massive cuts in benefits.

In February Congress passed the Bipartisan Budget Act, which again didn't provide any funding to secure pensions for hundreds of thousands of retirees who are enrolled in plans that are on the brink of insolvency. Instead, it created the Joint Select Committee on Solvency of Multiemployer Pension Plans, task-

ing it with coming up with a report and recommendations by the last week of November. The committee is meeting in Columbus July 13, and is the focus of the July 12 union protest.

The United Mine Workers 1974 Pension Plan is expected to become insolvent by 2022, sooner if the economy turns downwards. It covers 87,000 retired and 20,000 working miners.

If the plan collapses, coal miners and their dependents will be dropped into the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation, a federal agency that insures union pensions when funds go insolvent, at lower rates. This agency is also running out of funds, one of the motivations for passing the 2014 bill allowing the slashing of pension benefits. The current average miner's pension is \$586 per month.

Thousands of Teamster members have experience with what happens if the government agency takes over.

"Last year our fund ran out of money and the government agency took over payments," Kevin McCaffrey, president of Teamster Local 707 in Long Island, New York, said by phone. "If you had been getting \$3,000, you now get \$1,000. On average they cut pensions two-thirds. It affects 3,500 retired and 1,000 working members of our local."

For 34,000 Teamsters in the Albany region in New York state, cuts to present and future pensions will go into effect Oct. 1. Those who are still working will see a 19 percent reduction and most retired workers will be cut 29 percent.

UMW officials support the American Miners Pension Act, introduced in Congress last Oct. 3. It proposes to transfer money from the Abandoned Mine Land program — set up to clean up after mines that have closed — to the UMW pension plan.

"We have that proposal for the UMW plan, but it's the job of Congress to fix this for all these workers, not just miners," Smith said. "We don't really care how it's done as long as it gets fixed."

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

July 12, 1993

The thousands of supporters of abortion rights now preparing for battle with Operation Rescue in Minnesota, Ohio, Florida, and other states are setting an example that should be emulated by working people everywhere.

Operation Rescue is targeting seven cities over the next several weeks in a campaign the antiabortion rightists call "Cities of Refuge." Their goal is to shut down clinics that provide abortions.

Groups like Operation Rescue are not attacking abortion rights on their own. As the capitalist economic crisis worsens, the two political parties of big business have escalated their assault on a woman's right to choose.

The battle over abortion rights will be decided in the streets and in front of the clinics themselves — by physically outmobilizing and defeating Operation Rescue. This is how abortion rights were won in the first place.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1993

July 19, 1968

On July 30, Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Barry Sheppard, editor of the *Militant*, will leave New York for Japan. The purpose of the trip is to reach American GIs in Vietnam and at bases around the world with the antiwar program of the Socialist Workers presidential campaign.

Halstead has been invited to attend three antiwar conferences in Japan during the Hiroshima and Nagasaki memorial-day period.

On Aug. 14 Halstead and Sheppard will fly to Saigon. They will discuss their views on the war with GIs and let them know there is one presidential candidate who wants to bring them home immediately.

Halstead's visit to Vietnam is part of his overall campaign to reach GIs with the socialist alternative to all capitalist politicians.

THE MILITANT
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

July 17, 1943

Since the 1942 elections, the workers of New York, New Jersey and Michigan have demonstrated in the most unambiguous manner that they want to launch an independent party of labor. The most recent example was provided at the Michigan CIO convention. The convention supported the building of an independent labor party, despite furious protests and attacks of the top CIO officials and the vitriolic hysteria of the Stalinists.

The labor bureaucrats know that the launching of an independent labor party would signalize a break between labor and Roosevelt. They know that the launching of an independent labor party would speed the fight to regain the independence of the labor movement, on the economic as well as the political field. These bureaucrats are clinging to [President] Roosevelt for dear life, as protection against their own rank and file.

—CALENDAR—

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene

Rally and Barbecue to Back United Steelworkers Local 5114 on Strike at Lucky Friday Mine. Fri., July 20. 11 a.m.-1 p.m., rally at HECLA corporate headquarters, 6500 North Mineral Drive, (W. Hanley Ave. at Highway 95). Barbecue afterwards at Ramsey Park, 3525 Ramsey Road. Tel.: (208) 744-1774.

‘Militant’ challenges ongoing prison censorship in Florida

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Prison authorities in Florida keep trying to stop inmates there from reading the *Militant*, “forgetting” to inform the paper, effectively denying it the right to challenge the censorship in defiance of their own rules.

In the latest of a series of impoundments over the last month, authorities at the Madison Correctional Institution withheld the May 28 issue, objecting to an article entitled “Gov’t Backs Off Moves to Bar Books to Prisoners.” Officials at the Tomoka Correctional Institution barred the June 18 issue, which features special coverage on what workers in Puerto Rico face nine months into the social catastrophe caused by Hurricane Maria and U.S. colonial rule over the island.

“We have appealed every attempt to censor the *Militant*, and won most of them, and will continue to appeal every one to come,” *Militant* editor John Studer said July 2. “We oppose any and all attempts to close down space for working people and others to exchange views, debate and discuss politics, outside or inside prison walls.”

Tomoka authorities never informed the *Militant* of their decision to seize the June 18 issue. The *Militant* found

out about it from the Literature Review Committee while appealing the impoundment at Madison. Tomoka’s warden didn’t give any specific article as the reason, referring to the entire paper. “PGS 1-9 Showed organized protests around the state and seeks to organize inmates to strike,” said the impoundment notice, and “otherwise presents a threat to the security, good order, or discipline of the correctional system or the safety of any person.” But the issue only had eight pages, and nothing about strikes or prisons in Florida of any kind.

