



WW PHOTO: ANNE PRUDEN

Staceyane Chin speaks at Sept. 29 Defense of Planned Parenthood rally, NYC. Page 3.

Chrysler workers vote solidarity

NO to two-tier pay

By Martha Grevatt

In an act of defiance that caught everyone following the situation off guard, United Autoworkers members have rejected a four-year tentative agreement between Fiat Chrysler Automobiles and the UAW union by a whopping 2-to-1 margin.

Clearly, both FCA CEO Sergio Marchionne and UAW International President Dennis Williams — who stated that, without question, “they will ratify it” — underestimated the rank and file. In fact, some UAW members underestimated their own co-workers.

Skilled trades workers, higher-paid first-tier production, and lower paid second-tier workers did not realize that all three groups would take a unified stand against two-tier pay. Even longtime anti-concessions activists, who developed leaflets to encourage a protest vote, were not anticipating this unprecedented development.

The other remarkable aspect of the struggle was the groundswell of grassroots activism on the shop floor. Workers who opposed the contract became organizers overnight. In some plants, they made message-bearing T-shirts. In California, the message was “Solidarity, No More Tiers, Vote No” and in Toledo the words were “No Deal.”

Inside UAW Local 1248, representing parts depot workers in Metro Detroit, a one-on-one educational campaign convinced a wide majority to turn down the contract. Local 1248 was one of the first to vote and set the trend for the rest of the union.

Toledo Jeep workers rallied outside a contract “roll-out” meeting, chanting “Hell no, Sergio!” and carrying signs against two-tier pay and plans to move work out of Toledo. One sign read, “Vote No to the Culture of Poverty,” a reference to Marchionne’s comment during the

2009 Chrysler bankruptcy that the UAW members had to “get used to a culture of poverty.” Toledo workers rejected the contract by a whopping 87 percent, after definitively sinking the concessionary contract.

The Sterling Heights Michigan assembly plant, which stands to gain high volume work if FCA goes ahead with an announced business plan, roughly followed the national pattern of 65 percent against the agreement. Even after the outcome was known, workers at the Warren, Mich., stamping plant and the Belvidere, Ill., assembly plant came out in large numbers to oppose the contract.

This is more than a protest vote. This is a movement.

Issues behind the worker revolt

Workers have a multitude of issues with this contract, but top on their list is that it maintains the unequal two-tier system. The company pays inferior wages and benefits and denies a pension to production workers hired after October 2007. The new contract actually creates more tiers by introducing a lower wage for workers at certain facilities, for temporary workers, for workers hired under this contract and by lengthening the time needed to reach top pay to eight years. Skilled trades workers hired after October 2011 still get the same wage but not the same benefits.

What has provoked widespread anger is a broken promise to institute a 25 percent cap on the number of “entry level” workers. With 47 percent of FCA production workers being second tier, this cap would have allowed 22 percent of the lower-paid workers to become “traditional” employees. On the front page of the 2011 contract summary, then UAW Vice President General Holiefield stated that at the end of the contract the cap

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More than 1,000 union members and their supporters gathered in front of the Upper East Side apartment of City University Chancellor James Milliken at 8 a.m. on Oct. 1. There, they protested Milliken’s refusal to make an economic offer to the Professional Staff Congress, which represents City University of New York faculty and staff.

PSC members have been working without a new contract since 2010, although the old one remains in force under New York state law.

PSC President Barbara Bowen said that the failure to obtain economic justice for CUNY faculty and staff meant that their students — overwhelmingly Black and Latino/a, the daughters and sons of the poor and workers and from every immigrant community in New York City — did not get the education that they need and deserve.

More than 700 members of the PSC signed in, and there were delegations from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, which represents CUNY clerical and administrative staff; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; the Laborers union; the Union of Clerical, Administrative and Technical Staff at New York University; the Council of School Administrators; the United Federation of Teachers; the Transport Workers Union; the Hotel and Trades Council, DC 371 (social workers), the Utility Workers Union of America (Local 1-2 Con Ed); and the National Writers Union (UAW 1921). Some students from Hunter College, a nearby CUNY campus, attended.

— Story and photo by G. Dunkel



Rehire bus drivers: Garry Murchison, Steve Kirschbaum, Andre François & Steve Gillis.

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WORKERS WORLD PARTY

Who we are & what we're fighting for

Hate capitalism? Workers World Party fights for a socialist society — where the wealth is socially owned and production is planned to satisfy human need. This outmoded capitalist system is dragging down workers' living standards while throwing millions out of their jobs. If you're young, you know they're stealing your future. And capitalism is threatening the entire planet with its unplanned, profit-driven stranglehold over the means of production.

Workers built it all — it belongs to society, not to a handful of billionaires! But we need a revolution to make that change. That's why for 56 years WWP has been building a revolutionary party of the working class inside the belly of the beast.

We fight every kind of oppression. Racism, sexism,

degrading people because of their nationality, sexual or gender identity or disabilities — all are tools the ruling class uses to keep us apart. They ruthlessly super-exploit some in order to better exploit us all. WWP builds unity among all workers while supporting the right of self-determination. Fighting oppression is a working-class issue, which is confirmed by the many labor struggles led today by people of color, immigrants and women.

WWP has a long history of militant opposition to imperialist wars. The billionaire rulers are bent on turning back the clock to the bad old days before socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles liberated territory from their grip. We've been in the streets to oppose every one of imperialism's wars and aggressions. □

Contact a Workers World Party branch near you:

workers.org/wwp

National Office
 147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl.
 New York, NY 10011
 212.627.2994
wwp@workers.org

Atlanta
 PO Box 18123
 Atlanta, GA 30316
 404.627.0185
atlanta@workers.org

Baltimore
 c/o Solidarity Center
 2011 N. Charles St.
 Baltimore, MD 21218
 443.221.3775
baltimore@workers.org

Bay Area
 1305 Franklin St. #411
 Oakland, CA 94612
 510.600.5800
bayarea@workers.org

Boston
 284 Amory St.
 Boston, MA 02130
 617.286.6574
boston@workers.org

Buffalo, N.Y.
 712 Main St #113B
 Buffalo, NY 14202
 716.883.2534
buffalo@workers.org

Chicago
 27 N. Wacker Dr. #138
 Chicago, IL 60606
 312.229.0161
chicago@workers.org

Cleveland
 P.O. Box 5963
 Cleveland, OH 44101
 216.738.0320
cleveland@workers.org

Denver
denver@workers.org

Detroit
 5920 Second Ave.
 Detroit, MI 48202
 313.459.0777
detroit@workers.org

Durham, N.C.
 804 Old Fayetteville St.
 Durham, NC 27701
 919.322.9970
durham@workers.org

Huntington, W. Va.
huntingtonww@workers.org

Houston
 P.O. Box 3454
 Houston, TX 77253-3454
 713.503.2633
houston@workers.org

Lexington, KY
lexington@workers.org

Los Angeles
 5278 W Pico Blvd.
 Los Angeles, CA 90019
la@workers.org
 323.306.6240

Milwaukee
milwaukee@workers.org

Philadelphia
 P.O. Box 34249
 Philadelphia, PA 19101
 610.931.2615
phila@workers.org

Pittsburgh
pittsburgh@workers.org

Rochester, N.Y.
 585.436.6458
rochester@workers.org

Rockford, IL
rockford@workers.org

San Diego
 P.O. Box 33447
 San Diego, CA 92163
sandiego@workers.org

Tucson, Ariz.
tucson@workers.org

Virginia
virginia@workers.org

Washington, D.C.
 P.O. Box 57300
 Washington, D.C. 20037
dc@workers.org

Workers World
 147 W. 24th St., 2nd Fl.
 New York, N.Y. 10011
 Phone: 212.627.2994
 E-mail: ww@workers.org
 Web: www.workers.org
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Managing Editors: John Catalinotto, LeiLani Dowell, Kris Hamel, Monica Moorehead; Web Editor Gary Wilson

Production & Design Editors: Coordinator Lal Roohk; Andy Katz, Cheryl LaBash

Copyediting and Proofreading: Sue Davis, Keith Fine, Bob McCubbin

Contributing Editors: Abayomi Azikiwe, Greg Butterfield, G. Dunkel, K. Durkin, Fred Goldstein, Martha Grevatt, Teresa Gutierrez, Larry Hales, Berta Joubert-Ceci, Terri Kay, Cheryl LaBash, Milt Neidenberg, John Parker, Bryan G. Pfeifer, Betsey Piette, Minnie Bruce Pratt, Gloria Rubac

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Defend Planned Parenthood from right-wing attacks!

New York City



WW PHOTO: SUE DAVIS

By Kathy Durkin

Planned Parenthood — one of the country's major health care providers — is under attack by reactionaries inside and outside the government. The organization annually provides essential reproductive and other health care — contraceptives, abortions, counseling, screening tests and treatments — to 2.7 million, mostly low-income women and men.

