

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Workers control over production
key to defense of land and labor
— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE VOL. 85/NO. 45 DECEMBER 6, 2021

‘Militant,’ book, SWP fund drive go over all goals!

BY SETH GALINSKY

Socialist Workers Party campaigners and members of the Communist Leagues in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.K. have just gone over the top in their fall propaganda campaign to sell 1,300 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 1,300 books by revolutionary leaders, and to raise \$130,000 for the SWP’s Party Building Fund! Congratulations to all involved.

Members of the SWP here and the CLs carried out the drive as they joined union picket lines; knocked on thousands of doors in cities, towns and rural areas; met workers at plant gates; and participated in protests in the interests of the working class.

Many of those we met on their doorsteps in the U.S. kicked in \$5, \$10, \$20 or more for the Party-Building Fund. They were pleased to contribute to a party that points to the example set by workers on strike at Kellogg’s and at Warrior Met Coal. In every issue the *Militant* promotes solidarity with these

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Rittenhouse verdict upholds political rights workers need

BY NAOMI CRAINE

CHICAGO — On Nov. 19 a jury in Kenosha, Wisconsin, unanimously found Kyle Rittenhouse not guilty on all charges in the killing of two men and wounding of a third while defending himself during riots in August 2020 after the police shot and partially paralyzed Jacob Blake Jr.

The verdict was immediately condemned by many liberals and middle-class leftists. Hundreds marched here, in New York, Portland, Oregon, and elsewhere, claiming the jury’s verdict was an outrageous act of “white supremacy.” They engaged in looting and rioting.

Even though he admitted he “didn’t watch the trial,” so he couldn’t possibly know the facts, President Joseph Biden said the verdict “will leave many Americans feeling angry and concerned, myself included”! Jesse Jackson called for Biden to start a federal investigation to pursue further prosecution.

But the jury’s verdict *does* fit the facts of the case. “Mr. President, if I could say

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Back Warrior Met miners, Kellogg workers on strike!



United Mine Workers of America/Brandon Roberts

Miners march in Washington, D.C., Nov. 18, part of national actions against Warrior Met Coal bosses’ court order banning all strike activity within 300 yards of company’s coal mines.

Spirits high as Kellogg’s strike over two-tier wages continues

BY EDWIN FRUIT

OMAHA, Neb. — With spirits high, workers on picket lines outside the Kellogg’s plant here Nov. 17 said they’re determined to win their strike against divisive two-tier wages.

The 480 workers here are striking along with over 1,000 other members of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers union at Kellogg’s cereal plants in Memphis, Tennessee; Battle Creek, Michigan; and Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The main issue is “equal pay for equal work,” Dan Osborn, president of BCTGM Local 50G, told the *Militant*. New hires, who the company calls “transitory,” are paid less and get fewer benefits. Kellogg’s wants to create more

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Ban on picketing at Alabama mine draws national protests

BY OMARI MUSA

WASHINGTON — “No contract, no coal” chanted some 150 United Mine Workers of America members and their supporters at a rally here Nov. 18 in support of striking miners locked in a bitter strike battle against Warrior Met mine bosses in Brookwood, Alabama. The action took place outside Fidelity Invest-

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Two frame-up victims exonerated. So who really killed Malcolm X?



AP Photo
Malcolm X speaks to young people in Selma, Alabama, Feb. 4, 1965, during bloody battle for right of Blacks to vote. Both U.S. government and leadership of Nation of Islam feared Malcolm’s revolutionary course and development as a leader for the whole working class.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Two of the three men convicted for the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965 were exonerated Nov. 18. The decision reverses a decadeslong frame-up by the capitalist “justice” system.

The convictions of Muhammad Aziz and Khalil Islam were overturned by New York State Supreme

Court Judge Ellen Biben following a nearly two-year investigation by the Innocence Project and the Manhattan District Attorney’s Office. The third person convicted — Talmadge Hayer — admitted his guilt but always maintained Aziz and Islam weren’t involved. They had been convicted anyway. All three were members of

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Protests in Sudan continue as toilers reject deal keeping military in gov’t

BY ROY LANDERSEN

Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the head of Sudan’s armed forces, restored Abdalla Hamdok as prime minister Nov. 21, after ousting him in a military coup Oct. 25. Despite Hamdok’s reinstatement tens of thousands of people joined rallies in the capital, Khartoum, and elsewhere to demand the complete removal of the military from the government.

The Forces for Freedom and Change, a coalition that nominated Hamdok as prime minister two years ago, rejected the new setup. There should be “no negotiation, no partnership, no legitimacy

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Mass vaccination drive in Cuba shows power of socialist revolution

BY SETH GALINSKY

With over 80% of the island’s population fully vaccinated as of Nov. 20, Cuba is on course to reach 90% before the end of the year. This striking progress is based on highly effective vaccines developed and produced in Cuba. This is despite stepped-up sanctions that are part of Washington’s more than 60-year

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—On the picket line, p. 5—

UK steel scaffolder strikers escalate fight, solidarity is key

Iran farmers protest, demand gov't end deadly water shortage

BY SETH GALINSKY

Tens of thousands of farmers and other working people filled the dried riverbed and banks of the Zayanderud River in Isfahan, in central Iran, Nov. 19, culminating over a week of protests demanding the government take steps to relieve a more than two-decade-long water shortage.

Protesters chanted, “Farmers! Farmers! We support you!” “Plundered for 20 years, the water must return,” and “Give Isfahan a chance to breathe.” One sign read, “Our children want water to provide food for your children.” Photos published in official government media showed banners reading, “Our water is being held hostage.” Isfahan, some 250 miles south of Tehran, is Iran’s third largest city, with 2 million people.

The dried up river has become a symbol of the inability and lack of will of the bourgeois clerical regime to meet the most basic needs of working people. Scarcity of water is a result of authorities diverting it to nearby factories and other provinces to boost profits and priorities on top of declining rainfall.

Isfahan farmers have been protesting for years. In 2012 farmers clashed with police in a rural town of the province, breaking a pipe that diverted water to Yazd province to the east.

Authorities occasionally release water from the Zayanderud Dam 75 miles to the west and the river flows again, but never for long. When it does flow, people gather along the banks and celebrate.

Increasing demand for water has been exacerbated by government demands for farmers to expand agricultural pro-

duction without regard to the supply of water required.

Alongside the government’s failure to provide basic necessities, working people also face severe price rises exacerbated by Washington’s punishing sanctions. The U.S. rulers are pressuring the Iranian regime to end its nuclear weapons program and cease its military operations in the region.

Similar protests in predominantly Arab Khuzestan province in the southwest of the country in July were attacked by police when residents there took to the streets shouting, “I am thirsty!” Anti-riot police beat protesters with batons, fired tear gas and shot and killed three people.

Protests in Khuzestan spread to several cities where demonstrators also demanded a halt to the regime’s military intervention in the Middle East. Working people have borne the human and financial costs of these deadly conflicts. Both the pressures from the U.S. rulers’ sanctions and the costs of the Iranian rulers’ counterrevolutionary interventions in the region affect their ability to grapple with things like the water crisis.

Some 90% of Iran’s total water consumption is used for agriculture. In June Iran’s National Water & Sewage



Iranian Students’ News Agency/Fatemeh Nasr

Protest by thousands of farmers and other working people in dry bed of Zayanderud River in central Iran Nov. 19, demanding government take steps to address worsening water shortages.

Co. classified some 210 cities as “water stressed.” With so much water being pumped out of underground aquifers, the ground is literally shifting in parts of 30 of Iran’s 31 provinces.

The government’s English-language *Tehran Times* notes that “farmers in Isfahan are complaining that a considerable portion of Zayanderud water is used by industrial complexes. This is true.” The paper also admits that tremendous amounts of water are wasted and could be recycled.

Water-intensive crops grown by large-

er capitalist farmers, like rice, receive government favor over less profitable crops such as wheat, barley and beans.

The protests in Isfahan have been so large and popular that the regime has not felt capable of moving to repress them, in the way that other protests by toilers in recent years have been subjected to.

“I have ordered the ministers of energy and agriculture to take immediate steps to deal with this issue,” First Vice President Mohammad Mokhber announced.