Tomoka authorities had earlier impounded the May 14 issue, which contained extensive coverage of the wave of teachers’ walkouts across the country. The reason given for that impoundment was exactly the same as the new one. And the May 14 censorship was overturned by the Literature Review Committee before the *Militant* found out it had happened from a letter from a subscriber there.

Tomoka’s claims raise “a serious question of whether the censoring officials even reviewed the issue, and further strongly suggests that the censorship was based on hostility to the *Militant*’s political viewpoint,” wrote



Tomoka prison authorities barred from prison special June 18 *Militant* featuring coverage from Puerto Rico. Move was part of years of censorship by prison officials across the state.

the *Militant*’s lawyer, David Goldstein, in his July 2 appeal of the new impoundment.

Goldstein, from the constitutional rights law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky and Lieberman, notes that Tomoka never informed the *Militant* of either impoundment, which is required by Florida law. The fact that no notice has been given, he said, “makes us concerned that this has happened on additional occasions, leading to unreported censorship with no chance of reply.”

Madison prison authorities said they impounded the issue that re-

ported on a victory over moves by the Federal Bureau of Prisons to arbitrarily impose draconian limits on books prisoners could buy, falsely claiming it was reporting on “contraband entering a prison” and because it was a “threat to the security, good order or discipline of the correctional system or the safety of any person.”

The *Militant* is mailed to approximately 115 subscribers in some 60 prisons across the country, 34 of them incarcerated in 17 prisons in Florida. Florida prisons have attempted to censor well over a dozen issues over the past year. The *Militant* has challenged each one, with support from groups like the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild, Amnesty International, PEN America and prisoner rights, church and other organizations. The Literature Review Committee has reversed the large majority of them.

“The *Militant* believes workers behind bars are as much a part of the working class and its debates and struggles as any other workers. They need information about what we face to participate on an equal basis,” Studer said. “We have no intention of altering our content or political viewpoint to avoid unconstitutional censorship. And we’ll fight every attempt to keep us out.”

‘Militant’ Prisoners’ Fund

The Prisoners’ Fund makes it possible to send prisoners reduced rate subscriptions. To donate, send a check or money order payable to the ‘Militant’ and earmarked “Prisoners’ Fund” to 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

July 15 meeting to celebrate political life of Wendy Lyons

BY NORTON SANDLER

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party will host a meeting July 15th to celebrate the 55-year political life in the party of Wendy Lyons. Lyons, 73, died on June 16 after a long battle with cancer. The meeting will be held at the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 770 Workers’ Center, 5400 Pacific Boulevard, Huntington Park. A reception will begin at 1 p.m., the program at 2 p.m.

Lyons was a longtime leader of the SWP. She joined the communist movement in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1963 and moved to New York shortly after. She shouldered many leadership responsibilities, including serving 25 years on the party’s National Committee, and years on the SWP Political Committee. She was a field organizer for the party in the Midwest beginning in 1977, when, in response to changes in the labor movement, the party began a turn to concentrate its forces in the in-

dustrial trade unions. She was part of the generation of female SWP cadres who joined thousands of other women breaking into steel, the mines and other industrial jobs.

Over decades of building the SWP, Lyons was a member of party branches in New York; Seattle; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Newark, New Jersey; Philadelphia; and Los Angeles. She and her companion Al Duncan lived in L.A. since 2000.

Lyons worked in garment as a presser and also a sewer, and on the kill floor in meatpacking. She was active in the packinghouse battles in the Upper Midwest during the 1980s. She traveled internationally for the party, taking part in trade union delegations to Trinidad, to Cuba, and to South Africa after the fall of the apartheid regime. She attended the SWP’s leadership school in 1983.

Lyons ran as an SWP candidate for public office several times, including as

a candidate for governor of Minnesota in 1990 and for mayor of Los Angeles in 2005.

She was active in the fight for women’s right to choose abortion, the battle to overthrow Jim Crow segregation in the 1960s, and in the fight against the U.S. imperialist rulers’ wars from Vietnam to Iraq.

In recent years Lyons joined battles against police brutality and killings by cops, spoke out against the brutality of the capitalist rulers’ prison system and California’s extensive use of solitary confinement. She was a stalwart of the Los Angeles branch’s work in discussing politics and the SWP’s program with workers at their porches and doorsteps. And she helped organize and lead many of the branch’s educational series.

Messages to the meeting can be sent to the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles at SWPLA@att.net. For more information call (323) 643-4968.

ILWU fighter Byron Jacobs killed on job in Washington

BY MARY MARTIN

Byron Jacobs, 34, a member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 21, was killed at work June 28 at the Port of Longview in Washington state when a vessel line on the ship he was loading snapped, resulting in a fatal injury. A public meeting to commemorate Jacobs’ life will be held July 6 at 1 p.m. at the Cowlitz County Expo Center in Longview.

Other workers were injured when the cable snapped. One of them, Chinese chief mate Ping-Shan Li, also died.