Conservative pundits and Republican presidential candidates are outdoing each other in smearing Planned Parenthood in their goal to destroy this vital organization. Behind their bellicosity about its abortion services is also a concerted attack, with racist overtones, on the right of low-income women, including African Americans and Latinas, to government-funded health care, which right-wingers want to limit, even stop. One-half of Planned Parenthood's clients use Medicaid.

Anti-choice forces have circulated a deceptive, heavily edited video about Planned Parenthood and whipped up their right-wing adherents by claiming that the group reaps big profits from selling fetal tissue and that it is guilty of “infanticide” — an outrageous and false claim. Selling fetal tissue for important medical research, which involves 1 percent of its clinics, is legal.

States' laws aimed at shuttering clinics that perform legal abortions directly attack Planned Parenthood — even though those procedures make up just 3 percent of its services. In a budget fight, congressional reactionaries are waging a hostile campaign to defund the organization of the \$500 million it receives annually in Medicaid reimbursements — even threatening to shut down the government to get their way — “because it provides abortions.”

These harangues continue despite Planned Parenthood's repeated asser-

tions that government funds are not used for abortions. In fact, the reactionary Hyde Amendment prohibited it beginning in 1976.

Philadelphia



WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE

Congressional witch hunt

A congressional committee vilified Planned Parenthood CEO Cecile Richards at a sham hearing on Sept. 29. Citing the fraudulent video, its members interrogated her for five hours, cutting off her replies and personally attacking her. Those leading the misogynist witch hunt were caught in their own lies with phony “evidence” of the organization's alleged wrongdoings.

The inflammatory videos and heightening of the right-wing's toxic rhetoric against Planned Parenthood have resulted in an uptick in physical violence against its facilities. These include arson fires set at clinics in Thousand Oaks, Calif., and Pullman, Wash., in September; and in Louisiana in August, there was an attempted arson at a New Orleans health center, which ignited a vehicle, and a sign removal from a Metairie facility.

Since the 1970s, more than 200 arsons and bombings of clinics have occurred.

In this climate of rising hostility to and restrictions on women's reproductive rights and medical care, signals are being emitted that it's OK for anti-abortion extremists to carry out violent attacks on clinics.

Public backing for Planned Parenthood is urgently needed. Women showed their support on Sept. 29 when activists and clients delivered petitions headed “I Stand with Planned Parenthood” signed by 2.4 million people to congressional leaders. On the same day, 300 rallies and other events were held around the country on National Pink Out Day. Two such support rallies were held in New York and Philadelphia.

Sue Davis writes that a statement posted on istandwithpp.org summarized the nationwide solidarity exhibited on Sept. 29: “We're going to demonstrate just how many people across the country are willing to stand up and fight for women's health and rights.” According to

a poll conducted Sept. 24-28 by USA Today/Suffolk University, responses were 2 to 1 — 65 percent to 29 percent — in favor of continuing federal funding for Planned Parenthood.

Davis reported that a noon rally in **New York** attended by several hundred, mostly women, of all ages and nationalities was held in Foley Square opposite the federal building. In addition to several city politicians, young women talked about the quality of services they received from Planned Parenthood and why the fight for reproductive rights is linked to the Black Lives Matter movement. Spoken-word poet Staceyann Chin, a performance artist from Jamaica and lesbian rights activist, roused the crowd when she detailed why women must have the right to choose to be mothers, based on her own experience.

In addition to handing out the Sept. 24 Workers World headlined “Defend Planned Parenthood: Stop the war on poor women,” WWP organizers held signs reading, “Defund the Pentagon, not Planned Parenthood” and “Health care is a human right, reproductive justice now!”

In **Philadelphia**, about 200 people, many in pink T-shirts, signed petitions, chanted and took over the street in front of the Planned Parenthood headquarters on Sept. 29 to protest congressional efforts to cut funding for Planned Parenthood's cancer screenings, birth control and other health services, reports **Joe Piette**. □

People of color being gentrified out of U.S. urban centers

By Abayomi Azikiwe
Detroit

A recently released census report indicates that white populations are starting to increase in U.S. urban areas.

A slight growth in white people living in cities, from which many had fled decades ago, does not necessarily translate into the improvement of social conditions for the African-American and Latino/a communities now inhabiting municipalities. In fact, the numbers reflect a further lessening of commitment to the maintenance and well-being of people-of-color communities, which are being forced to relocate.

This phenomenon was played up on Sept. 16 in the Detroit News, a daily publication which has been a major proponent of restructuring the city based upon the interests of the banks and multinational corporations. Detroit and other large urban areas fell victim to decades of job losses, predatory lending and hostile, racist public policies that have closed schools and forced greater numbers of people into poverty and political margin-

alization.

Since Detroit was railroaded into the largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history during 2013-14, the “rebuilding” of the city championed by the ruling-class media has been based on the notion, in part, of a reverse migration of whites, coupled with measures that force out African Americans, Latinos/as and poor people in general.

Even the Washington Post on Sept. 24 took notice of corporate media articles related to the growth in the number of whites living in cities. In collaboration with William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution, census data were analyzed in light of migration patterns over the last 60-plus years affecting major urban areas.

The International Business Times of Sept. 25 said of this shift, “The media has covered white populations moving to cities individually in the past, often writing about the trends on an individual basis as certain neighborhoods change due to gentrification. Especially with the 10-year anniversary of Hurricane Katrina in August, many outlets wrote about the

changing demographics in New Orleans.”

The report goes on to say, “But now that this looks like a broader trend, Frey told the Washington Post he doesn't believe that means it will be a long-term pattern in the same way white flight was in the 1950s. ‘It's not something to say we're going to move 180 degrees in the other direction,’ Frey said. ‘And the white population isn't growing as rapidly as it used to anyway. But it is an indicator that whatever kind of city revival — whether it's short-term or long-term that we're seeing — is involving whites.’”

Poorest city being ‘revitalized’

Frey cited the city of Detroit as an example, saying that 8,000 whites have recently moved into the municipality. However, just a week earlier, another report noted that the city, which is over 80 percent African American, is also the most economically underdeveloped and deprived through impoverishment of the people.

The same Detroit News that on a daily basis cheers and advocates the disempowerment and exploitation of the ma-

jority population in the city was forced to report on Sept. 16 that, despite all the ruling-class propaganda of a revival, Detroit remains the poorest large city in the country. This follows the declarations of bankruptcy by two of the automakers in 2009 and the city itself over the last two years.

The article noted, “Michigan is among 12 states that saw a decline in the percentage of people living in poverty in 2014, though the state's poverty rate remained higher than the national average, according to a U.S. Census Bureau report released Wednesday.”

However, the article continued, “Detroit was the most impoverished major city in America with 39.3 percent living below a poverty line of \$24,008 for a family of four. But Flint topped the list of Michigan's poorest cities, with 40.1 percent of residents living in poverty.”

Both Detroit and Flint were hubs of the automotive industry during the 20th century, when the United Auto Workers and various labor unions fought battles to win recognition for bargaining rights

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Chrysler workers vote: NO to two-tier pay

PHOTO: ALBERT LIMON



First-tier and second-tier UAW workers at parts plant in California.

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would kick in.

Thousands of workers, now betrayed, have waited four years to move up. International Vice President Norwood Jewell, who sounds like a company spokesperson, claims the language on the cap was never put into the 2011-15 contract, and if the cap was instituted the company could not raise pay for all second-tier workers. While Jewell “can’t find” the language, rank and filers have found it in the 2009 bankruptcy modifications, knowing that if it was not deleted or modified in 2011, it was automatically carried over. Now that path to the top has been choked off, thus institutionalizing a divisive and unequal system that was supposed to be a temporary measure.

Few workers are buying the either/or argument that the cap had to be eliminated to get everyone a pay raise, not when FCA made \$3.8 billion in profit, and Marchionne paid himself \$72 million last year.

Two-tier — never mind the multiple tiers in this contract — is an affront to union principles and another tool of the bosses to pit workers against one another. This scourge began to appear in the 1980s in the airline and retail industries; now it is widespread.

Typically, when a company’s financial performance is weak, two-tier is presented as an alternative to current workers having to take a pay cut. Thus, to sell a contract with this provision, union leaders have to appeal to bourgeois individualism, to get the workers to put their narrow self-interest above the interest of future workers.

Building a culture of struggle

In 2007, the contract was almost voted down at Chrysler because of opposition to two-tier. Now two-tier is not a hypo-

thetical situation at FCA.

For years we have been working together, side by side, and it is no longer acceptable that some union sisters and brothers are making substantially less than others. The primary contradiction of capitalism, as Karl Marx recognized, is that while ownership of the means of production is individual, production is social. Thus, workers who are not directly affected by two-tier, including skilled tradespeople who voted “no” overwhelmingly, are joining with the second tier workers in demanding equal pay for equal work.