India farmers win! After year of protest, gov’t backs down

BY ROY LANDERSEN

A year of massive protests by working farmers in India has forced Prime Minister Narendra Modi to announce Nov. 19 he had decided to withdraw laws that threaten their livelihoods. The

measures would have removed state-guaranteed minimums for staple grain prices, allowing big capitalist traders to force down the prices they pay to farmers. If implemented, farmers say, the laws would lead to rising indebtedness and drive many of them off the land.

“This is a win for all those farmers who laid down their lives to save hundreds of thousands of poor farmers of this country from corporate greed,” Jagdeep Singh told the *New York Times*. His father, Nakshatra Singh, 54, was among those killed in Uttar Pradesh last month when a deadly clash occurred between protesters and government officials.

Hundreds of thousands of farmers from Punjab, Haryana and Uttar

Pradesh launched huge protests and set up encampments jamming highways into the capital, New Delhi, beginning after the government announced the new laws last September. They organized themselves and their families to maintain the encampments, enduring police attacks, summer heat, bitter winter conditions and pandemic lockdowns.

The makeshift townships were sustained by peasants and their supporters from many thousands of villages.

“Farmers will continue to agitate until the laws are taken back in parliament,” Rakesh Tikait, a prominent protest leader from Bhartiya Kisan [Farmers] Union, told Asian News International.

THE MILITANT

Support fight for justice for Ahmaud Arbery

The trial in the shooting down and killing of 25-year-old African American Ahmaud Arbery in Georgia has caught the attention of working people across the country. The ‘Militant’ supported the fight that led to charges and a trial in the killing.



Hyosub Shin/AP

March in Georgia May 16, 2020, demanding justice in killing of Ahmaud Arbery.

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The Militant

Vol. 85/No. 45

Closing news date: November 24, 2021

Editor: John Studer

Managing Editor: Terry Evans

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Seth Galinsky, Emma Johnson, Martín Koppel, Roy Landersen, Jacob Perasso, Brian Williams.

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

Business Manager: Valerie Johnson

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Telephone: (212) 244-4899

Fax: (212) 244-4947

E-mail: themilitant@mac.com

Website: www.themilitant.com

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

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

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

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

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

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SWP drive goes over all goals!

Continued from front page and other labor battles.

Workers who got subscriptions and books were interested in reading more about the SWP’s program, which explains why workers need to build our own labor party, breaking from the Democrats and Republicans who defend the bosses’ interests. That is part of opening the road for workers and farmers in their millions to organize to take political power into our own hands.

Health workers get ‘Militant,’ book

On Nov. 18, SWP members Betsey Stone and Eric Simpson joined picket lines outside the Kaiser hospital in Oakland during a one-day strike by members of Service Employees International Union-United Healthcare Workers West. The action was taken in support of 700 stationary engineers on strike at 24 Kaiser hospitals in northern California. These engineers fix plumbing, heating and other hospital equipment.

Pamela Watson Mapp and John Fontenberry are among the more than two dozen hospital workers in Northern California who have subscribed to the *Militant* over the last two months. When Stone called attention to the paper’s coverage of what working people have accomplished in Cuba since taking power into their own hands in 1959, Fontenberry said he knew someone who had visited Cuba and was impressed with what they learned about the socialist revolution.

“That’s what they don’t want us to hear,” Watson Mapp added.

“It’s the same with union struggles,” Stone said. “The capitalists who own the media don’t want us to know what workers can accomplish by organizing and uniting.”

A half-dozen hospital workers have

purchased *Teamster Rebellion*, the first of four volumes by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the strikes by drivers and warehouse workers in Minneapolis and the Midwest in the 1930s. One striker purchased all four books.

Dobbs became a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The books tell the story of the successful fight against the bosses, and their courts and cops, to establish union power. They describe how Teamsters organized the unemployed, women and driver owner-operators as part of the union’s struggles; opposed imperialist war; and advanced the fight for workers to organize independently of the bosses’ parties.

Rittenhouse and workers’ rights

Socialist Workers Party members discuss all political questions from the standpoint of the working class, wherever they are campaigning.

The author of this article and SWP campaigner Sarah Katz asked workers they met in Yonkers, New York, Nov. 21 what they thought about the “not guilty” verdict in the trial of Kyle Rittenhouse. (See article on front page.)

A retired firefighter told us the judge was “biased and did things no judge ever does.” He said Rittenhouse should have been found guilty. We pointed to the *Militant*’s coverage that explains the facts presented in the trial show Rittenhouse was not guilty.

All workers have a stake in defending the right to due process and to be considered innocent until proven guilty beyond any reasonable doubt. Such rights are crucial in defending workers from bosses’ attempts to use courts to frame us up. He got a copy of the paper.

A worker for the New York City Housing Authority told us, “If Rittenhouse was Black, he would have been found guilty or might even have been shot dead by the police that night.” I said defending the right of Rittenhouse to due process strengthens the fight of all workers, including those who are Black, for the same rights.

We noted that the thugery, rioting and burning down of businesses in Kenosha after the police shooting of Jacob Blake Jr. last year undermined the fight against police abuse. He agreed with that. He subscribed to the *Militant* and bought *Malcolm X*, *Black Liberation*, and *the Road to Workers Power* by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

Lockdowns and other actions by capitalist governments around the world in the name of fighting the pandemic have worsened conditions faced by millions of working people.

In Auckland, New Zealand, Communist League campaigners Patrick Brown and Felicity Coggan talked with Carla Perese at her home Nov. 22. Perese volunteers with a nearby church, helping working people hit by the crisis get food and housing.

“We’ve never seen such a demand for our services,”



Militant/Annette Kouri

Katy LeRougetel shows *Militant*, books by revolutionaries to Sif Eddine Bouchareb, a transit system mechanic originally from Algeria, in Repentigny, Quebec, Oct. 23. Eddine Bouchareb bought a *Militant* subscription and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* in French.

Perese said. “And it’s not just the lowest-income people.” Her work includes delivering food parcels to people with COVID-19 who are isolating at home. “What the government supplies is never enough,” she said.

Perese agreed when the CL campaigners said workers need to build and use our unions to defend our class and she subscribed to the *Militant*.

The success in the international drive reflects growing opportunities for building the revolutionary working-class movement and confirms the SWP’s decision to adopt higher goals

Spirits high as Kellogg strike continues

Continued from front page profitable divisions among workers, demanding the end of a 30% cap on the number of transitory workers they can hire. “If we allow that,” Osborn said, “eventually the whole workforce would be at the lower level of pay and benefits. We want parity for new workers while they want to bust the union.”

The union proposes that “after four years probationary workers would reach the top levels,” he said.

“It can take as much as eight years now to get to be a regular worker,” said Jeff Jens. “I am a second generation Kellogg’s worker and I want it to be a place where my kids can work if they choose.”

The union knows of only five who crossed the picket lines, he said. He estimates the company is working at 20% of capacity. “They are using temporary workers and offering them \$26 an hour, with signing bonuses. Ordinarily probationary workers only make \$19 an hour.”

Strikers picket four hours a day, three days a week, although many come to the lines more often. Some have gotten temporary jobs until the strike is over.

The company “cut off medical benefits on the first day of the strike,” Osborn said. It also “got a restraining order limiting what pickets can do.”

Douglas County District Court Judge Timothy Burns issued the order Nov. 10, hours after the company filed a lawsuit against the union. The order is an attack on strikers’ freedom of speech and assembly. It prevents them from trying to stop vehicles and talk to scabs going into the plant, Osborn said.

‘Workers are sticking together’

“This is my first union job and my first strike,” said Lorianne Tartaglione, who has worked for 16 years as a machine operator at the plant. “But I have learned about the importance of the union and sticking together. I will go back into the plant with my head held high.”

than in previous campaigns.

Members of the SWP are continuing to reach out broadly to workers and farmers, as well as get back to those they met during the drive.

They are encouraging new readers to join in bringing solidarity to union fights and other struggles in the interests of working people, and to convince others to join them in subscribing to the *Militant* and reading books that deepen their understanding of the way forward. For more information see the directory on page 8 to contact the party branch nearest you.

“I worked as a transitory worker for five years. In that whole time I had a total raise of \$1.40,” said Edward Tibbs, who was recently made a permanent worker. “I was doing the same work as someone making \$10 to \$15 an hour more than me. I had to pay 20% of my health coverage with a \$3,500 yearly deductible and no dental coverage or pension.