Jacobs was a leader of the ILWU’s successful fight against the 2011-12 union-busting assault by EGT Development. His picture became well known when he was photographed being assaulted by cops and severely

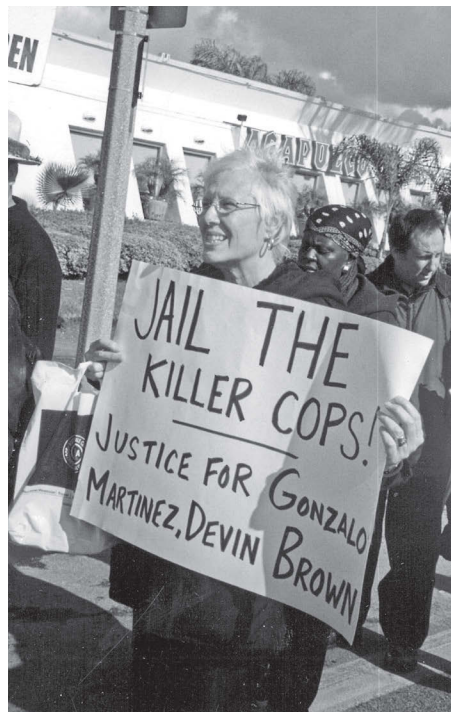
beaten during a peaceful union protest on the railroad tracks near EGT during the lockout. In true boss-cop frame-up style, he was later charged with assaulting the cops. The photo is reprinted in the Pathfinder book *The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free*. He was convicted on a lesser charge and spent time in jail.

Dan Coffman, president of the ILWU local during the EGT fight, told the *Militant* Jacobs “was absolutely fearless for the union and his fellow union members.” Both Jacobs and Coffman always took time out during the fight to give interviews to the *Militant* so the facts about the union’s battle could be told in the face of the bosses’ lies and to help win broader support.

Jacobs regularly followed the *Militant* to read about union struggles, political developments and the work of the Socialist Workers Party. In 2012 he sent a statement in support of the SWP presidential slate of James Harris and Maura DeLuca to be read at a campaign rally here.

We exchanged emails about the protests after the 2012 killing of Trayvon Martin and in celebration of the Cuban Five’s release from prison in 2014. Jacobs told us to add his name to whatever protest letter we sent to Washington state officials when they threatened to keep the party’s presidential slate off the ballot in 2016. And he sent a message of congratulations when we won ballot status.

Jacobs is survived by his wife Megan and three young children.



Wendy Lyons joins 2006 protest against killings, brutality by cops in Los Angeles.

The class-struggle road for workers to win political power

Below is an excerpt from the “Afterword” to the new, enhanced edition of Teamster Bureaucracy, the last of four books by Farrell Dobbs on how Socialist Workers Party members and other militant workers engaged in a series of strike battles in the 1930s that forged a class-struggle union and broader politically minded labor movement in the Minneapolis trucking industry and spearheaded an organizing campaign among over-the-road drivers in the upper Mississippi Valley. Dobbs, a central leader of these battles, later served as both labor secretary and national secretary for the SWP. As President Roosevelt made preparations for the U.S. rulers’ entry into the second imperialist World War, the Minneapolis Teamsters led an anti-war campaign in the union movement, leading Roosevelt’s attorney general to bring frame-up charges of sedition against leaders of both the union and the party. Copyright © 1977 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Truckers sign up by the hundreds for Teamsters union during over-the-road organizing campaign, June 1937. “As significant forces are set into motion,” writes Socialist Workers Party and union leader Farrell Dobbs, “increasingly sharp clashes with the bosses result, during which the workers begin to shed class-collaborationist illusions and acquire class-struggle concepts.”

BY FARRELL DOBBS

[T]he class-struggle program needed by the trade unions should be introduced realistically on a transitional basis. In that way the unfolding labor radicalization can be guided from its present stage toward higher forms of development along the following lines:

Proposals for immediate action should center on problems involving the workers’ urgent material needs and the defense of their democratic rights. It is also important that the fight around those issues be attuned to the existing levels of consciousness in the union membership. Then, as significant forces are set into motion through that approach, several things take place. Rank-and-file militancy rises. Increasingly sharp clashes with the bosses result, during which the workers begin to shed class-collaborationist illusions and acquire class-struggle concepts. Lessons thus learned during industrial conflicts can prepare the union ranks for an advance toward action on a political plane. In short, a foundation is laid from which to initiate transformation of the trade unions themselves into instruments capable of developing far-reaching revolutionary perspectives.

As the transitional process from where they are to where they should be continues, the workers’ attention can be focused on broad questions which go far beyond day-to-day issues on the

job. They will learn in that way to generalize their thinking in class terms, and the development of a conscious anticapitalist outlook will follow.

If, during the course of their experiences in struggle, the labor militants are helped to analyze the causes of the social and economic ills facing them; if they are aided in perceiving the essence of an outlived capitalism—they will learn that the existing problems are not incidental and episodic at all, but the consequence of a deep structural crisis of the system. They will then see why governmental control must be taken away from the capitalists by labor and its allies.

Basic to such a rise in the workers’ class consciousness is understanding that a fundamental change must take place in the role of the trade unions, which constitute the existing form of mass organization among the workers in this country. These broad instruments of struggle must be turned away from reliance upon so-called friends among the capitalist politicians. They must break off the self-defeating collaboration with the bosses’ government, that has been imposed by bureaucratic misleaders. The unions must be transformed into mechanisms for independent and militant action by the workers all along the line. Restrictions on the right to strike must be vigorously opposed and freedom to exercise that right firmly asserted. Internal

union democracy must be established so that all questions can be decided on the basis of majority rule. Then, and only then, will organized labor manage to bring its full weight to bear in confrontations with the employers at the industrial level.