The Detroit Free Press pointed out that “UAW negotiators failed to understand the deep hostility of entry-level workers who, instead of taking a substantial raise, chose to join forces with higher-paid veterans to resoundingly defeat a proposed, four-year deal with Fiat Chrysler.” (Oct. 4)

The problem now is not just one of rearranging how the money on the table is spent — Williams has stated he will not take one dollar out of the promised investment — and convincing workers it is a good deal. The bosses and their labor statespeople have to deal with an awakened membership that believes union principles of fairness and equality are worth fighting for.

This vote represents an unequivocal repudiation of the labor-corporate “partnership” promoted by the UAW leadership. At the opening of negotiations, Williams and Marchionne were caught in a big bear hug. Now, the union leaders have two choices: change course or get out of the way. A new leadership on the shop floor is trashing “the culture of poverty” and embracing a culture of struggle.

Next: the auto contracts and the fight for jobs

Martha Grevatt is a 28-year UAW Chrysler worker and works at Warren Stamping.

On the picket line

By Matty Starrdust and Sue Davis

Target workers win union representation

Pharmacy workers at a Brooklyn, N.Y., Target store have made history with the first ever successful union drive in the company’s more than 100-year history. On Sept. 8, the workers voted 7 to 2 in favor of joining the Food and Commercial Workers. Their major concern was job security, given CVS Health’s pending acquisition of Target’s pharmacy operations. “We were all happy with our jobs at Target. ... It’s more that we didn’t like being thrown into uncertainty,” said a worker quoted anonymously. (nasdaq.com, Sept. 16)

This union drive is especially significant due to Target’s notorious union-busting scare tactics, including anti-union propaganda videos that all new employees are forced to watch. (Gawker.com, March 19, 2014) By proving that it’s possible to organize in even the most anti-union workplaces, these workers have set the stage for more Target and other low-wage workers to win union representation.

Capitol service workers strike against low wages

On Sept. 22, just two days before Pope Francis’ speech before the U.S. Congress, 1,000 federal service workers walked off the job to demand fair wages and a union. Organized by “Good Jobs Nation,” the workers who cook, clean and perform other essential services in the Capitol and other federal buildings struck for 24 hours, calling on Pope Francis to join their cause. “We want you to know that even though we serve the wealthy and the powerful in the Congress, we earn so little that we live in utter poverty,” read the workers’ open letter to the pope. (TheHill.com, Sept. 22)

Although President Obama signed an executive order raising the minimum wage for federal contract workers to \$10.10 in February 2014, workers say it isn’t enough. This wage — \$21,000 yearly — still falls several thousand dollars short of the federal poverty line at \$24,250 for a family of four. (TheNation.com, Sept. 22)

UFW wins EPA pesticide worker protections

On Sept. 28, United Farm Workers celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding in the fields of California with an announcement of long-fought-for rules protecting farmworkers nationwide from pesticide poisoning. In Wash-

ington, D.C., UFW President Arturo Rodriguez applauded the new U.S. Environmental Protection Agency rules that end decades of exclusion of farmworkers from when labor laws were first enacted in the 1930s. In those days, most farmworkers were African Americans in the South or Mexican and Filipino immigrants or Mexican Americans in California and Washington state.

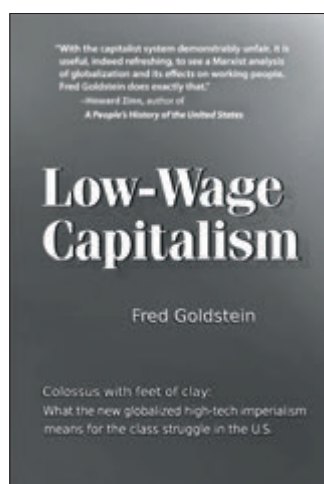
The EPA estimates that 10,000 to 20,000 physician-diagnosed pesticide poisonings occur each year among about 2 million farmworkers. Over the years, farmworkers have fought for and won regulations in individual contracts against pesticides in Washington state, Texas and California. The first was with a California grape grower in 1967. The new EPA rule requires all pesticide applicators to be at least 18 years old, upgrades pesticide training requirements, enacts whistleblower protections and allows improved access to important health records.

“The same rules that have protected other American workers from dangerous cancer and birth-defect causing pesticides are finally going to protect farmworkers,” noted Rodriguez. “Our families and communities will now be able to work with reassurance that [their] work ... will not unknowingly harm themselves or their families. It’s been a long time coming.”

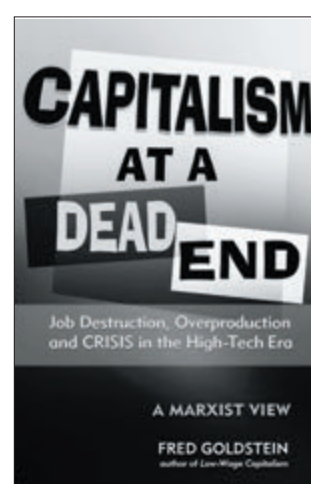
Peanut CEO gets 28-year jail sentence for fraud

On Sept. 22, Stewart Parnell, CEO of the Peanut Corporation of America, was sentenced to 28 years in jail for fraud and deliberately shipping tainted food. Nine people died and over 700 others became ill during a national outbreak of salmonella poisoning in 2008-2009 traced to the Georgia factory. Calling this sentencing “groundbreaking” and “a victory for consumers,” food safety lawyer Bill Marler said, “This sentence is going to send a stiff, cold wind through board rooms across the U.S.” (CNN.com, Sept. 22) If only it would put people before profits!

In a more typical scenario, corporate giant General Motors got a slap on the wrist on Sept. 16: a \$900 million fine and a three-year deferred prosecution agreement after its Cobalts and Saturn Ions led to 124 deaths and 275 injuries between 2003 and 2008. New York Times columnist Joe Nocera advocated on Sept. 26 for prosecution for corporate executives as “the most powerful deterrent imaginable.” Under capitalism at a dead end? Not likely. Only with a socialist revolution! □



Low-Wage Capitalism describes in sweeping detail the drastic effect on the working class in the United States of new technology and the restructuring of global capitalism in the post-Soviet era. It uses Karl Marx’s law of wages and other findings to show that these developments are not only continuing to drive down wages but are creating the material basis for future social upheaval.



Capitalism at a Dead End
Job destruction, overproduction and crisis in the high-tech era

For more information on these books and other writings by the author, Fred Goldstein, go to LowWageCapitalism.com

Available at all major online booksellers.

The inspirational Boston school bus drivers union

By Tony Murphy

This article is based on a talk given at a Sept. 12, 2015, Workers World Party national leadership meeting.

The past month has brought home the stark reality of how capitalism creates both immigration crises and anti-immigrant racism. Whether it's imperialist wars, the turbulent fluctuations of capitalist overproduction, the fascist mobilizations in Greece or the anti-immigrant bigotry of Donald Trump, capitalism is a heartless system.

But repression breeds resistance. Bigoted anti-immigrant laws of 2006 brought millions of migrant workers, mostly from Latin America, into the streets in a national one-day walkout that helped to revive May Day in the U.S. In Boston, a union of mostly Haitian and Cape Verdean immigrants has forced the global anti-union giant Veolia/Transdev to sit across the table from that union's leadership — who are the voice of the fighting rank and file — demanding the reinstatement of four illegally fired leaders, a just contract with no concessions and, for the community, no austerity cuts to education!

What has brought Transdev — formed when Veolia spun off its transit division — to the table is the militant tradition of the Steelworkers Local 8751, the Boston Bus Drivers Union, and the uncompromising class-conscious tactics of the union's leadership. In particular, that means the credible threat of a strike. That is why Transdev executives flew to Boston to take part in negotiations — not knowing they would have to walk a gauntlet of a hundred union members with placards that said "Bring Back the Four" and "No Contract No Peace." Many wore strike captain T-shirts with a graphic of a cobra with the words "Will Strike If Provoked."

The members want their leaders back on the job. In October 2013, the company locked out the workers, who were demanding a meeting with management in response to the company's total repudiation of the union contract, massive grievances and 16 unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board. The city's current police

commissioner, William Evans, enforced the lockout on the ground; the company and mayor then outrageously accused the union of staging a wildcat strike. Boston's city establishment and media assisted in concocting this lie, through multiple hostile press conferences by then Mayor Thomas Menino, articles attacking the socialist leaders of the union, and a heavy dose of strike-baiting. Within a month, four leaders of the union were fired, all of them elected officers, two of them members of Workers World Party.

Along with the usual anti-union goals of any capitalist city's ruling class, many in Boston's establishment were only too eager to crush a union that epitomized militant politically active unionism — a union born out of the Boston desegregation struggles of the 1970s, that has always fought hard for its members as well as the broader interests of its class, and has consistently fought against racism; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer oppression; and imperialist war.