“This strike has gotten a lot of support from other unions. When this is over, if I see other folks on strike I will walk their picket lines with them,” he added. Local unionists have helped construct weatherproof shelters at all the picket sites here.

“We had been working six and seven days a week, mostly 12-hour shifts,” said Tristan Farley, a transitory worker. “The company says it is not sustainable to have everyone paid the same wages, but how is it sustainable to give their CEO a \$2 million raise and rake in all the profits that they have over the past couple of years?”

Talks resumed briefly between the union and the company Nov. 22. The next day bosses announced they would start hiring permanent replacement workers in an effort to break the strike.

Solidarity with the strike is crucial. Go to the BCTGM Local 50G’s website, where information on how to donate to each of the four locals on strike is posted.

—MILITANT
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CALIFORNIA
Oakland
What did the 2021 Election Results Mean for the U.S. Working Class? Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party. Sat. Dec. 4, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5. 675 Hegenberger Road, Suite 250. Tel: (510) 686 1351.

Campaign to expand reach of ‘Militant,’ books, SWP fund						
October 2 - November 23 (final chart)						
Country	Sub quota	Subs sold	Books quota	Books sold	Fund quota	received
UNITED STATES						
Albany*	80	82	90	86	\$8,200	\$8,404
Atlanta	80	81	80	80	\$11,200	\$11,356
Chicago*	115	122	100	81	\$13,500	\$13,972
Cincinnati	45	45	40	41	\$5,000	\$5,028
Dallas*	45	47	40	45	\$3,100	\$3,742
Lincoln	12	13	12	14	\$350	\$354
Los Angeles	85	85	85	89	\$13,700	\$14,187
Miami	30	34	30	33	\$4,200	\$4,688
Minneapolis*	55	60	60	64	\$5,000	\$5,188
N. New Jersey	75	79	75	75	\$6,600	\$6,679
New York*	105	112	125	145	\$16,300	\$17,024
Oakland	85	88	85	90	\$13,100	\$13,950
Philadelphia	30	32	30	30	\$4,000	\$4,015
Pittsburgh*	50	56	50	56	\$4,700	\$4,803
Seattle	65	66	65	96	\$12,000	\$13,030
Washington	50	55	50	54	\$5,800	\$5,971
Other						\$5,763
Total U.S.	1007	1057	1017	1079	\$126,750	\$138,154
Prisoners	25	44				
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	40	44	40	51		
Manchester	40	43	40	42		
Total U.K.	80	87	80	93		
Canada	90	93	90	116		
New Zealand	25	26	25	27		
Australia	25	26	25	28		
Total	1,252	1,333	1,237	1,343	\$126,750	\$138,154
SHOULD BE	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	\$130,000	\$130,000
*Raised goal						

So who killed Malcolm X?

Continued from front page
the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm X had broken from the Nation in March 1964, criticizing the refusal of its leadership to join the growing movement fighting to overturn Jim Crow segregation.

But a key part of Malcolm's assassination remains buried. That is, the full extent of the government cover-up of the role played by the FBI, New York Red Squad and other cop agencies. They had targeted Malcolm X because of his political evolution to become a revolutionary leader of the working class here and worldwide.

Aziz and Islam served about two decades in prison. Aziz was released on parole in 1985 and Islam two years later. Islam died in 2009.

"We have obtained dozens and dozens of reports from the FBI and the NYPD's Bureau of Special Services and Investigations," District Attorney Cyrus Vance told the media Nov. 18. "These records include FBI reports of witnesses who failed to identify Mr. Islam and who implicated other suspects.

"And, significantly, we now have reports revealing that, on orders from Director J. Edgar Hoover himself, the FBI ordered multiple witnesses not to tell police or prosecutors that they were, in fact, FBI informants," he said. "Many of those documents were exculpatory. None of them were disclosed to the defense."

In addition to FBI agents being present in the Audubon Ballroom when Malcolm X was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965, undercover cop Gene Roberts, who had infiltrated Malcolm's bodyguards, was also there. Roberts was assigned by the Bureau of Special Services, the NYPD's Red Squad, to penetrate and inform on the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm founded in 1964.

According to highly censored documents released by the FBI in the 1970s, Hoover wrote to the FBI office in New York in 1964 instructing it to "do something about Malcolm X."

During their 1966 trial, Hayer confessed that he had participated in killing Malcolm. He also testified that neither Islam, then known as Thomas 15X Johnson, nor Aziz, known as Norman 3X Butler, were involved. Close associates of Malcolm on the scene at the Audubon Ballroom that day said neither Johnson nor Butler were there.

Hayer was imprisoned for 45 years, including during the 1971 Attica uprising in upstate New York, where he repeated to attorney William Kuntsler that Aziz and Islam were innocent. In 1977 Hayer filed affidavits with the New York court naming four different members of the Nation's mosque in Newark, New Jersey, as his associates in the assassination. The government refused to reopen the case or grant Aziz and Islam a new trial.

For years Malcolm had been a promi-

nent spokesperson and leader of the Nation. "But by the early 1960s he was bumping up against the limits of the bourgeois nationalism of the Nation of Islam," SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes writes in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*. "Malcolm, to the contrary, was being politically drawn more and more toward the rising struggles for Black freedom in the United States and revolutionary battles by the oppressed and exploited the world over."

Malcolm X: A revolutionary leader

The political course he was on during the final year of his life was as a revolutionary internationalist, a proponent of working people breaking from the Democratic and Republican parties, and a working-class political leader posing a threat to the capitalist rulers.

Speaking at Oxford University in England in 1964, Malcolm told students that "the young generation of whites, Blacks, browns, whatever else there is," you're living in "a time of revolution." And "I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth."

When asked by the *Village Voice* just a few weeks before he was killed whether his aim was to awaken Blacks to their *exploitation*, he immediately replied, "No, to their hu-



Robert Parent

Malcolm X meets reporters in New York, Nov. 24, 1964, after his second trip to Africa. Malcolm said the trip showed him the need to involve all "true revolutionaries dedicated to overthrowing the system of exploitation that exists on this earth," like in the Algerian and Cuban revolutions.

manity, to their *own worth*."

Malcolm X detested demagoguery and thuggery, methods he had personally seen in the Nation of Islam. Beatings of Malcolm's supporters and attempts on his own life escalated in early 1965.

On Feb. 14 Malcolm's house was firebombed, which could have killed his daughters and his wife. Malcolm accused Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad of ordering the attack. But the day before he was assassinated, Malcolm said he was too hasty in

making this statement. "I know what they can do, and what they can't, and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on," Malcolm said.

It was Malcolm's confidence in the capacities of working people that the capitalist rulers felt most threatened by. Given the passage of time, all the facts about his assassination may never be known. But it's clear that those in or around the Nation of Islam who assassinated Malcolm were carrying out what the U.S. capitalist rulers desired.

'Malcolm was a revolutionary leader of the working class'

Below is an excerpt from a talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, titled "Malcolm X: Revolutionary Leader of the Working Class." It was given at a March 28, 1987, meeting in Atlanta, and is available in Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power. Copyright 2009 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

I want to make the case that *Malcolm X was a revolutionary leader of the working class in the United States*. ...

[T]he social and political transformations that will be wrought by a popular revolution in the United States — a revolution that will be led by the vanguard of the working class, or else go down to a bloody defeat — are decisive for the oppressed and exploited the world over. Among other things, the conquest of power by the working class and its allies — the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat — the necessary step that can open the road for Blacks, and for all supporters of Black rights, to successfully fight to end racist oppression of every kind once and for all.

In the leadership of revolutionary working-class struggles in this country, workers who are Black will occupy a vanguard place and weight disproportionate to their numbers in the U.S. population. That's what all modern history teaches us. That fact is testified to by the record of powerful social and political struggles in the United States: from battles during the closing years of the Civil War itself; to Radical Reconstruction and the efforts to prevent the imposition of peonage among the freed slaves; to the struggles that built farmers movements and the industrial unions in the 1920s and 1930s; to the mass proletarian movement that toppled Jim Crow segregation, fueled the rise of greater political self-confidence

and nationalist consciousness among Blacks in the 1960s, and inspired what became the mass movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

Malcolm X was a legitimate political heir to all these struggles.

But who are *Malcolm's* heirs?