Whenever conflicts of significant magnitude erupt within industry today, the government intervenes on the employers’ side; and this interference is bound to intensify as capitalist decay gets worse. From this it follows that trade union action alone will prove less and less capable of resolving the workers’ problems, even on a limited basis. Objectively, industrial conflicts will assume more and more a political character, and even the most powerfully organized workers will be faced with an increasingly urgent need to act on the new and higher plane of politics.

Therefore, efforts to build an effective left wing in the trade unions will run into insurmountable obstacles unless the workers move toward resolving the problem of political action. A vigorous campaign must be conducted to break the labor movement from subordination to capitalist politics and to launch an independent labor political organization. This campaign will have to focus initially on educational propaganda for a change in labor’s political course, but it should not be conducted in an abstract, routine manner. Ample opportunity will be found to concretize the propaganda by drawing the lessons of setbacks caused by the misuse of labor’s inherent political strength. This can lay the basis for an advance, as soon as it becomes realistic, to an agitational campaign designed to convince the ranks of the urgency of forming a labor party.

In the process of creating their own mass party, based upon and controlled by the trade unions, the organized workers can draw unorganized, unemployed, and undocumented sections of their class into a broad political alliance. Labor will then be in a position to act both in a more unified manner and through advanced forms of struggle.

The workers will learn to generalize their needs, as a class, and to address their demands on a political basis to the capitalists, as a class. Political confrontation of that kind — for example, the nationalization of a given industry under workers’ control — will raise labor action as a whole to a higher

plane and at the same time impart new vigor to the continuing trade union struggles. Increased militancy within industry will serve, in turn, to reinforce activity in the political sphere. In that way interacting processes will develop through which the workers will attain greater class consciousness, more complete solidarity, and, hence, mounting ability to outfight the bosses.

Before unity of the exploited masses can be attained, however, still another of organized labor’s existing policies must be thoroughly reversed. The labor movement must champion and give unqualified support to the demands of the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other oppressed national minorities and of women and youth.

As Leon Trotsky insisted in discussions during the 1930s, the American workers must learn to act politically and to think socially if they are to attain the class consciousness and solidarity needed to defeat the exploiters. This is the opposite of the narrow class-collaborationist course pursued by the labor bureaucracy. ...

At every juncture in the unfolding social conflicts, the workers and their allies need guidance from a revolutionary socialist party. That is the reason for the existence of the Socialist Workers Party. Its scientific analysis of the class struggle provides in fullest measure the political consciousness and program that the anticapitalist movement must have. Therefore, it is uniquely qualified to shape the basic proposals, broad strategy, and tactical steps required for the most effective mass action.

In the course of events, increasing numbers of militants who come to recognize those facts will be ready to join in building such a party on an expanding scale, as they did in Minneapolis during the 1930s. As members of the revolutionary party, they will learn fundamentals involved in the fight against capitalist exploitation as well as lessons of past class struggles on a world-historical scale. Through that education they will become better equipped to apply valid principles in today’s conflicts. Their capacity will become enhanced to exert helpful influence within the broad mass movement in ways that will add to its efficiency in action, to its prospects for ultimate victory.

Such growth in the numerical strength and influential role of the revolutionary socialist party is, in the last analysis, decisive for the acquisition of supreme power in the United States by the workers and their allies; for only that kind of politically advanced formation, geared for combat in a scientific way, can lead the masses successfully in defeating the capitalists and their repressive apparatus.

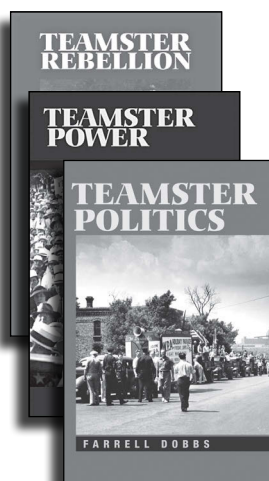
It will then be possible to assume governmental power through assertion of majority rule, after which economic and social relations can be reorganized on a rational basis. An enlightened society can be constructed along socialist lines, in which there will be peace, freedom, equality, and security for all.

As the Teamster story demonstrates, the principal lesson for labor militants to derive from the Minneapolis experience is not that, under an adverse relationship of forces, the workers can be overcome; but that, with proper leadership, they can overcome.

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Workers respond to shifts shaking world capitalist ‘order’

Continued from front page
trade union fractions, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said, alongside weekly campaigning on workers’ doorsteps with the *Militant* and books on working-class politics, as well as participation in social and political struggles in the interests of working people.

The article also reviewed Barnes’ assessment of shifts in politics and the class struggle worldwide, including talks by President Donald Trump and North Korean head of state Kim Jong Un and wars and class conflict from Israel and Palestine to Syria and Iran.

Regardless of the rulers’ aims, Barnes said, the steps Washington is taking in these regions can have positive results for working people. They can help open space for workers to organize and gain combat experience against their own capitalist ruling classes; to strengthen solidarity across imperialist-stoked national and religious divisions; and to take steps toward building new working-class leadership.

Barnes took up the myth of the so-called G-7, European “Union” and NATO, and their accelerating disintegration.

The recent G-7 summit in Quebec underlined the place of Washington as still the world’s dominant imperialist economic and military power. Though the U.S. rulers have declined relative to their peak of ascendancy in the mid-1900s, their fellow G-7 “members” — the ruling families of Germany, France, the U.K., Japan, Italy and Canada — are all declining faster.