If the firings weren't enough, after a solidarity day rally in June of 2014, Veolia had Vice President Steve Kirschbaum framed up on wild but serious felony charges, including breaking and entering and assault with a dangerous weapon. This company, with a series of union-busting notches in its belt, was confident it could, with the help of the capitalist state, do away with the drivers' union.

The unity of the rank and file

But as the workers will tell you, Veolia picked the wrong union to mess with. The Team's strategic orientation is one that has been all but drummed out of the labor movement: they rely on the power of the mobilized rank and file. Every week, there is at least one and often two yard rallies. At a City Council hearing about the firings, 200 drivers showed up and had to be seated in two overflow rooms. The convener of the hearing, Councillor Charles Yancey, said he'd never seen that many people turn out for a hearing before.

At all of Kirschbaum's court appearances, workers showed up en masse, packing the courtroom and taking over the courthouse with a militant rally. At one court



PHOTO: TEAM SOLIDARITY

appearance, one of the women leaders of the union made a point of sitting right next to Veolia's top official. After court, the workers chased the same boss down the street. Probably what saved him from harm was his police escort.

At the March trial, the floor, packed with union members and supporters, looked like a drivers' break room. The jury saw who was up against who: workers against a powerful company. It took the working-class jurors a fleeting ten minutes to reach a "not guilty" verdict.

Then in April, Team Solidarity swept the union elections by a margin of three to one, with the four fired leaders elected to top positions: Andre Francois as president, Steve Kirschbaum as vice-president, Steve Gillis as financial secretary and Garry Murchison as grievance chair. Now Transdev's executives are facing an incredibly united union with no significant divisions that they can exploit. The struggle is at a qualitatively different place.

Local 8751 has another weapon at its disposal: Workers World Party. From the first Solidarity Day rally in November of 2013 to the phone banking done from cities around the country; from the call-in mobilizations to the mayor to the many Party members who have gone to Boston and done whatever was needed; from the powerful designs of leaflets, posters and ads and the coverage in Workers World newspaper to getting unions to pass solidarity resolutions; not to mention donations that helped keep the four alive. The Party has been an indispensable part of this struggle.

This struggle is more than a fight be-

tween a set of bosses and a set of union workers. It's being fought at a time of global capitalist crisis and the worldwide austerity that Veolia, which was not the lowest bidder for the school bus contract, was hired to impose. Austerity in Boston includes closing schools and eliminating school bus transportation for seventh and eighth graders. The union has played a central role in opposing these plans to deny educational access and resegregate Boston's schools.

The union's example is what drives the political desire of the ruling class to force out the reds. They take note of the fact that Local 8751 members joined the locked-out ATI [Allegheny Technologies Inc.] workers on the picket line and marched and spoke at the Boston Black Trans Lives Matter rally. Communists see every struggle against oppression as integral to the struggle for revolution — and our class enemies know it.

In the 1950s, socialists were purged from the unions, ending anti-racist organizing drives in the South. The union movement was never the same, becoming more insular, each union focused only on the issues of its members and seeing labor-management cooperation as the key to union survival.

The same bourgeois interests backing Donald Trump as a response to Black Lives Matter also want to drive the reds out of Local 8751. But leaders in both the African-American community and the labor movement are ready to support Local 8751 in the event of a strike — when the struggle takes the form of overt class war.

At that point, it will be time to head to Boston and walk the picket line! □

Sept. jobs report: Propaganda can't hide grim truth

By G. Dunkel

The United States, like other advanced capitalist countries such as Canada, Australia and those in Europe, does not tell the truth about a glaring economic fact: Millions of workers can't find work.

The official U.S. unemployment rate is 5.1 percent. This hides the true extent of the privation, suffering, despair and alienation workers feel when they are out of work and, in many cases, not even counted. Being out of work is a blow to workers' self-esteem, as well as their financial status. Their connection to the rest of their class is attenuated, stretched and undercut.

It was interesting to see how the Bureau of Labor Statistics' official jobless figure of 5.1 percent for September was treated in the big business media. It was called "dreadful," "grim" and "a body blow," even though the rate reported for August was the same.

To discount the "official" figure, which

is seemingly not so bad, big publications like the New York Times reported that "wage gains stalled, the labor force shrank and employers created many fewer positions than they had been averaging in recent months." (Oct. 2)

The BLS "estimate[s] that employers created only 142,000 jobs in September," which should be compared with their estimate that the U.S. economy lost 236,000 jobs that month.

The Times also points to the 6 million people involuntarily working part time but wanting full-time jobs, and the 5.6 million unemployed and seeking work. Then there are the millions of "discouraged" workers who have stopping looking for jobs.

Black workers have an official unemployment rate of 9.2 percent, more than twice the official rate of 4.4 percent for white workers. Their participation rate is also lower. The BLS says the jobless rate for Latino/a workers is 6.4 percent.

Going deeper into the BLS report

shows that the labor force participation rate — the percentage of workers with a job or actively looking for one — "declined to 62.4 percent; it had been 62.6 percent for the prior three months." This is the lowest rate since 1977.

There are changes in the structure of the labor market. One of them is "uberization," where some workers are considered independent contractors, rather than employees. They are not yet reflected in the methodology of the BLS.

Signs of a slowdown

What worried a lot of business analysts about the employment figures is that the BLS sharply reduced its estimate for job creation in August from 173,000 to 136,000, a big drop. This indicated that the U.S. economy is not doing as well as was commonly assumed.

There are major economic interests that are concerned with the accuracy of the data in the BLS report, which is why it is so often revised to take into account not

only household survey data but the enterprise data. All these data are checked with reports generated by the Internal Revenue Service and other government agencies.

There are many explanations floating around the Internet about why the "official" jobless rate doesn't really measure unemployment. Retailers and other big capitalists selling to workers want an estimate of how much money customers will have to spend for their products and don't want to be confused by a statistic that doesn't reflect reality.

Workers have a different set of interests in the BLS statistics. The capitalist class, as Karl Marx pointed out, seeks to lower wages below their subsistence level; that is, they want to impose austerity. Workers want to know if the capitalists have been successful in imposing austerity policies in the U.S. and worldwide — and in creating a "reserve army of the unemployed." They need to understand the global context of their struggle against austerity and exploitation. □

JORGE RISQUET

Cuban revolutionary leader, ¡presente!

By **Abayomi Azikiwe**
Editor, Pan-African News Wire

Jorge Risquet Valdés-Saldaña, a leading figure in the formation of the Communist Party of Cuba and vital to numerous heroic efforts on the African continent, passed away on Sept. 28 at the age of 85.

Risquet was born on May 6, 1930, and joined the revolutionary youth movement in 1943. He was Cuba's representative and head for Latin America in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and carried out an internationalist mission in Guatemala in 1954.

During the United States-supported Fulgencio Batista dictatorship in Cuba, he was kidnapped, tortured and incarcerated. He joined the Revolutionary Army in 1958 in the Second Frank País Eastern Front.

After the triumph of the Revolution, he held the positions of head of the Political Department and head of operations by the Army in the former Oriente province, Organization Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba in that province, head of the "Patricio Lumumba" Internationalist Battalion in Congo-Brazzaville, Minister of Labor, and head of the Cuban Civil Internationalist Mission in the People's Republic of Angola between 1975 and 1979.

From the earliest days of its Revolution, Cuba expressed concrete solidarity with the African Liberation Movement. Racism was outlawed in Cuba, and its internationalist outlook permeated the foreign policy of the state.

In October 1960, when then-Premier Fidel Castro Ruz visited the United Nations General Assembly in New York, the revolutionary leader set up residence at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem. Castro met with Malcolm X, a leading figure in the Nation of Islam, along with enjoying a banquet with African-American workers at the famous hotel.

After the imperialists undermined the national independence struggle in the former Belgian Congo, Che Guevara, in an eloquent speech before the U.N., denounced the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, founder of the Congolese National Movement, and placed the guilt for this crime squarely on imperialism. In 1965 Guevara led a delegation of Cuban internationalists to Congo in an attempt to re-



Jorge Risquet Valdés-Saldaña, with beard, behind Nelson Mandela.

verse the course of the counterrevolution.

Cuban role in liberation of Southern Africa

Even though the Congo campaign was not successful in defeating the counterrevolution in that mineral-rich country, a decade later the Cuban government responded to a request by Agostino Neto, leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), to assist the independence movement there in defeating an invasion by South Africa and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which tried to install a puppet regime in the Angolan capital of Luanda. Between November 1975 and early 1976, some 55,000 Cuban internationalist troops were deployed to help the MPLA's military wing defeat the South African intervention and consolidate Angola's national independence.

Cuban military units remained in Angola for 16 years, fighting alongside the MPLA as well as the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The U.S. and its allies in Pretoria armed, funded and provided diplomatic cover for two Angolan political figures — Jonas Savimbi, of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and Holden Roberto, of the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), which was based in Zaire, the new name given Congo after the triumph of the counterrevolution. UNITA proved to be the more formidable foe, since it was given direct assistance by the CIA and apartheid South African forces then operating in South West Africa (Namibia) prior to its independence in 1990.