Following his assassination, some who looked to Malcolm were disappointed because the political organization he founded and led, the OAAU, died with him. Given the enemies they faced, none of the relatively few OAAU cadres Malcolm had brought over from the Nation of Islam were able to step forward to carry on the fight and shoulder the leadership to continue Malcolm's revolutionary political course. That's a fact.

But the heirs of Malcolm X *will* come forward — all over the world, including right here in the United States — as revolutionary struggles advance, as the exploited and oppressed organize to resist the devastating consequences of capitalist crises and imperialist domination and wars. More leaders like Malcolm *will* come forward, including in the labor movement. And they will need to know who Malcolm was, what Malcolm stood for, what he fought for and dedicated his life to. ...

Malcolm correctly insisted that the struggle for Black freedom in the United States is part of an international struggle, a struggle for human rights not just civil rights. He refused to look at America through American eyes, or to look at the world through American eyes. He took his stand from within the oppressed and exploited in the battle for liberation the world over. That was his starting point. And that's the beginning of wisdom for any revolutionary today.

Malcolm rejected any notion that the oppressed could rely on some common humanity shared with the oppressors, or with a "well-meaning"

section of the oppressors. There is no latent supply of love in the "soul" of all human beings, regardless of class, that can be tapped if they're shamed or pressured — or lobbied or voted for. There is no abstract, classless "humanity"; there is only human solidarity conquered in struggle as a social product of class solidarity, of solidarity in political action among the exploited and oppressed worldwide. The job of revolutionists is not to act "responsibly," which in class-divided society can only mean "responsibly" toward the rulers, or at least the bourgeois liberals and bourgeois socialists among them. What revolutionists are responsible for is to advance along the line of march toward power of the toilers, who compose the great majority of humanity. ...

That's why Malcolm was an intransigent opponent of the Democratic and Republican parties, an opponent of the two-party system (with its occasional third-party eruptions to blow off steam) that has tied working people to capitalist politics since well before the rise of U.S. imperialism at the close of the nineteenth century.

Arbery verdict: Guilty

As we go to press, the jury in the trial of three men accused of killing Ahmaud Arbery, an African American jogger, near Brunswick, Georgia, returned its verdict Nov. 24. Travis McMichael was found guilty on all nine counts, including malice murder. Gregory McMichael and William Bryan Jr. were found guilty on some but not all charges. Arbery's parents praised the verdict. Full coverage in the next issue.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK

New York City

End U.S. Embargo Against Cuba! Car Caravan and Rally. Sun., Nov. 28. 1:30 p.m., caravan departs from 62nd St. between Amsterdam and Columbus Ave. 2 p.m., rally at José Martí statue, 59th St. and 6th Ave. For more information on this and other actions against the embargo, contact the National Network on Cuba at nnoc.info.

—ON THE PICKET LINE—

Pittsburgh medical workers rally for wage raise, union

PITTSBURGH — Hundreds of workers rallied Nov. 18 at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center headquarters here demanding a \$20-an-hour starting wage, better benefits, forgiveness of medical debt and union representation. The action, organized by SEIU Healthcare Pennsylvania, was organized as part of a one-day walkout.

“It is shameful that my co-workers and I have been pushed into medical debt while working for the largest medical provider in the state,” Nila Payton, a UPMC employee told the crowd. “Can you imagine receiving collection calls from your employer while on the clock?”

“I left at 4 a.m., joined the strike, and have been part of actions all day,” Quincy, a patient care technician in the gastrointestinal surgical unit at UMPC Montefiore who requested that his last name not be used, told this *Militant* worker-correspondent. Instead of hiring the workers needed, “they just hire casuals, and then they only work once every two weeks.”

“Staffing ratios are absurd,” said Tom Smith, who has worked two years in the emergency room at UMPC Mercy hospital. “Fifteen to 20 assignments for one worker in the ER. We have to deal with people in the hallway, nothing is safe.”

Gideon Crain, who works in the diet and food nutrition department, said there are jobs that need to be filled “and people would apply for them but UMPC won’t open them up.”

— Tony Lane

UK steel scaffolder strikers escalate fight, solidarity is key

SCUNTHORPE, England — Sixty scaffolders on strike at the giant British Steel site here since Oct. 4 are escalating their fight for pay parity and efforts to win support from steelworkers in the plant and across the region.

The Unite union members, who are employed by contractor Actavo, are demanding their wages be raised

by 2 pounds (\$2.75) to match the national rate for other workers doing these jobs.

“Most sites are paying the national rate,” says Dave Birchall, shop steward for the strikers, “but here they always have a reason not to, like claiming orders are falling. It used to be Brexit, then it was COVID and now they use COP26 climate issues. Anything but pay us the rate.”

Strikers leafleted steelworkers going into work at all three gates of the plant Nov. 15. Their leaflets asked workers to raise with their union representatives concerns about the safety of scaffolding put up on the site during the strike.

Pickets have also been visiting other major industrial sites where fellow scaffolders work. At an “informational action” at the nearby Keadby power station Nov. 4, strikers were joined by union representatives at the plant. They have also appealed for support to workers at the Drax and Ferrybridge power stations in Yorkshire, the nearby Stallingborough power station, Vivergo refinery in Hull, and the ConcoPhillips oil terminal on



Militant/Paul Mailhot

Hundreds rally at Pittsburgh Medical Center Nov. 18, organized by SEIU Healthcare Pennsylvania union, to demand \$20 starting wage, better benefits and union representation.

Teeside. “This is to show we are not alone, it’s a fight for all,” said Birchall.

“We are inspired by the Unite members’ strength and solidarity throughout the continuous strike action and they have our total support and admiration,” read a message to the strikers sent by Clayton Clive, union branch

secretary for Manchester South Rail, Maritime and Transport union.

Union members delivered the message to the strikers on their picket line along with a 300 pound donation to the strike fund Nov. 15. Strikers posted a “Big Thanks” on their Facebook site.

— Pete Clifford

Hours before execution, Julius Jones sentence commuted

BY JANET POST

Supporters of Oklahoma death row prisoner Julius Darius Jones cheered as Gov. Kevin Stitt canceled Jones’ execution just four hours before it was due at the state prison in McAlester Nov. 18. Stitt commuted Jones’ death sentence to life without the possibility of parole.

On Nov. 1 the Oklahoma Pardon and Parole Board voted to recommend clemency and a life sentence with the possibility of parole.

Support for a new trial for Jones has been won from celebrities Kim Kardashian West and John Legend as well as athletes, including NFL players Baker Mayfield and Dak Prescott, and NBA players Steph Curry, Blake Griffin and Russell Westbrook.

“Maybe we can get him a fair trial and bring all the evidence,” said Dallas

Cowboys quarterback Prescott after Jones’ sentence was commuted.

“I still believe that every day Julius spends behind bars is an injustice, and I will never stop speaking out for him or fighting to free him,” Madeline Davis-Jones, his mother, said in a statement.

Davis-Jones joined some 300 demonstrators outside the governor’s office Nov. 17 after Stitt declined to meet with her. Some 1,800 students at 13 Oklahoma City high schools walked out of their classes to protest the planned execution the same day. Dozens of students protested at the University of Oklahoma the previous week.

Jones, a 41-year-old African American, was sentenced to death in 2002 after being convicted of killing businessman Paul Howell during a carjacking three years earlier in the Oklahoma

City suburb of Edmond. He has always maintained his innocence.

The state of Oklahoma ended a six-year moratorium on executions last month. After being lethally injected John Marion Grant repeatedly convulsed and vomited Oct. 28. It took 15 minutes for Grant to be declared unconscious.

Like the rest of the criminal “justice” system, the death penalty is a weapon used to terrorize and intimidate working people and enforce the domination of the ruling capitalist class.

Support grows for new trial

Jones’ trial was a travesty of justice. His parents both say he was at home with the family at the time Howell was shot, but their testimony was never brought to the jury during the trial. The gun used to kill Howell was not tested at the time of the crime for DNA. When Jones’ defense attorneys were called to state their case, they presented no witnesses. Since then he has obtained new lawyers.

Howell’s sister, Megan Tobey, an eyewitness to the killing, could not see the face of the shooter, which was covered with a stocking cap, but she identified Jones as the killer.

Connie Ellison, Howell’s girlfriend, spoke in support of Jones at the recent parole board hearing. “Even though I know I would lose my treasured friendship with ... the Howell family, I had to speak my truth today,” she said. “There are too many questions and too much doubt about Julius’ guilt to allow the state of Oklahoma to execute him.”