These annual rituals are supposed to be lavish showcases held at the expense of workers and farmers in their respective countries and worldwide. They peter out a day or two later with vapid “joint communiqués” agreed to before the meeting even began.

Not this one. Donald Trump arrived late and left early. This year’s summit was supposed to focus on sanctimonious pronouncements about climate change and “gender diversity.” But the U.S. president stunned participants (with the exception of Italy’s new prime minister) by proposing instead to readmit Moscow, expelled in 2014 after Vladimir Putin’s government invaded and annexed Crimea. “Whether you like it or not,” Trump said, the major capitalist powers “need [Russia] at the negotiating table.”

Then he left agast the heads of state from Germany and France in particular by proposing that the seven members simply abolish all tariffs between them. That was hardly a welcome initiative, since the Berlin- and, to a lesser degree, Paris-dominated European “Union” is a protectionist bloc against Washington, rival imperialist powers and semicolonial countries.

U.S. rulers lost Cold War

The U.S. rulers emerged as the unalloyed victor from the second imperialist war, Barnes said. In the late 1940s and 1950s they hammered together a patchwork of global institutions and “alliances” to ratify their dominion over world markets and political and military influence. These included the United Nations, NATO, and others, which became the structure within which they presided

over the world capitalist order for decades.

The feeble capitalist rulers in Europe banded together into what is today called the European Union. Ostensibly a “community,” it has become in fact a pump enriching the economically stronger capitalist rulers in Germany by sucking surplus value produced by workers and farmers from weaker ruling classes in southern Europe. Still, many in better-off liberal middle layers across the continent long clung to the illusion that the EU could evolve into a “United States of Europe,” a single state highly competitive on the world stage.

Washington launched the so-called Cold War in the late 1940s not to bring down the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and their satellites across Eastern and Central Europe. For the U.S. rulers, it was about trying to hold off the inevitable sharpening of class struggle on both sides of what they called the “Iron Curtain.” They sought to convince workers “East” and “West” that they were enemies, not fellow workers with common class interests, in order to divide and weaken them.

The Stalinist regimes imploded between 1989 and 1991, gutted from the inside by bureaucratic privilege and anti-working-class oppression. Amid the wreckage, the U.S. rulers greedily stuffed their coffers, piecing off academic “privatization experts” at Har-

“Workers today are more confident in fighting for our class needs, starting with wages and safety on the job . . .”

vard and elsewhere. As rising exploiting classes restored capitalism in these countries, the U.S. imperialists and their mouthpieces crowed that they had “won the Cold War.”

What’s happening today, however, is that NATO, the G-7, and other pillars of what was to be the “American Century” are being pulled apart. So is the European Union, as shown among other things by “Brexit” in the U.K., the Berlin-led plunder of Greece, and recent election results in Italy.

Prospects of an “ever-greater union,” impossible from the outset, Barnes said, are unraveling under the strains of the world capitalist economic, social and moral crisis. For decades the rulers of the dominant nations in Europe have laid claim to act as world powers, without maintaining the military might necessary to back that up. Today the German rulers have a mere handful of combat-ready fighter jets and no seaworthy submarines. And British imperialism’s air and naval power, once considerable even amid its post-World War II decline, faces accelerating decay.

Russia has emerged today as a regional capitalist power, defending its borders with military moves in eastern Ukraine and other former Soviet republics. It is extending its reach in the Middle East, especially its air and naval bases and access to the Mediterranean in Syria. There Moscow is the main force con-

Deeper into the Working Class Act on the Rulers’ Deepening Political Build the Labor Movement BUILD THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY



SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, at podium, told conference that recent steps by Washington in Korea and Middle East, regardless of rulers’ aims, can help open space for workers to organize and gain combat experience against their own capitalist ruling classes.

tending with the U.S. rulers, while Washington’s NATO “allies” in London and Paris have only a marginal role.

The U.S. rulers are seeking to open discussions with Moscow, Barnes pointed out. Shortly after the SWP conference ended, a meeting between Trump and Putin was set for July 16 in Helsinki, Finland. The agenda will be dominated by the Middle East. Russia’s capitalist government helped lay the groundwork for the talks by agreements with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to allow Tel Aviv to attack Iranian troops in Syria and Tehran-dominated Hezbollah forces from Lebanon that threaten Israel. In return, the Israeli government agreed not to challenge Russian interests in Syria or the tyrannical rule of its president, Bashar al-Assad.

Fights for wage hikes, safety

In the U.S., Barnes said, there is a rise in hiring and production, on the heels of decades of stagnating wages and employer assaults. Workers are more confident to fight for our class needs, starting with wage increases and safer job conditions. At the same time, a smaller percentage of the working class than ever is employed or has full-time work.

Working farmers too will seek ways to resist the ruinous impact of rising interests rates and low prices for their produce, which threaten to drive them off the land. Most already hold wage-earning jobs as well, to bring in enough to try to keep the farm and put food on the table.

A year ago the SWP had just begun rebuilding industrial fractions. Today most party members are organized in union fractions, ready to join co-workers and jump in with solidarity into fights by working people on the job, against cop brutality, for amnesty for immigrant workers, and around other social questions. We’re poised, Barnes said, to “build the labor movement,” as the conference banner says — and, as we do so, to build the Socialist Workers Party.