The struggle in Angola reached its climax in 1987-88 with battles centered at Cuito Cuanavale, where the South African forces were routed and defeated. These battles would convince the racist regime in Pretoria and its backers in the Reagan and H.W. Bush administrations that a military defeat of the Southern African liberation movements was impossible.

A ceasefire was declared in late 1988, and firm negotiations were undertaken between the MPLA government in Angola and the apartheid regime. The U.S. and Pretoria did not want the Cuban government involved in the talks about the withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola and the independence process in Namibia.

Nonetheless, due to the overwhelming support of the Organization of African Unity, now the African Union, and progressive forces internationally, the Cubans were not only allowed into the talks but played a prominent role. The central role of Jorge Risquet enhanced his international prominence, illustrating the significance of Cuba in the African revolutionary process.

Risquet led the Cuban delegation in the talks, which resulted in the withdrawal of the apartheid army from southern Angola and the liberation of neighboring Namibia after a century of settler-colonial occupation. Internationally supervised elections in Namibia in late 1989 led to the declaration of independence from apartheid on March 21, 1990, under the leadership of President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, which won overwhelmingly.

The independence of Namibia and the ongoing mass and armed struggles in South Africa led by the ANC forced the removal of P.W. Botha as president of the apartheid regime and his replacement, F.W. DeKlerk. The new regime began to indicate that it was willing to negotiate an end to the political crisis in South Africa.

Beginning on Feb. 2, 1990, the ANC, the South African Communist Party and other previously banned organizations were allowed to function openly. Nine

days later, Nelson Mandela was released after more than 27 years of imprisonment in the dungeons of the racist apartheid system.

Four years later the ANC won a solid electoral majority and took power in South Africa, sweeping out the dreaded system of apartheid. In a matter of less than two decades between 1975 and 1994, the system of white minority political rule in Southern Africa was soundly defeated with the profound assistance of revolutionary Cuba.

Risquet honored Kwame Nkrumah

During a keynote address in September 2012 in Ghana honoring the 40th anniversary of the death of Kwame Nkrumah, Risquet outlined Cuba's role in the African Revolution from the 1960s to the present period.

He stressed the ancestral ties between the people of Cuba and the African continent based on the Atlantic Slave Trade. He also paid tribute to the role Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the independence movement in Ghana and its first prime minister and president, for his role in the creation of the Organization in Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), formed in 1966 at the Tri-Continental Congress in Havana.

"This was the understanding with which Cuban fighters came to ancestral Africa to fight side by side with the people against colonialism and the oppressive apartheid regime," said Risquet. "For 26 years, 381,000 Cuban soldiers and officers fought alongside African populations — between April 24, 1965, when Ernesto Che Guevara and his men crossed Lake Tanganyika, and May 25, 1991, when the remaining 500 Cuban fighters returned home triumphant."

He went on to point out, "Among these internationalists were three of the Five Anti-Terrorist Heroes currently held in the imperialists' prison [now released]. Twenty-four hundred Cuban internationalist fighters lost their lives on African soil. Today we no more send soldiers. Now, we send doctors, teachers, builders, specialists in various fields."

After his death, tributes to Risquet were delivered by the ANC of South Africa, the MPLA of Angola and other revolutionary parties and organizations throughout the world. □

Protesters denounce war criminal Poroshenko

By **Workers World New York Bureau**

Undeterred by rain, New Yorkers came out to protest a speech by Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko on the campus of Columbia University on Sept. 29. They loudly chanted: "U.S. out of Ukraine! Fascists off the campus!"

People left work and school early to join the demonstration. They included members of the Ukrainian and Russian immigrant communities, Harlem residents, and members of anti-fascist and anti-war organizations.

Holding signs with Poroshenko's photo and the words "Wanted for War Crimes," the protesters informed Columbia students, workers and residents of the West Harlem neighborhood about why the Ukrainian oligarch should be standing in front of a war crimes tribunal, instead of being given the red carpet treatment by a university.

Signs and leaflets laid out the charges

against Poroshenko: his responsibility for more than 7,000 deaths in the war against the independent Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics; forcing 1.3 million people to become refugees; jailing journalists and political opponents; banning communist ideology while celebrating fascist collaborators; violations of the Minsk 2 ceasefire agreement, including shelling and terror attacks aimed at hospitals, schools and other civilian targets; and acting as the agent of Wall Street and Washington to impose austerity and NATO expansion.

Protesters also carried flags of the Donetsk People's Republic, the Ghost Brigade of the Novorossiyan people's militia, the Ukrainian communist organization Borotba and the Soviet flag of victory, symbolizing the triumph over fascism in World War II. Carrying any of those flags in Poroshenko's Ukraine would result in



WW PHOTO: ANNE PRUDEN

arrest — or worse.

The New York Police Department escorted Poroshenko onto the campus by a side street to avoid the protesters. But when his motorcade pulled up to Low Library, people raised their voices to make sure he heard them chanting: "Poroshenko! You can't hide! We charge you with genocide!" "We are here not only to condemn Po-

roshenko," declared Greg Butterfield of the International Action Center. "We are here to condemn Columbia University President Lee Bollinger for giving this war criminal a platform to spread his lies about 'Russian aggression' in Donbass. We are here to demand that President Obama, Senator John McCain and other high officials in Washington stop funding and arming Poroshenko's fascist junta."

Longtime Harlem activist Nellie Bailey drew the connection between Columbia University's gentrification policies, aimed at driving African-American residents out of the neighborhood, and its promotion of far right-wing and neoliberal regimes like Poroshenko's.

Protesters successfully faced down several provocations by Ukrainian fascists.

A Poroshenko supporter attempted to tear down the flag of the Donetsk People's Republic. When this failed, a member of

Tell the IRS, 'Hands off IFCO'

By Cheryl LaBash

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization needs your support and action to turn back a politically motivated attack using the Internal Revenue Service. IFCO is widely known for its Pastors for Peace Friendship Caravans, which have delivered humanitarian aid challenging the U.S. blockade of Cuba since 1992 — a unilateral blockade rejected by the majority of United Nations countries in annual votes since 1992. The decision is expected at any time, so IFCO urges immediate action. Updates and tools, including fax, phone and email contact information for IRS Commissioner John Koskinen and Secretary of the Treasury Jacob Lew, are at ifconews.org/irs-plans-to-strip-ifco-of-its-tax-exempt-status.

After more than five years of investigation and appeals, IFCO was told the U.S. Internal Revenue Service plans to strip this longtime Civil Rights organization of its tax-exempt status. According to an Oct. 1 letter from IFCO's attorneys, this action is based on "a unilateral determination by the IRS revenue agent that Pastors had violated the Cuba embargo and thus the Trading with the Enemy Act." In the 24 years of IFCO's Pastors for Peace

Friendshipment Caravans to Cuba no enforcement action was ever taken against IFCO by either the Office of Foreign Asset Controls, which administers and enforces U.S. economic sanctions programs, or the IRS itself. So it is a case of punishment without due process.

Injury to one, aimed at all

IFCO's Oct. 3 press release states: "IFCO is one of the nation's oldest, faith-based civil rights organizations and the first ecumenical foundation founded by and for people of color. IFCO administers the Latin American Medical School scholarship program, which brings U.S. students to Cuba to study medicine for free. More than 25,000 students from around the world have graduated from the Cuban medical school, including 134 from the U.S."

IFCO's support for the U.S. medical students in Cuba was expressly cited in the IRS recommendation against IFCO, saying that conveying small financial donations from families to their students violated the blockade. How much more difficult would it be without IFCO for OFAC-licensed students and their families to take advantage of this full scholarship program, which is providing debt-free doctors in underserved U.S. communities.

In addition to IFCO's medical school program, IFCO has been a fiscal sponsor for many small organizations doing important community work, sometimes projects unpopular with corporate rulers. This includes educational organizations working on behalf of political prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal and Dr. Mutulu Shakur, assisting humanitarian efforts to provide ambulances and other material aid to Gaza through the Viva Palestina effort, and Health Care-NOW's educational work about universal health care programs.

"The attack by the U.S. government to rescind our non-profit status is shocking and makes no sense in light of the significant moves of both the Obama and Castro administrations to normalize relations between our two countries," said Gail Walker, executive director of IFCO, in the Oct. 3 press release.

"We need our friends in Congress, the American public and especially the diverse faith communities that we represent to tell the IRS to stop bullying IFCO and allow us to continue our lifesaving, humanitarian work. Our faith and conscience calls us to do this work, and we should not be punished for helping the people of Cuba," concluded Walker.



This attack on IFCO is another example showing the U.S. economic, financial and commercial blockade of Cuba is still in full force and effect. Act now to defend IFCO and end the U.S. blockade of Cuba. For media interviews, contact Emily Thomas at 347-262-6466 or (212) 926-5757, ifco@ifconews.org; and Jennifer Wager at jwa1970@gmail.com.