Discounted books for prisoners

Pathfinder Press offers books at a 50% discount plus \$2.75 shipping per order. Prisoners can mail their prepaid orders to: Pathfinder Press, PO Box 162767 Atlanta GA 30321-2767 Friends and family members can order for them online. For more info:

www.pathfinderpress.com

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



December 9, 1996

PITTSBURGH — Nearly 1,000 high school students marched and rallied here to protest the not guilty verdict acquitting John Vojtas, one of the policemen who had been on trial in the killing of Jonny Gammage in October 1995.

Members of the NAACP Youth Council and the “Mobilization of African Students for Justice” called the walkout. School officials decided they would not try to block students from attending. The march was marshaled and monitored by older members of the NAACP and other community organizations, although the students organized and ran the march and rally.

Mayor Tom Murphy has agreed to send a letter to Attorney General Janet Reno asking her to investigate the death of Gammage. Leaders of the NAACP want Reno to investigate whether Gammage’s civil rights were violated when he was killed by police after a traffic stop.



December 10, 1971

Indian Foreign Minister Jagjivan Ram, speaking to a Calcutta rally of 50,000 on Nov. 28, said Indian generals had been instructed to “advance as many miles into Pakistani territory as the range of the Pakistani guns.” The escalation of the war of words followed the most intense week of fighting to date along the India East Bengal border.

The offensive that began Nov. 21 seems to have been initiated by the Mukti Bahini, the national liberation forces of Bangla Desh.

The Nov. 28 *New York Times* carried an article which pointed to the main issue underlying all the saber rattling between India and Pakistan: the fight for self-determination of Bangla Desh. The article writes that “a real war between the Bangla Desh guerrilla force and an occupation army is being fought in East Pakistan, and how that conflict will develop none can predict.”



December 7, 1946

The ferocious assault of Big Business and its government against the striking coal miners is far more than a strikebreaking attempt against one union. This battle between the 400,000 soft coal miners and the capitalist government marks a new and more crucial stage in the social struggle between American capitalism and organized labor.

Behind the attempt to crush the United Mine Workers is the determination of Wall Street to launch a general offensive that will deal all organized labor a smashing and decisive blow.

This is a key point in a gigantic social struggle. That struggle must be settled in the interests of the entire working class. The whole titanic power of America’s 15,000,000 union men and women must be mobilized and hurled into action for the conquest of social demands that go far beyond the issue of limited hourly wage increases.

Black rights fighter Homer Plessy wins a pardon after 129 years

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

On Nov. 12, the Louisiana Board of Pardons recommended a pardon for Homer Plessy, 129 years after he was arrested for challenging that state's new Separate Car Act by boarding a "whites only" rail car on June 7, 1892. Four years later the Supreme Court denied his appeal, ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that "separate but equal" did not violate the 14th Amendment's equal protection under the law.

Louisiana Gov. John Bel Edwards says he will sign Plessy's pardon.

The ruling against Plessy provided legal cover for Jim Crow laws. They were enforced with brutal lynch-mob violence throughout the South until they were torn down by the mass Black-led working-class movement for civil rights in the 1950s and '60s.

Plessy was a dedicated combatant in the fight against Jim Crow. He knew his train ride would be short. He was a Creole man of Haitian-French descent, a shoemaker and a member of *Comité des Citoyens*. The group organized resistance against steps by the segregationist government in Louisiana — backed by extra-legal Klan-style violence — to crush gains won in the years after the Civil War that ended slavery under governments of Radical Reconstruction.

Plessy's action was organized by the group, as was the train conductor's challenge of Plessy being in a "white" car, setting the stage for the court fight.

Plessy was born in New Orleans on March 17, 1863. Because of Radical Reconstruction he could ride integrated streetcars, attend integrated schools and look forward to voting and marrying whom he wanted. After the war Blacks, backed by the power of the Union Army, provided leadership in the South both to freed slaves and to exploited farmers and workers who were Caucasian. They waged struggles for land, defended the right to vote arms-in-

hand and defeated attempts to impose slavery-like contract gangs in the fields.

Mississippi and South Carolina's majority Black legislatures passed laws advancing the interests of all working people. They barred racial discrimination, established the first free public schools, public hospitals and medical care for the poor and expanded the grounds on which a woman could obtain a divorce.

Overturn of Radical Reconstruction

By 1877 Radical Reconstruction had gone down to bloody defeat. Not only Afro-Americans but the entire working class suffered its worst setback.

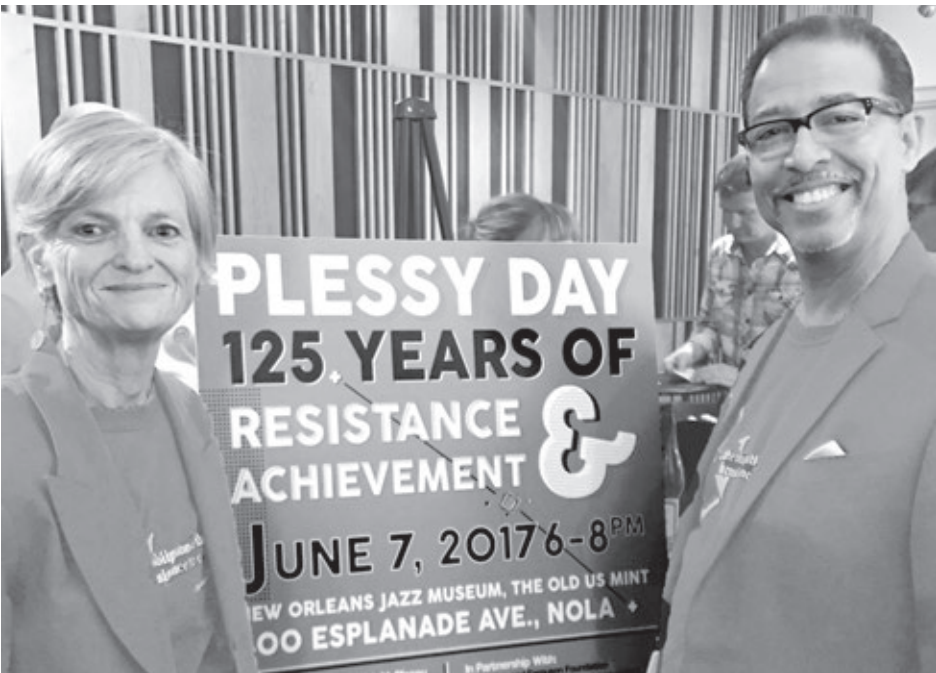
This counterrevolution was driven by the dominant sectors of industrial and rising banking capital, which feared the rise of a united working class, allied with free working farmers. They brokered a deal after the deadlocked 1876 presidential election to withdraw Union troops from the South, accelerating a reign of terror by vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan and other racist gangs.

In 1879 mass protests and lawsuits failed to turn back a new Louisiana Constitution. The segregationist-minded state legislature adopted it, eliminating equal rights to public places and ending public school integration.

In the face of this setback Creole activists established the Justice, Protective, Educational and Social Club to make sure “our rights as citizens of this State and of the United States [are] protected and respected.” The next year Plessy became vice president of the organization.

The Separate Car Act passed in 1890 required rail companies to provide different cars for white and Black passengers. Protests against the law were held in Baton Rouge.

A group of 18 men, including Plessy, formed the Comité des Citoyens to fight for its overturn. They raised \$3,000 from Black organizations, labor unions, religious groups and others to wage the



Phoebe Ferguson and Keith Plessy, descendants of Louisiana judge and Black rights fighter involved in 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case, where Supreme Court legalized Jim Crow segregation.

fight. They recruited Albion W. Tourgee, a Union Army veteran from New York, who was Caucasian, as their lawyer.

Under their plan, Daniel Desdunes, who was Black, boarded a “whites only” car on an interstate train in February 1892. After his arrest the case went before Louisiana Judge John Ferguson, who was sympathetic to their fight. He dismissed the charges, ruling that interstate travel was protected by federal law under the 14th Amendment.

After this victory, Plessy boarded an intrastate train. He was arrested, charged and tried before Judge Ferguson. Tourgee, Plessy's lawyer, told the court "separate but equal" had nothing to do with equality. "Its only effect," he said, "is to perpetuate the stigma of color."