Liberals attack workers’ rights

Donald Trump’s foreign policy is winning broader support in the U.S. rul-

ing families — and, for quite different reasons, from many working people. It is overwhelmingly the sons, daughters, and other kinfolk of workers and farmers who are killed, maimed, or haunted for a lifetime due to Washington’s wars. After 16 years of military adventures under George Bush and Barack Obama, working people welcome what they hope may be less combat and carnage.

Nonetheless, the liberal press and commentators, along with the middle-class left, remain consumed with hysterical “Resistance” to the outcome of the 2016 election, Barnes said. Their outlook — and their true target, working people — were graphically presented in an opinion column headlined “A Quisling and His Enablers” by Paul Krugman in the *New York Times*.

Trump himself is a “de facto foreign agent” of Moscow, Krugman says. But the *Times* columnist and Nobel Prize-winning economist then zeroes in on the “people who are enabling [this] betrayal of America.” Who’s that? His “base,” Krugman says. By that he means working people who voted for Trump not Hillary Clinton. The “base,” Krugman says, loves Trump for “the performative cruelty he exhibits toward racial mi-



Inset, SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters at question and answer session, above, on her conference talk, “Private Property and Women’s Oppression: The Working-Class Road to Emancipation.” Hands in air during lively discussion at the session, including an exchange on Waters’ explanation that the #MeToo exposés by prominent Hollywood performers are not a step forward in fight for women’s emancipation.

norities and the way he sticks his thumb in the eyes of ‘elites’” (among whom Krugman counts himself and his liberal colleagues).

This disparaging portrayal of workers — and not just those who voted for Trump, but tens of millions of us of all kinds, in the eyes of these bourgeois and middle-class voices — brings us to Krugman’s final sentence. If other elections turn out like 2016, he says, “America as we know it is finished.” Krugman and the comfortable layers he speaks for are determined to restrict workers’ constitutional rights, Barnes said, including the franchise and capacity to put someone like Trump not a Democrat in office.

Another *Times* column, a June 25 op-ed by Bryan Van Norden, made this anti-working-class goal even more overt. Under the headline “The Ignorant Do Not Have a Right to an Audience,” he takes aim at workers’ use of the First Amendment. A “stupid opinion” shouldn’t get the same circulation as an “intelligent one,” Van Norden says. He’s for meritocrats like himself having veto power over the rights of our class. (What

an example of apologists for capitalist property relations and political rule! Barnes dissects their rationalizations in his recent book, *Are They Rich Because They’re Smart? Class, Privilege and Learning Under Capitalism*.)

This reactionary offensive is deadly dangerous for working people, who need the rights we’ve won in bloody battles even more today, as a new period of class struggle opens up.

We have an irreplaceable asset in the lessons of pioneer communists who came before us, Barnes told conference participants. From Marx and Engels, to Vladimir Lenin and Fidel Castro — the central leaders of the two great socialist revolutions of the 20th century — we can study and learn from what they wrote and what they *did*.

That’s why the party’s arsenal of books is so important: books by leaders of revolutionary struggles such as Thomas Sankara in the West African country Burkina Faso and Maurice Bishop in the Caribbean island of Grenada; by party members and other fighters in the Teamster strikes and organizing drives of the 1930s; by Malcolm X; by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American communism; and scores of others.

“I want to learn more about what communists do, including as trade unionists. You can’t learn that in the abstract,” Samantha Hamlin told the *Militant* after Barnes’ talk. Hamlin, who was attending her first conference, recently joined the SWP and is looking forward to being part of one of the party’s trade union fractions. Hamlin participated in the 13th May Day International Brigade to Cuba this spring and has campaigned with SWP members door to door in Kentucky and at teacher protests in North Carolina.

Women’s rights and working class

“Few questions are more important than placing the emancipation of women on a scientific foundation,” said Mary-Alice Waters in one of two other



Donald Trump faces off with other government leaders during the G-7 summit in Quebec June 9. Meeting underscored fact that Washington is still world’s dominant imperialist power.

conference talks, “Private Property and Women’s Oppression: The Working-Class Road to Emancipation.” There can be no socialist revolution, she said, “without fighting to end all forms of women’s degradation.”

The subjugation of women “isn’t inherent to human nature,” Waters said. Its origins aren’t in conflicts between men and women but “entwined with the way communal structures of preclass society disintegrated. In that process, the vast majority of toiling women and men were subjugated” by the emerging class that seized ownership of the growing accumulation of surplus production and wealth — a class that, for historical reasons, came to be dominated by men.

“The dawn of private property and origins of women’s oppression were the same,” Waters said. That’s been the case for millennia. With the worldwide spread of struggles against capitalist social relations since the 19th century, however, something different became possible, Waters said. It opened the fight to restore women’s equal position.

There are many wonderful books to

“Few questions are more important than placing the emancipation of women on a scientific foundation . . .”

read about this, Waters said.¹ But most liberal college professors today deny there is any scientific foundation to women’s oppression and how it can be ended. Instead, they say that women and men — across centuries and continents — have lived in a “diversity of cultures” with no historical evolution or common features. This ahistorical approach conceals how women’s second-class status was born in the bloody emergence of class-divided society, in its varied and concrete forms.

Struggles in recent centuries to better women’s status are a product, Waters said, of their growing integration

in the workforce, alongside men, under capitalism; scientific advances easing domestic labor and enabling birth control; and hard-fought gains by the labor movement, Blacks, and women. Just this year, she said, we can point to the victory in the fight for abortion rights in Ireland and women’s leadership in the wave of teachers’ battles.

“All women are oppressed as women,” Waters said. “But how to effectively fight this oppression and win is a class question.”