LaBash is a co-chair of the National Network on Cuba.

Letter to the editor:

Mike Gimbel was a consultant to two Major League Baseball teams in the 1990s. He developed statistics to measure the overall contribution of baseball players, expressed as one number — net run production. We reprint his letter with his permission, with some explanations in brackets.

Alex Rodriguez and Barry Bonds have proven that their previous performances were not caused by the use of steroids.

[New York Yankee designated hitter] A-Rod has had a phenomenal season in 2015, at a very advanced age, and he did it after missing more than a full season of being banned and a good portion of the previous season as well, after having surgery on both hips.

Poroshenko's security detail physically assaulted a protester who was handing out leaflets. A second protester intervened to stop the assault, since police refused to. The police shielded the violent fascist, but gave a summons for "disorderly conduct" to the activist who stopped the attack!

The provocateur who tried to tear down the flag was later identified as Peter Zalmayev, executive director of an organization called the "Eurasia Democracy Initiative" and director of the Eurasia Institute at Columbia University. Zalmayev kept coming back after the assault, shouting that the anti-Poroshenko protesters were "paid agents." But it seems he, in fact, is a very well paid functionary of the junta and U.S. imperialism. Zalmayev's Facebook page shows him meeting with New York Mayor Bill de Blasio and frequently appearing on pro-Poroshenko media.

Butterfield said: "We're inspired by the courage and sacrifice of the people of Donbass and Ukrainian anti-fascists who continue fighting for liberation. We will continue to stand with them against the Kiev junta and U.S. imperialism."

Rodriguez, Bonds deserve honors



Alex Rodriguez



Barry Bonds

Barry Bonds, in his last season in MLB at the advanced age of 42, just prior to being "blacklisted," had a monster season, producing a net of 35.40 runs, which was third best in the National League to David Wright and Chipper Jones.

Both A-Rod and Bonds were subject to intense scrutiny and public ridicule and still managed to perform at Hall-of-Fame levels while obviously "clean." This should put to bed all the hysteria and nonsense about steroids, but it won't because facts will never get in the way of this witch hunt.

I am over 71 years old. I had a torn rotator cuff in my left shoulder two years ago. While I could throw very hard about 50 years ago, I would have trouble breaking a pane of glass today, even with my right arm, which is my throwing arm. I went to the doctor to get it treated. Guess what they did? They injected my shoulder with steroids! Did they think that I needed the injection to pitch for the Mets? Of course not. This is a standard medical treatment to repair your body and, in my case, after two injections and exercising under medical supervision, it worked and my shoulder is now fine.

[MLB pitcher] Andy Pettitte took human growth hormones (HGH), not to perform better, but to repair an injury so as to get back on the playing field sooner. Why was it demanded that he apologize? While I would rather that he had done this under a doctor's care, I applaud Pettitte for doing what he could to repair

himself from an injury. Isn't that what medicine is for?

Should we condemn every injured MLB player who goes to a doctor when they get hurt? Did Pettitte and A-Rod take shortcuts to get back on the field? Isn't that what every MLB team does to get their players back on the field when they send them for Tommy John surgery [surgical replacement of a ligament in the elbow]?

Wasn't A-Rod an often injured player? Did he not have many injuries and surgeries, including on both his hips? My main concern with A-Rod is that he was not under a doctor's care, and in contact with the team, while he self-medicated. Steroids can be dangerous to that individual, if misused. Dangerous not to you and me. Dangerous to the individual involved. In fact, all medicines should be administered by trained medical personnel. This is a health issue, not a cheating issue.

I previously showed that the years when A-Rod admitted to use of steroids in Texas were years of a downward production for him, not improved performance. PED [performance-enhancing drugs] is a Madison Avenue word, not a scientific word. There is no definition for PED.

Things have gotten so ridiculous that actual PEDs, as advertised on TV by jocks, are completely accepted. The "Five-Hour Energy" drinks openly claim that they improve an athlete's performance! This type of stimulant has been around for at least a century and was used (think "greenies" [amphetamines]) by MLB

players through all that time.

Even sillier, Babe Ruth [the Yankee's legendary home-run hitter of the 1920s and 1930s] used steroids and a banned substance and openly stated that they gave him the power to hit those home runs. He ate sheep's testicles. Steroids are a form of testosterone. Guess what is in sheep's testicles: Testosterone aka steroids.

What was the criminally banned substance that Ruth bragged that he took? Beer. All alcoholic drinks were banned during prohibition. Babe Ruth defied the ban on alcoholic drinks. In the eyes of "the law," he was breaking the law.

Do we, therefore, condemn Babe Ruth and try to witch hunt him for making the greatest increase in home run productions ever seen, more so, by far, than the far smaller increase during the misnamed "Steroid Era"? Do we shout to the high heavens to ban Babe Ruth from the Hall of Fame? Shame, shame on Babe Ruth as the miscreant and lawbreaker. Ban him!

Of course we should not condemn Babe Ruth! We all admire Babe Ruth's immense contributions to the game of baseball and honor him as the greatest MLB hitter of all time. Instead, we should condemn the witch hunt that has tarnished the reputations of some of the greatest players in MLB history and which has tarnished the game itself.

Let's honor Barry Bonds as the second best hitter in MLB history and Roger Clemens as the greatest pitcher in MLB history. And while we are at it, let's demand that A-Rod be elected to the Hall of Fame when his name comes up for that vote, and let's not forget the others who suffered in this massive witch hunt, such as Mark McGwire [McGwire who hit 70 home runs in 1998. Bonds hit 73 in 2001]. They deserve our admiration for their accomplishments on the field, not our condemnation!

Stop the witch hunt!! Welcome back Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens into the good graces of MLB as two of the greatest players who ever put on an MLB uniform!

—Mike Gimbel

With stagnant economy & resistance Shell cancels Arctic drilling, for now

By Chris Fry

Royal Dutch Shell Oil announced on Sept. 28 that it is shutting down — for now — its drilling operations in the Arctic Ocean off the coast of northern Alaska.

For three years, Indigenous community and environmental groups have waged a fierce “sHell No!” campaign against the corporation’s \$7 billion program to drill for and extract billions of gallons of oil and natural gas from wells in the Arctic’s harsh environment. The Obama administration had approved the oil giant’s drilling plans.

Last spring, thousands of protesters massed at Shell’s company terminal in Seattle, while some activists in kayaks even tried to block the oil company’s drilling rig from leaving the harbor.

At the end of July, activists dangled on cables strung from the high St. John’s Bridge over the Willamette River for an entire day to block a Shell Oil support vessel. Sixty other protesters were in kayaks in the river below. This followed another action by 200 kayakers a week earlier.

Already, activist groups had forced the oil giant to cut in half its drilling this past summer. They drew attention to noise violations that threatened polar bears, walrus and other wildlife caused by

Shell’s planned simultaneous drilling in another nearby site. The government agreed with the activists’ argument.

Certainly the strong campaign of Indigenous groups and environmentalists, which aroused massive public opposition to the drilling, was a factor in Shell’s decision. They are rightfully declaring Shell’s decision to withdraw its rigs a victory. “Big oil has sustained an unmitigated defeat,” said John Sauven, Greenpeace’s executive director, on Sept. 28 at the organization’s blog.

Arctic drilling’s dangers

Not only are fisheries and wildlife in the area directly threatened by the drilling there, but the extraction and burning of this oil would result in a huge increase in worldwide carbon emissions and global warming. The climate in the Arctic regions is already warming at twice the rate of that of the rest of the globe. This severely threatens the livelihoods of the Indigenous communities in the area who depend on hunting and fishing.



in the steadily melting Arctic Ocean to back up Big Oil’s dangerous oil drilling with military force.

Oil prices down

Another consideration in the oil giant’s decision to quit the Arctic is that oil prices have decreased over the past year from more than \$100 a barrel to today’s price of

\$45. With a stagnant global economy and the current glut in oil stockpiles, Shell reckoned that the expensive drilling in the Arctic Ocean’s harsh environment would not generate enough profits. That could change. Big Oil and the rest of the U.S.’s capitalist class, government and Navy are all waiting with baited breath for oil prices to rise. If that happens, the oil companies will waste no time resuming their drilling ventures, no matter what the catastrophic cost to the Arctic and global environments.

All the terrible effects of global warming, such as drought, wildfires, flooding and increasing storms, mean nothing to the imperialists in their insatiable thirst for greater and greater profits. □

The Obama administration has taken a public stance against burning fossil fuels. Yet its “Energy Department advisory council called for an immediate expansion of oil exploration in the American Arctic to avoid an increased reliance on imported oil in the future,” — in part, because it would take more than 10 years for oil in the Arctic to get to market, said Hawaii News on Sept. 28.

The same article reported, “The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that American Arctic waters in the Chukchi and Beaufort seas contain 26 billion barrels or more of recoverable oil.”