Ferguson said that because intra-state travel was a matter of state law he had to uphold the Separate Car Act. But he allowed Plessy and his supporters to appeal the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

But by the 1890s the organized efforts of Southern bosses and plantation

Miners rally, fight ban on picketing

Continued from front page
ments, one of the largest shareholders at Warrior Met.

It was one of six protests that day in cities across the country and in Melbourne, Australia. More solidarity actions are needed as bosses turn to the courts to try to use state power to stifle the miners' fight. An Oct. 27 restraining order by Tuscaloosa County Circuit Court Judge James Roberts banned picketing and all union activity within 300 yards of the Brookwood mines. The ban has been extended twice and currently runs until Dec. 5.

It is one of the most severe restrictions the labor movement has faced in decades, attacking the constitutional right to free assembly, as mine owners push to break the UMW.

"We could be where the Warrior Met miners are tomorrow," Jeffery Harris, a miner from Harris Number One mine in Boone County, West Virginia, told the *Militant* at the rally. "The company where I work could do the same thing."

Some 1,100 UMWA members went on strike at Warrior Met April 1, after bosses refused to reverse concessions imposed in 2016 after the previous owner, Jim Walter Resources, went bankrupt and demanded miners make concessions to let the mines get back on their feet. Wage cuts of \$6 an hour were forced on miners, along with reduc-

farmers to impose Jim Crow were in full swing. In 1892 alone, 226 mostly Black men were lynched, the highest number in the recorded history of lynchings. Catholics and Jews were also targeted.

“We, as freemen, still believe that we were right,” the Comite des Citoyens said after the Supreme Court ruling. “In defending the cause of liberty, we met with defeat, but not with ignominy.”


The court's 7-1 decision against Plessy was a decisive step in giving legal cover to the bloody imposition of Jim Crow. Ferguson found Plessy guilty and fined him \$25.

It would be 60 years before another generation of Blacks, building on the fight led by Plessy, would lead the disciplined and determined mass working-class struggle that uprooted Jim Crow, transforming social relations and winning the support of millions of workers here and around the world in the process.

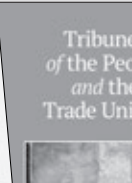
Homer Plessy is part of the long line of working-class combatants who have made history on behalf of all those exploited and oppressed by capital.

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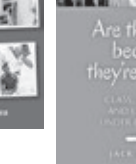
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Workers control over production key to defense of land and labor

BY TERRY EVANS

Set up as a platform for over 190 heads of state — and thousands of corporate CEOs, nongovernment organizations and other hangers on — the United Nations climate change summit was no more successful than any of its 25 earlier gatherings in its stated purpose of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. It ground down to an end in Glasgow, Scotland, Nov. 13, issuing a high-sounding but largely toothless declaration.

Capitalist powers represented there offered no road to reduce poisoning of the land, sea and air, nor to resolve the crisis facing millions around the world who go without electrical power for heating, lighting, cooking, education and culture.

The conference declaration contains no proposals to harness the available scientific capacity available today to meet the needs of working people worldwide. Taking on this challenge has to be shouldered by the working class, the only force interested in and capable of defending land and labor and at the same time advancing humanity's control over nature. That requires a movement of the toiling majority that fights for workers control of production as we organize to take political power into our hands.

As at previous summits, delegates continued the charade of making progress by adopting rules for the profitable trade in carbon credits. These are schemes for corporate bosses and governments to pay for the right to carry on polluting, while claiming they're contributing to environmental progress.

The two-week meeting heard repeated demands that "we" have to do something, along with predictions of imminent catastrophe, from delegates



Capitalist ruling class controls production, and is responsible for degradation of environment and unsafe working conditions. Above, coal miners 1969 march in Charleston, West Virginia, as they fought for control over mine conditions and black lung benefits during hard-fought strike.

and protesters outside the confab alike. But there is no "we." The capitalist rulers and their governments main preoccupation is in extending their interests and economic sphere of exploitation against their rivals.

The scramble for cobalt, profit

Washington and the rulers in Beijing are competing for control of scarce deposits of cobalt in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a resource crucial for the development of the electric batteries to power vehicles of the future.

Modern society is divided between sharply contending social classes — capitalist bloodsuckers on one side and working people worldwide on the other. Everything bourgeois politicians presented in Glasgow, wrapped up in hyste-

ria about the need for drastic action, was done in a way to prevent working people from recognizing it's the ruling class that controls production and is responsible for the degradation of the land, air and waters.

Left out of the gathering's deliberations was discussion on how to utilize scientific advances in nuclear power to vastly expand global electrical output while cutting carbon emissions. Without grasping this, there is no alternative road to cutting the use of fossil fuels and providing electrical power.

Because of past disasters, like the nuclear meltdown at Chernobyl in 1986 and its deadly consequences, some governments and many middle-class left radicals dismiss nuclear power. "Including nuclear power would lack integrity and credibility with a great majority of the population," Svenja Schulze, Germany's environment minister, told the gathering Nov. 11. The World Nuclear Association was barred from holding exhibits at the summit.

The German government plans to close its six remaining nuclear reactors next year, abandoning its nuclear power program for dependence on natural gas imported from Moscow, giving the Russian rulers greater opportunity to intervene in European affairs. Governments in Belgium, Italy and Spain say they will close their nuclear power plants.

There is no serious alternative to nuclear power today. As of 2018, fully

63% of generation of electrical power in the U.S. came from coal and natural gas. A mere 1.5% came from solar and 6.5% from wind.

For the working class what's key is to harness this nuclear technology in order to meet needs for energy worldwide. Some 759 million people, overwhelmingly in semicolonial countries, toil and live without electrical power.

Many political figures and radical environmental activists say humanity is on the verge of a catastrophe. They insist the peoples of the semicolonial world should be prevented from acquiring electrical power unless it comes from "renewable" energy sources, which cannot provide for the power needed.

But nuclear power is a cleaner energy source than burning fossil fuels. The construction, mining, transportation, decommissioning and disposal of waste in nuclear power plants involves emitting far less pollution than mining coal, oil or producing solar power.

The Chernobyl disaster was a result of the contempt of the ruling bureaucrats in Moscow toward working people. At every step, from the construction of a reactor without a secure containment structure to the delay in evacuating people, they acted with utter disregard for human life.

Even including the disaster at Chernobyl, decades of injuries and deaths from mining coal far outpace those in the operation of nuclear power plants.

The key question is: Who controls energy production? Like every other industry under capitalist rule, it's run to produce profits, not meet human needs. The capitalist bosses and bankers, and their governments, toss all consideration of life and nature aside in their fight for the wealth working people produce.

The working class is the only social force capable of taking advantage of labor's scientific and technological improvements for the benefit of all. From coal mines to auto plants, it is workers fight to control all aspects of production and decisions about what is made that is decisive to preventing injuries and death.

Our unions must be mobilized to break from the bosses' parties — the Democrats and Republicans — to lead a fight to take political power into our own hands and open the road to protecting the earth's resources for future generations.

'Capitalism contaminates land, sea and air for profit'

Below are excerpts from the Socialist Workers Party 2007 resolution "The Stewardship of Nature Also Falls to the Working Class: In Defense of Land and Labor." It is available in issue no. 14 of New International, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory.

Labor's transformation of nature is the source of all wealth, all advances in social productivity, culture, and conservation. It is the very foundation for the ongoing existence of our species.

At the same time, from the earliest stages of class-divided society, the propertied classes have organized labor to advance their private gain. They have done so with no concern for the social consequences of their methods. The exploiters use labor as an expendable beast of burden, while they simultaneously deplete the soil, destroy forests through slash-and-burn or other farming methods, wipe out animal life through overhunting and overfishing, and poison streams, ponds, and other bodies of water.

Thus, over the thousands of years since the rise of private property, the relationship between social labor and the natural environment has been marked by the mutually contradictory poles of transformation and destruction. ...

The capitalist mode of production dominant for the last few hundred years, however, takes on its own particular lawful historical forms and tempos, with ruinous consequences for the producers of wealth themselves. Under capitalism neither nature, tools, nor machinery; neither science, knowledge, nor technique add *directly* to the value created by workers and appropriated by the exploiting class. The store of value is increased only through the *transformation* of land and other natural resources by human labor, the *use* of tools and machines by workers, the toilers' *application* of science, knowledge, and technology.