“The so-called #MeToo ‘movement’ is no example,” Waters explained. Posing the goal as “shaming men” is the opposite of what’s needed and possible to win co-workers and others, female and male, to understand how the rulers use women’s oppression to divide and weaken working people and the unions.

There was a lively discussion in a Q and A session led by Waters and Katharina Timpton after the talk. A few at the conference disagreed with Waters’ rejection of #MeToo exposés by wealthy and prominent Hollywood performers as a step forward in the fight for women’s emancipation.

Other participants responded by pointing to their own experience in industry and the unions. They described how anti-woman prejudice on

the job and sexual harassment, whether by bosses or co-workers, are addressed by reaching out to fellow workers, male and female, and to the union. They described how working-class solidarity and unity can be forged in the fight against the bosses’ assaults on workers and our human dignity. This was the way forward, they said, not asking bosses to discipline or fire people.

As Malcolm X said about African-Americans in the U.S., Waters insisted, “Women too don’t need to be awakened to our oppression but to our *worth*. Awakened to a political course to fight together to overthrow class domination and oppression in all its forms.”

Working class is bearer of culture

“The crisis of capitalism is above all a cultural and moral crisis,” Dave Prince, a member of the SWP National Committee, said in his presentation on “The Proletarian Revolution and Culture.”

What’s called “culture” throughout history is an expression of the dominant class and its property relations, he said. “Under capitalism, great conquests of humanity are used to increase the exploitation of working people and to rationalize rule by the propertied classes.

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New struggles open door to build unions

Continued from front page

This is all the more true for the public worker union officials, who argue that you're voting not just for a so-called "friend of labor," you're voting for who will be your boss.

For these officials, the system guarantees their dues base, even if they do nothing to organize and mobilize workers to defend the interests of their class.

Under this approach union membership in privately owned factories, mines, transportation and retail declined from 35 percent in the 1950s to 6.5 percent today. The unionization rate among public employees is at 34.4 percent, about where it was 35 years ago.

The recent teacher strikes and protests in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Arizona, Colorado and North Carolina this spring were a breath of fresh air, pointing the way forward for revitalizing the labor movement and winning new members to the unions.

"We've seen a 13 percent jump in membership because of the walkout," said Ed Allen, president of the Oklahoma City Federation of Teachers. Similarly, in other states, school workers are seeing new ways of using union power and joining up.

A number of the states where teachers' fights shook things up are so-called right-to-work states where mandatory dues checkoff and collective bargaining rights for teachers are denied, and state legislatures set pay levels and working conditions. But none of this stopped rank-and-file workers from mounting these

fights, strengthening their unions and making real gains.

In forging a class-struggle union in Minneapolis and the upper Midwest in the 1930s, Teamsters Local 574, led by members of the Socialist Workers Party and other militants, provides an invaluable example of how to deal with this question today. In his book *Teamster Power*, former Teamster and SWP leader Farrell Dobbs described perfectly the "bureaucratic view" that "sees the closed shop as a liberating instrument — for the bureaucrats, that is, not the workers" — because it enabled the officials to "more or less freely ignore or go against the wishes of the rank and file. No matter how dissatisfied this may make the workers, dues must still be paid, and the bureaucrats continue to have a union treasury at their disposal."

Teamsters union militants collected dues by visiting workers and discussing what had to be done to strengthen the union.

"When workers are inspired by the union," Dobbs said, "they develop a healthy resentment against freeloaders on the job and look for ways of forcing them at least to contribute financially to the cause. That leads them to favor putting a clause in the agreement with the employer making payment of union dues compulsory."

Far from the unions being doomed, the teachers' struggles pointed the way forward to advance the fighting capacity of our unions today.

Workers respond to shifts shaking world 'order'

Continued from page 9

Scientific and technological advances are used for war."

But our class can counter capitalism's dog-eat-dog morality, as we organize to overcome divisions the capitalists impose on us. Workers who are communists speak and act as tribunes for all the oppressed.

With the workers' conquest of political power and overturn of capitalist rule, Prince said, we can sweep away the property relations that create class antagonisms. We can transform social conditions, and in the process transform ourselves, building a new society in which — as Marx and Engels put it in the Communist Manifesto — "the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all."

Drawing lessons from Lenin and Trotsky during the victorious Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Prince said that vanguard workers can't fall into the inward-looking trap of trying to create or, worse, to impose their own "proletarian culture." Working-class interests lie in defending the greatest achievements of all prior class society. This communist continuity, Prince said, has been enriched — in word and *in deed* — by the leadership of the Cuban Revolution.

Advancing literacy and culture is crucial for working people, Prince said. "Without doing so, we can't take the reins of power into our own hands and forge the tools essential to transform society for the benefit of all."

Prince pointed to the play "Sankara" that ran earlier this year at London's Cockpit Theatre (scheduled for another run this fall). It depicts Sankara's efforts during the 1983-87 Burkina Faso Revolution to lead working people, Prince said, "to rid themselves of the imperialist lies that demean them and dominate their lives, opening up conditions for their transformation." Many who came to the play to be entertained, Prince said, came away wanting to learn more about Sankara's communist leadership and the Burkina Revolution.

Classes at the conference included "Class Struggle, Communism and the Jewish Question: From Palestine and Israel to Iran"; "The Political Legacy of the Grenada Revolution and Communist Leadership"; "Black Liberation and the Labor Movement"; and "Korea is One! U.S. Troops Out Now!"