As Workers World newspaper pointed out on Sept. 3, the Pentagon had already drawn up plans to parade its naval fleet

at a new venue, co-sponsored by Christians Witnessing for Palestine and the local chapter of the Jewish Voice for Peace.

In addition to speakers from these two groups, a representative of BLACK (Building Leadership and Creating Knowledge), an organization of Black students and their supporters from the University of Rochester who have strongly supported the Black Lives Matter movement locally, spoke to the meeting.

Security was provided by local members of the Nation of Islam and there were no incidents or disruptions.

In a very well received talk, Rev. Hagler

recounted incidents of racism carried out against him personally by the Israeli [so-called] Defense Forces when he visited the West Bank of occupied Palestine, as well as the brutal treatment of Palestinians by the occupying IDF.

Rev. Hagler also drew strong parallels between the Palestinians confronting Israeli occupation and the struggle of the Black Lives Matter movement in the U.S. He made the point that many U.S. city police departments have traveled to Israel for training. Then he remarked that it makes sense for those occupying the oppressed communities of the U.S. to receive training from the Israeli occupiers. □

Rochester, N.Y.

BLM & Palestine supporters defy racist threats

By Lydia Bayoneta and Gene Clancy
Rochester, N.Y.

An overflow crowd packed the auditorium of the German House here on Sept. 25 to show their determination not to be intimidated by racist and Zionist threats and to defend against racism from Ferguson, Mo., to Palestine.

The main speaker at the event, the Rev. Graylan Hagler from the United Church of Christ of Washington, D.C., had received several death threats in the week before he was scheduled to speak at the Rochester-Colgate Divinity School. In addition, local Zionist groups such as the

Jewish Federation and Roc-Israel pressured Rochester-Colgate to disinvite Rev. Hagler.

The divinity school’s response was to abruptly cancel the meeting, citing “the need for extra security.” They also charged that the organizers of the event, Christians Witnessing for Palestine, “did [not do] an adequate job of vetting and reviewing the particular speaker’s message and recent history,” even though the title of Rev. Hagler’s talk, “Connecting the Dots: Ferguson to Palestine,” was known far in advance. (Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, Sept. 23)

The meeting was quickly rescheduled

People of color being gentrified out of U.S. urban centers

Continued from page 3

and other concessions granted by the corporate owners and bosses. During the latter decades of the century, hundreds of thousands of jobs in the industry were lost to automation and capital flight. Other sectors of the economy, both related and unrelated to auto, shed millions of jobs as well, creating ongoing instability in the labor market and a drastic decline in household income and wealth among the working class, particularly among African Americans and other oppressed communities.

Making matters even worse, during the last years of the 1990s a deliberate program of predatory lending by the banks targeted African Americans and Latinos/as, draining their limited wealth obtained through home equity and meaningful employment. Working people were forced to bail out the banks and

insurance magnates in 2008. Nonetheless, the world capitalist system remains unstable, as evidenced by the precipitous decline in oil and commodity prices along with the volatility of various stock markets internationally.

The rebuilding of the cities on a sound basis will take much more than the immigration of thousands of whites from the suburbs. Infrastructural improvements in power systems, bridges, roads, streets, public transportation, senior services, health care, public education, housing, water services and other such areas are required. These developments would necessitate investment by the federal government and the corporations to the tune of trillions of dollars.

Political impact of demographic shift

What are the social, racial and class implications of this emerging demographic shift? Corporate media interests suggest that the whites moving back into

the cities are from higher socioeconomic strata, and this is necessary for redevelopment.

In Detroit and other cities, African-American and Latino/a populations have been systematically disempowered by the banks and corporations through job losses, predatory mortgage and municipal lending, tax increases, property tax foreclosures, utility terminations, water shutoffs, state repression, and attacks on public education and other services. Access to bourgeois democratic reforms is being rapidly eroded in favor of corporate- and bank-led municipal governments, which routinely ignore the needs and aspirations of the workers and the poor.

In order to reverse this trend of coercive removals and impoverishment, there must be an alliance of popular forces, led by the working class among the oppressed, to reclaim their right to the cities. The banks must be compelled, along with the federal government, to re-

build the cities based on the interests of the people who live there.

Under capitalism, the system of profit maximization fueled the outmigration of whites from urban areas during the post-World War II period. Government funding and insuring of mortgage lending, so-called “slum demolition programs,” and massive highway construction ripped apart African-American and oppressed neighborhoods, wiping out housing, schools, small businesses, churches, community centers and burgeoning political bases.

Ultimately the construction of socialism provides the only sustainable solution to the crisis of the cities. Resources, instead of being wasted on prestige projects built largely through the expropriation of public funding, can be utilized for the purpose of genuine revitalization, where youth, workers, seniors, people living with disabilities and others are given priority over banks and real estate investors. □

Russia, Iran give international assistance to Syria

By Sara Flounders

Oct. 5 — Does Syria have the right to defend its sovereignty from imperialist conquest and its population from the total chaos of sectarian warfare and ruin? Does Syria have the right to seek assistance?

Washington and the European Union countries have spent more than four years in an orchestrated effort of “regime change” in Syria. Now they howl in protest because on Sept. 30 and Oct. 1, Russia carried out its first airstrikes in Syria against forces trying to overthrow Syria’s government.

Since March 2011, the U.S. and the EU have made relentless demands that the government of President Bashar al-Assad and the Baath Party must step down, resign their positions and hand over power to a regime of Washington’s choice. According to U.S. officials, by authorizing outside invading armies of mercenaries, like those that have brought total destruction to Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, to step into the vacuum, you bring democracy.

U.S. imperialism has been the primary power coordinating a program to fund and equip military units in Syria whose aim is solely destruction. This effort began long before the supposed uprising or rebellion of the Arab Spring in 2011.

On U.S. ‘hit list’ since Sept. 11

Because of its independent economic and political policies and because of its

decades of support for the Palestinian struggle, Syria was on the “hit list” slated for U.S. conquest since the George W. Bush administration. That’s what retired four-star General Wesley Clark told Democracy Now! listeners in a March 2, 2007, interview.

Gen. Clark said that soon after the Sept. 11, 2001, events, a general called to tell him that the U.S. was going to invade Iraq and would “take out seven countries in five years, starting with Iraq, and then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and, finishing off, Iran.”

The Washington Post of April 16, 2011, described how at the beginning of the Syrian “uprising” that “Washington has funneled money to right-wing Syrian opposition groups since at least 2005.”

WikiLeaks posted 7,000 secret U.S. diplomatic reports that confirm from 2006 to 2010 the U.S. spent millions of dollars to support and instigate opposition to the Syrian government.

Julian Assange’s book, “The WikiLeaks Files: The World According to U.S. Empire,” describes how the released files confirm that Washington, while publicly opposing Islamic terrorists, saw their existence as an opportunity it could use to destroy Syria. The files confirm that it was U.S. policy to foster Shia-Sunni tension to destabilize Syria, as the U.S. did in Iraq.

For more than four years Syria has fiercely resisted this foreign aggression. But the destruction has left almost half the population homeless and more than

10 million Syrians internally displaced.

At the same time U.S., Turkish, Saudi, Jordanian and the EU were developing plans for an even more intense push to dismember Syria. Those plans have been pushed back by the developments of the past two weeks. Russia’s ministry of defense announced on Oct. 2 the deployment of its navy cruiser Moskva to Latakia. The Moskva is armed with a complement of 64 S-300 ship-to-air missiles, Russia’s most powerful anti-aircraft weapon.

The Oct. 5 Financial Times reports, “The Russian forces now in place make it very, very obvious that any kind of no-fly zone on the Libyan model imposed by the U.S. and allies is now impossible, unless the coalition is actually willing to shoot down Russian aircraft,” writes Justin Bronk, research analyst at the Royal United Services Institute.

In a Sept. 27 interview with Charlie Rose on CBS News, Russian President Putin explained his view that there is no other solution to the Syrian crisis than strengthening the effective government

structures and providing help in fighting terrorism.

Coordinated assistance

The Sept. 27 announcement that Russia, Syria, Iran and Iraq were to cooperate on security issues against the Islamic State took the U.S. war planners totally by surprise. According to the Sept. 27 Wall Street Journal, the Iraq Defense Ministry’s announcement that the country had signed an intelligence and security cooperation pact with Russia, Iran and Syria was a challenge to U.S. influence in the Middle East.

There are also rumors, still unconfirmed by public statements from the various governments, that China will join forces with Syria and, in coordination with Russia and Iran, will participate in the effort to combat the Islamic State.

Washington’s plans are unraveling. But much will depend on how the Pentagon responds to the failure of its plans and to growing international assistance to Syria. An even more dangerous escalation may lie ahead. □



WAR WITHOUT VICTORY

by Sara Flounders

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Burkina Faso

Mass protests lead to arrest of coup leader

By Abayomi Azikiwe

Editor, Pan-African News Wire

Gen. Gilbert Diendéré, who led a coup aimed at derailing upcoming elections in Burkina Faso, was arrested on Sept. 30 in the Burkinabe capital of Ouagadougou.