By incorporating the two primary sources of wealth — labor-power and land — Marx observed, "capital acquires a power of expansion that permits it to augment the elements of its accumulation beyond the limits apparently fixed by its own magnitude." In fact, capital is *forced* to extend its reach over nature and labor by the cutthroat competition of the system itself and by the workers' fierce resistance bred by this exploitation.

In just a few hundred years, capitalism — initially germinated in a few parts of Europe — has employed that "power of expansion," reinforced by military might, not only to engulf the vast majority of the earth but to contaminate its lands, seas, and atmosphere and to extend finance capital's armed dominion into space.

Toilers' protests continue in Sudan

Continued from front page

for the putschists," it said.

Hamdok's return reinstates a transitional power-sharing arrangement between the military and capitalist parties reached in 2019 after weeks of street battles and strikes led to the overthrow of President Omar al-Bashir. Hundreds of thousands of working people joined those actions to demand an end to rising hardship, greater political rights and to oust al-Bashir, who devastated the country and orchestrated a civil war in Darfur in which tens of thousands were killed.

The Forces for Freedom and Change say that now they will no longer be part of Hamdok's government. Many demonstrators chanted, "Hamdok has sold

the revolution."

The Sudanese Professionals Association, which had called many of the actions that led to al-Bashir's ousting, said Hamdok's decision to accept reappointment was "treacherous."

Since the Oct. 25 coup, at least 41 people protesting military rule have been killed by security forces.

Hamdok's announcement includes a promise to release detainees — hundreds of civilian officials and protesters jailed after the army takeover. He will appoint a cabinet and govern until elections in 2023. Since coming to office in 2019 Hamdok's administration has protected the interests of the country's capitalists and landlords. In June it ended subsidies that help working people get basic necessities.

SWP leads fight against FBI attacks on the working class

FBI on Trial: The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit against Government Spying is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for December. It is about the SWP's 1973-87 political and legal battle against decades of spying, harassment and disruption by the FBI. This victorious campaign helped educate millions on the nature of capitalist "justice." The excerpt is from the appendix, "Workers Rights Versus the Secret Police." Copyright © 1988 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The secret police apparatus as we know it today began to take shape at the end of the 1930s, on the eve of the war. This is when our case begins.

Roosevelt was replacing the New Deal with the War Deal, as the imperialists prepared to subject humanity to the second world slaughter. As the U.S. capitalists got ready for war against their rivals abroad, they also prepared their offensive against the working class and against Blacks and Chicanos at home. Their aims were to silence all opponents of the war drive, to channel all motion toward a labor party back into the two capitalist parties, and to make working people accept the necessity of sacrifice. All struggles for improvements in wag-



FBI raid on SWP headquarters, June 27, 1941, saluted by Minneapolis dailies, was part of targeting party and Minneapolis Teamsters on eve of U.S. entry in second imperialist world war.

es and working conditions, or for an end to racial discrimination and segregation, had to be subordinated to the needs of the imperialist war.

Because they knew there would be opposition to this course, the employers decided on a big expansion of the FBI. Before this period the FBI was not primarily a political police force. ...

But with the rise of the CIO and the deep-going labor radicalization, the rulers knew that their war drive would require this whole operation to be centralized, upgraded, and brought directly under federal government control. In September 1936, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, acting under instructions from President Franklin Roosevelt, informed all FBI offices that "the Bureau desires to obtain from all possible sources information concerning subversive activities being conducted in the United States by Communists, Fascists, and representatives or advocates of other organizations advocating the overthrow or replacement of the Government of the United States by illegal methods."

By 1938, the Foreign Agents Registration Act was passed and Congress set up the Special Committee on Un-American Propaganda Activities ... forerunner of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The thought-control Smith Act and the Voorhis Act (which penalized political parties affiliated to international organizations) would be adopted in 1940. ...

Although we didn't then know the secret moves that were being made to

expand the FBI, working people saw the results immediately. In the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and throughout the central states region, union militants began to be framed up, arrested, and convicted. In each case, the prosecutors relied on testimony from informers and agents provocateurs. In his books *Teamster Politics* and *Teamster Bureaucracy* Farrell Dobbs records the direct intervention by the FBI, beginning with the 1939 frame-up of Teamster leaders in Omaha, Nebraska, and Des Moines and Sioux City, Iowa.

This antilabor police offensive culminated in the 1941 Smith Act trial in Minneapolis, in which eighteen leaders of the Teamsters union and of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted and imprisoned for advocating forbidden ideas — the things we advocate today. In that trial, the government had three objectives:

First, to purge the labor movement of rebels who wouldn't buy Roosevelt's war drive and militarization, and who were campaigning against it.

Second, to wipe out the stronghold of union democracy represented by the Minneapolis Teamsters, whose leadership was spreading class-struggle methods throughout the Midwest and educating workers in the need for political independence.

Third, to drive the Socialist Workers Party underground, to make it impossible for our party to function openly, to make us give up our public existence and accept illegality.

Although with the outbreak of the war the capitalists were able to achieve a good measure of success on the first two, they totally failed in their third objective.

The large-scale entry of the FBI into the political arena began around 1938, the same year our party was founded. ...

After the Smith Act convictions all of this continued. During the war, the *Militant* was banned for a time from the mail. After the war came the antilabor, anticommunist witch-hunt, beginning with the establishment by the Truman administration of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations, an official government blacklist. Our party appeared on it from the beginning. We saw the long, vindictive government effort to victimize Jimmy Kutcher, a legless veteran of World War II who courageously insisted on his right to be a member of the SWP without losing his job or his veterans' benefits. Passports were denied to SWP leaders in an attempt to disrupt not only our party but the Fourth International, by preventing us from presenting our point of view at meetings of the International. Our members were witch-hunted out of the maritime industry, and many workers who were members or supporters of the party in other industries were fired. ...

The use of secret police, informers, agents provocateurs, frame-ups, disruption efforts, and all the other things are not incidental to capitalist rule. They are not secondary, not optional. They are permanent, basic, and essential.

This does not depend on the form of the capitalist state or the type of regime. We often say in popular explanations that the FBI uses police-state methods. This is true, of course. But the FBI methods are also the necessary methods of the political police under a bourgeois democracy. Think about this — the United States is not under fascist rule. It is not a police state. It is a bourgeois democracy, among the most democratic of capitalist regimes anywhere in the world. Yet we have here this massive undercover repressive machine, an army of secret political police.

This undemocratic, repressive mechanism is part of the real content of capitalist democracy. That is why the workers' movement must constantly fight for its rights against this mechanism, fight to uncover it and get out the truth about it.

December

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CANADA

QUEBEC: **Montreal:** 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. Email: clcmontréal@fastmail.com

FRANCE

Paris: BP 10130, 75723 Paris Cedex 15. Email: militant.paris@gmail.com

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 188a Onehunga Mall, Onehunga. Postal address: P.O. Box 13857, Auckland 1643. Tel: (09) 636-3231. Email: clauack@xtra.co.nz

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Defend political rights won in blood!

Under capitalist rule, the bosses use their courts, cops and control of state power to advance and defend their drive to extract maximum profits from the labor of working people at home and abroad.

Bosses got compliant judges to issue restraining orders attacking strikes by miners at Warrior Met Coal in Alabama and Kellogg’s bakery workers in Omaha, Nebraska. The rulings hamstringing these unionists’ ability to picket effectively, a crucial weapon in the fight to improve wages and working conditions. Getting out the word and winning widespread solidarity from fellow workers and the labor movement is sorely needed to strengthen the workers in the face of these attacks.

As workers organize to defend ourselves, every right we have conquered through centuries of hard-fought struggle is precious.

Capitalist rule in the U.S. emerged out of two great social revolutions — the revolutionary war to overthrow colonial subjugation by the British crown and the Civil War that eradicated chattel slavery a century later. Through these mighty class battles, rights were won that are written into the Constitution, including the Reconstruction era 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. They protect working people from government interference and unequal treatment, and have been *used* by working people to discuss, organize and act in our class interests, building unions, overthrowing Jim Crow segregation, and fighting to wrest back from the capitalist rulers the wealth our labor produces.

Millions of workers caught up in the capitalist “justice” system have experienced firsthand how cops, prosecutors and judges act on the assumption we are

criminals. We have a right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. The burden of proof lies with the state. We have a right to a trial, by a jury of our peers.