Openings for communist workers

The conference closed with presentations on political openings for the communist movement.

These ranged from joining strikes and others workers' and union battles, to activities supporting working people in Puerto Rico combating the devastation of U.S. colonial rule; from campaigning in workers' neighborhoods with the *Militant* and books by revolutionary leaders; to participating in book fairs in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, the Philippines, and Cuba — and much more, as described each week in this working-class newspaper.

Holly Harkness, a party supporter who organizes the distribution center for Pathfinder Press in Atlanta, told conference participants that volunteers responsible to keep in stock the books used by the party have taken steps to reprint books more quickly. This helps improve the timeliness of the SWP's response to developments in politics and the class struggle, she said.

The next day SWP supporters met to discuss how to advance their work. Supporters help design, format and proofread Pathfinder books; organize their printing; place them in retail bookstores, libraries, and large distributors like Amazon; pack and ship them to party branches; post each issue of the *Militant* to its (newly revamped!) website; and organize monthly financial contributions for the SWP's political work.

At the closing conference event, Samir Hazboun described how he recently joined the party. Hazboun had won others where he lived in Tennessee to join brigades to Cuba to learn more about that workers and farmers revolution. Both in Cuba and when they returned home, he's been working with SWP members not only to explain and defend Cuba's socialist revolution but to above all emulate its example by organizing to make a revolution in the U.S.

The rise in labor struggles today helps recruit workers and young people to the Socialist Workers Party, Hazboun said.

The conference ended with a collection for a summer fund appeal of \$33,800.

2 Reading for these classes, sent to participants prior to the conference, included the SWP statement "For Recognition of a Palestinian State and of Israel"; "Revolution, Counterrevolution, and War in Iran"; and "US Out of Korea! An Unknown History" — all available on the *Militant* website — as well as the books *Malcolm X*, *Black Liberation*, and *the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes; *Maurice Bishop Speaks*; and "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" by Steve Clark in *New International* no. 6.

Pittsburgh protests

Continued from front page

"You do not shoot somebody in the back when they are not a threat to you," he told a press conference June 25. "I find that Rosfeld's actions were intentional, and they certainly brought about the result he was looking to accomplish." He said the evidence showed Rose was neither involved in any illegal activity, nor armed when he was shot down. Eyewitnesses told police Rose showed Rosfeld his empty hands, Zappala said.

The criminal homicide charge filed by Zappala could lead to five possible results, from premeditated first degree murder to involuntary manslaughter. Rose's family members view the filing with "guarded optimism," Fred Rabner, one of their attorneys, said.

"There is still a long road ahead to a conviction and proper sentencing, which is the only thing we will accept as justice," Rabner told the press. "In this area of civil rights we know that from protests to policy is a marathon not a sprint, and we hope that this case has the endurance to change the landscape of the country on this important issue of police brutality."

Protest leaders agreed, saying that was why they intended to continue to hold marches. "I'm happy that Antwon's mother and family got an inkling of justice by getting charges filed," said Brandi Fisher, president of the Alliance for Police Accountability, adding that the fight has really just begun. "Now we have to move forward toward getting a conviction."

District Judge Regis Charles Welsh released Rosfeld after his indictment on an unsecured bond — the cop didn't have to put any money or property down, even though the bond was ostensibly for \$250,000!

"To offer no cash is very, very unique," Rose family attorney S. Lee Merritt said. "It shows a system that is bent in favor of law enforcement."

Broad working-class response

From the beginning protesters have gotten a powerful response from working people far and wide.

After the shooting, protesters took to the streets in a march that for a time blocked the I-376 Parkway East, engaging stalled drivers in discussion and debate. They expected resistance, but instead found support.

Two long-distance truck drivers based in Arizona got caught in the six-hour stoppage. They got out of their rigs to find out what was going on.

Gene and Robert, the two Caucasian drivers whose last names weren't given, talked to protesters, who showed them the video of the killing, and then were interviewed by Beau Berman of WTAE television.

Berman thought they would be angry with protesters over being delayed for hours. But when he asked if that was true, Gene said no. "I think they're doing a good thing. They're going to get their point across, and you know that's good," he said. "Cause this killing has to stop. Not just here, but throughout the nation."

Berman asks him what he would advise the DA to do. "Don't try to cover it up, don't try to push it underneath the carpet. That crap is over with, man," Gene says. "We want action." We'll get over the delay, Gene says, but the Rose family, "That family is going to suffer for the rest of their lives."

"Don't do no whitewashing," he said, "Let's get it out in the open. Let's get it taken care of, so this don't happen no more." They should charge the cop, Robert adds, "like we would be charged."

The working-class response of the truckers wasn't matched by many area political figures. The fight spread to Arnold, a community northeast of Pittsburgh, where Democratic Mayor Karen Peconi faced protests and demands for her resignation after she called for protesters to be "destroyed" and urged cops to deploy hoses and water cannons. "None of them work," she said. After a new round of protests, she issued an apology.

Meanwhile, Timothy Riley and Jacob Schilling filed a lawsuit against Rosfeld for his attempt to frame them up in an arrest outside a bar near the University of Pittsburgh in December 2017. At the time he worked as a cop for the university, but was let go after evidence came forward he fabricated evidence in the case. The charges were quickly dropped.

Three hundred protesters, organized by Rev. Shanea Leonard of the Judah Fellowship Christian Church, marched in East Liberty July 1 to demand authorities file first-degree murder charges and revoke Rosfeld's bail. More protests are planned.