The capitalists continually try to erode these rights as they fight to maintain their crisis-ridden system. During the mass struggles that built the industrial unions in the 1930s, the Black-led movement that smashed Jim Crow, and struggles against the imperialist rulers’ wars in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, working-class fighters were targeted by the FBI and cops, forced to defend themselves from entrapment, frame-ups and victimization.

Working people have a crucial stake in defending these rights, no matter who is in the defendant’s chair. We need to act on the fact that at some time *we* will find ourselves there. Our unions must speak out against every injustice perpetrated by the cops and courts.

The facts presented in the trial of Kyle Rittenhouse clearly showed he was not guilty of murder in the killing of two men in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and that he acted in self-defense. The jury voted unanimously after lengthy deliberation. But it did not stop liberals, from the president on down, and middle-class radicals from disregarding the evidence, vilifying Rittenhouse as a “white supremacist,” denouncing the verdict as racist, and, in some cities, visiting destruction in working-class neighborhoods. They trampled on rights working people and our unions need.

Defending our fundamental political rights, is critical for the working class and our struggles — today and in bigger battles to come.

Verdict upholds political rights workers need

Continued from front page

one thing to you,” Rittenhouse responded Nov. 22, “I would urge you to go back and watch the trial and understand the facts before you make a statement.”

For those who claim Rittenhouse is a “white supremacist” and murderer, the facts don’t matter. And neither do political rights, like the presumption of innocence and the constitutional right to due process, that the working class and our unions need.

In the interview, Rittenhouse said, “I’m not a racist person, I support the BLM [Black Lives Matter] movement. I support peacefully demonstrating. And I believe there needs to be change, I believe there’s a lot of prosecutorial misconduct, not just in my case, but in other cases. And it’s just amazing to see how much a prosecutor can take advantage of somebody.

“If they did this to me, imagine what they could have done to a person of color who doesn’t maybe have the resources I do or is not widely publicized like my case,” he said

The shootings took place Aug. 25, 2020, on the third night after the police shot Blake Jr. The previous two days saw large protests, followed by night-time rioting and arson by antifa anarchists, a layer of Black Lives Matter supporters, and others, many carrying weapons. Rittenhouse, then 17 and working in Kenosha, where his father lives, volunteered to come out that night to help with first aid and to defend a local car lot from damage. He carried an AR-15-style rifle.

What came out of the trial

Video and testimony at the trial, much of it coming out of the prosecution’s case itself, supported Rittenhouse’s contention that he was under attack and only fired his weapon in self-defense. He shot Joseph Rosenbaum after Rosenbaum had more than once threatened to kill him, and after Rosenbaum charged him and tried to seize his rifle.

When Rittenhouse retreated, looking for cops to turn himself in, he was chased by a mob who threw cement blocks and other objects at him. Someone kicked him in the head and neck, driving him to the ground. He shot Anthony Huber only after Huber bashed Rittenhouse in the head with his skateboard and tried to grab his gun. Much of this was caught on video and shown during the trial.

Then Gaige Grosskreutz came after him. He acknowledged on the witness stand that Rittenhouse

only shot him in the arm after he pointed his own pistol in his face. In an unusual move, Rittenhouse testified in his own defense. The state prosecutors failed to undermine his account.

Many complaints from those who disregard the evidence insist the trial was tainted by the conduct of Judge Bruce Schroeder. The judge’s rulings “seemed to favor the defense in questionable ways,” claimed the liberal *Washington Post*.

Schroeder, who was appointed in 1983 by a Democratic governor, was denounced for ruling that the three people who were shot could not be referred to in court as “victims,” because that implies that Rittenhouse committed a crime, which is exactly what the prosecution had to prove. This is standard policy for many judges, regardless of who the defendant is.

The judge also said the defense could refer to those shot as “arsonists,” “rioters,” and “looters” — *if* evidence was presented backing up those descriptions. Widely unreported was his ruling that the prosecution could refer to Rittenhouse as a “cold-blooded killer” — *if* evidence was presented to justify that. None was.

The fact is, there is little to knock Schroeder for, which is the best you can hope for in a capitalist “justice” system that’s stacked against the working class.

Regardless, former NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick tweeted, “We just witnessed a system built on white supremacy validate the terroristic acts of a white supremacist.”

Accusing those you disagree with of being racist or a “white supremacist” has become the stock-in-trade of the left. It’s a way of stifling debate, as well as glorifying anything done in the name of “anti-racism,” including thuggery and looting. All of this is dangerous for the working class.

Both Rittenhouse and his attorney, Mark Richards, denounced those who’ve tried to claim the 18 year old as their own. Richards called out conservative political figures seeking to profit from the acquittal. “They’re raising money on it and you have all these Republican congressmen saying come work for me,” he said. “They want to trade on his celebrity and I think it’s disgusting.”

“This is something I wish never would have happened, but it did, and we can’t change that,” Rittenhouse said. “But how polarized it became is absolutely sickening. Right or left, people using me for a cause that should never have been used as a cause.”

Cuba vaccination drive

Continued from front page

long economic war against Cuba’s socialist revolution.

Cuba is the only country in the world that has extended vaccinations to children between the ages of 2 and 5 years old. In Cuba vaccination is voluntary. Their unprecedented success — which makes Cuba one of the top three countries in the world in vaccination rates, way ahead of the U.S. — shows what is possible when working people are convinced the government is theirs, not an enemy, and health care is a right, not a commodity to profit capitalist bosses.

With deaths from COVID now three or less a day — on some days it has been zero — Cuba has begun once again to welcome solidarity brigades and tourists from around the world, with no quarantine; hold broader public events and political activities; and reopen schools and factories.

The Joseph Biden administration has maintained all the economic and financial restrictions imposed by previous administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, and added more. The U.S. embargo “affects every aspect of life in our country,” Olga Lidia Jacobo-Casanueva, director of Cuba’s Center for State Control of Medicines and Medical Devices, told MEDICC Review earlier this year.

Chemicals needed for testing are difficult to procure, she said, as are spare parts and new equipment. Even paper and toner have been “dangerously low,” she said. That’s not a small question for records essential to modern health care. “This gives you an idea of the comprehensiveness” of the U.S. embargo, she said. “Something as simple as paper is hard for Cuba to purchase on the international market.”

Unlike Moderna and Pfizer, none of Cuba’s vaccines need storage at extreme cold temperatures, making them more suitable for rural areas and large parts of the semicolonial world. Cuba has already sent millions of vaccine doses to Venezuela, Nicaragua and Vietnam. With Cuba’s aid, the Iranian government is producing the vaccine there.

Working people’s increased confidence

Young people joined in making millions of daily visits to people’s homes during the peak of the pandemic to make sure everyone who needed medical treatment got it. Many joined volunteer agricultural brigades to alleviate food shortages exacerbated by the embargo. They were deeply impacted by the experience.

Alejandro López Rodríguez, a student at Havana’s CUJAE technology university, volunteered in the fields, in health centers and door to door. “It was a fantastic adventure, which has allowed me to learn about everything and grow as a human being,” he told the campus media.

On Nov. 21, the first Cuban plane since June landed in Argentina, reinitiating weekly air travel between the two countries. Argentina is historically a major source of tourism to Cuba. That same day, thousands across the island took part in a day of volunteer labor, preparing fields for planting and building homes.

Success in beating back COVID made possible the first national Day of Defense since the start of the pandemic. Workplace, campus, farm and neighborhood militias are a central part of Cuba’s revolutionary strategy of the “war of the entire people.” Thousands of volunteers refreshed their military skills while sending a message to Washington that it would pay a huge price if it tried to invade.

The mobilizations of popular support for the revolution and willingness to defend it arms in hands, in the face of hardships imposed by the U.S. imperialist rulers’ economic and political war, are no small factor in preventing Washington from attempting a repeat of its failed April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. That’s also why threatened Nov. 15 disruptions against the revolution instigated by Washington fizzled.

Working people and youth in Cuba are proud of what they have accomplished over the last year. At the same time, they’re aware that the worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the tightening of the U.S. embargo guarantee that shortages of essential goods and other challenges will remain.

“There is a lot to do in Cuba, a lot to transform to overcome the challenges of so many external limitations and those of our own doing,” wrote Iroel Sánchez in the Nov. 21 *Granma*. “But we have good reason to celebrate one more victory against the most powerful empire in history.”