Earlier reports suggested that he had gone to the Vatican representative’s residence in the capital of the impoverished and underdeveloped West African state. The coup was designed to derail the national elections, which were scheduled for Oct. 11.

The 1,200-strong presidential security regiment (RSP) had refused to disarm, even after an agreement had been reached through negotiations mediated by the regional Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Broader elements within the Burkinabe military had entered the capital threatening to disarm the RSP by force if they did not return to the barracks.

The Associated Press reported that Diendéré said, “I am willing to turn myself over to face justice. I would like the people of Burkina Faso to find a solution to this crisis through dialogue. All parties must talk to find an inclusive solution for the future of the country.”

Due to the political crisis, the elections have been postponed to a later date.

A national uprising against the dictatorial rule of ousted military leader turned head-of-state, Blaise Compaoré, during late October 2014, created the conditions for the formation of an interim government. After intensive negotiations, Michel Kafando and Isaac Zida were named temporary president and prime minister

respectively.

Hundreds of thousands of workers and youth took to the streets demanding an end to the 27-year rule of Compaoré. The leader soon fled to neighboring Ivory Coast, where he has close political and family ties.

In order to calm the October 2014 revolt, military and political forces agreed to hold internationally supervised elections one year later. A coalition of parties claiming the political legacy of revolutionary socialist leader Capt. Thomas Sankara pledged to run as a bloc during the elections.

The coup this Sept. 16 placed Kafando, a career diplomat, and Zida, a former military official, under detention. The two were eventually released and have returned to their positions.

Diendéré was a longtime intelligence director for the 1,200-member elite RSP, which worked closely with French and U.S. imperialism. Fear that the RSP would be disbanded and some of its members prosecuted for war crimes against the people probably led to the coup. In addition, political parties allied with Compaoré were barred from participating in the national elections.

Mass demonstrations, international pressure and dissent within the broader military forces finally converged to force Diendéré to surrender on Oct. 1. Earlier, he had refused to disarm for several days in the wake of a brokered agreement by the ECOWAS.

Interim leaders pledge to continue transition

After his release, President Kafando

traveled to New York City to address the 70th United Nations General Assembly. He said: “The transition I am leading is the result of a popular uprising in October 2014. It is a response to the arbitrariness, nepotism and injustice of an anti-democratic regime.” He called those behind the Sept. 16 coup, “heinous.” (U.N. News Center, Oct. 2)

Burkinabe Confederation of Labor leaders are demanding that Diendéré be put on trial for the coup as well as other crimes, such as involvement in the assassination and overthrow of Capt. Thomas Sankara, the revolutionary leader who ruled the country during the 1983-1987 period.

The labor federation, which represents 17 unions, had staged a general strike in opposition to the coup. Their efforts were instrumental in bringing the RSP to the negotiating table with the ECOWAS mediators.

Secretary General of the Confederation of Labor, Bazie Bassolma, outlined what he thought was the proper course to take in bringing the coup makers to justice. Bazie said of the 10 people killed and others wounded fighting the coup: “We also know that at this moment there are many bodies in our hospitals. So we need to try him [Diendéré] to get justice for our people.” (VOA, Oct. 1)

Bassolma accused Diendéré of playing a negative role not only regarding Thomas Sankara, but also Dabo Bokari and Charles Taylor in Angola and Liberia. He insisted the Burkinabe people will not accept amnesty for him.

The labor leader appealed to the Burkinabe people from across the country say-

ing: “You know the solution to our problem is not in elections. If we are not organized, if we are not mobilized, it would be difficult to find solutions to our problems.” He also expressed his gratification to the people throughout the continent.

Growing economic crisis

Despite the positive reports about the phenomenal growth of African economies, countries like Burkina Faso have not been able to translate the escalation of foreign direct investment (FDI) into better living standards for workers, farmers and youth. Burkina Faso is the fourth largest producer of gold in Africa but remains one of the poorest countries in the world.

Even leading exponents of FDI such as Mo Ibrahim, a wealthy African business person, are worried. He said recently that he is concerned about the immediate prospects for growth and development on the continent considering the precipitous decline in oil and other commodity prices.

In an interview published by the Wall Street Journal on Oct. 5, Ibrahim said: “Things are stalling. We can’t pat ourselves on the back and pretend everything is hunky-dory. It’s not.”

This same Wall Street Journal article noted: “An annual index of economic, political and developmental indicators compiled by Mr. Ibrahim’s philanthropic foundation and released Monday (Oct. 5) showed that the security and business environment in many of Africa’s 54 nations isn’t improving as rapidly as a decade ago, when the continent was hailed as the next great global economic frontier.” □

WORKERS WORLD

editorials

Mass killings: ignoring the obvious

Many psychologists, politicians, reporters and educators are attempting to explain why the number of people who perish in mass killings has spiked, especially this year.

Multiple murders have become so common in the United States that President Obama has given at least 15 speeches since taking office responding to these gory tragedies. His theme, and that of his political party, is always to advocate for greater control over gun ownership and excoriate the Republican Party for opposing tighter gun laws.

No one in the political/military/financial establishment would even hint, of course, that maybe guns should also be taken away from the killer police and the mass-murdering Pentagon.

Many police departments are now issued military-style weapons, supposedly to enhance security at home. And U.S. forces, ships and aircraft are bringing death and destruction to a long list of countries, most in the Middle East, while calling it bringing peace and stability to the area. Hospitals, wedding parties, humble homes and the people in them are vaporized by drones or jet planes as part of the “collateral damage” of these dirty wars.

A whole generation has grown up in the United States with it drummed into their heads that the answer to “evil” in this world is to blast “the enemy” with as much firepower as you can muster. Movies, video games, TV shows and presidential pronouncements have validated this view.

So what’s the message? If you feel frustrated, angry, insecure, alienated — pick up a gun and blow them away, whoever

“they” may be.

There are many other countries where it’s easy to own a gun but where these kinds of massacres rarely, if ever, happen. That they are occurring in the United States — the country that spends the most on its military and on its criminal justice system — is not a coincidence.

The U.S. has been the world’s most powerful capitalist country for at least a century. That world dominance has made the very rich billionaires here many times over. But beginning as long ago as 1969, real wages for the working class have been declining.

Almost all the mass killers have been young men. A chart online shows that between 1969 and 2009, median earnings for men, including the growing number working only part-time, plummeted by 65 percent! (“Wages aren’t stagnating, they’re plummeting,” Washington Post blog)

Of course, 2009 was a crisis year for the economy, but high joblessness and underemployment have persisted since then, especially for the young.

Not being able to get a decent job is both financially devastating and extremely alienating. It heightens the sense of being in competition rather than comradeship with your peers. It is especially painful when the culture around you lavishes praise on those who “succeed” — who make a lot of money and spend it wildly.

There are of course other factors involved in many, if not most, of these massacres. More than half of the killers appear to have been plagued with mental illnesses but hadn’t received proper medical treatment — a possible reason why such horrible deeds are much rarer in

countries with national health systems.

White supremacist racism was the openly admitted motive for the carefully planned, deadly shooting of nine members of the historically Black Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C. The killer had been in touch with an online international network of other racists who gave encouragement for such a cowardly act.

Sexism is another factor. Multiple killings of family members usually stem from the patriarchal insistence that spouses and children are the property of men, who would rather see them dead than acknowledge their right to run their own lives. This is often combined with the impact of poverty wages and job loss.

The current stage of capitalism — its low-wage, dead-end stage, in which spectacular productivity has resulted in massive unemployment, poverty, heightened social insecurity and a sense of panic about what the future will bring — underlies this destructive and suicidal epidemic of mass killings.

There is no easy fix for it. Tighter gun laws administered by a repressive state are not the answer. For a healthy tomorrow, let’s continue to build the movement for jobs, not war; for medical care, not mass incarceration; for replacing racist police with community control; for empowering women and the community of people who define their own gender and sexuality. That’s where respect, cooperation and hope for the future lie.

The Workers World Party Nov. 7-8 conference will be discussing these capitalist-based crises and a revolutionary socialist alternative. □



PHOTO: ATLANTA JOBS WITH JUSTICE

TPP spells corporate greed

By Dianne Mathiowetz
Atlanta

Atlanta was the location for what was billed as the final, “make it or break it” negotiating session of an almost eight-year effort to finalize the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement among 12 countries rimming the Pacific Ocean.

Although described as a trade deal, only a minority of the proposed agreements deal with tariffs and export-import quotas. Opponents denounce the dominant influence of transnational corporations to undermine labor and environmental protections, sabotage the economies of lesser-developed countries, and threaten democratic governance and national sovereignty.

The TPP is also seen as a move by the U.S., in particular, to contain the economic and political growth of China.

The trade ministers from the U.S., Japan, Canada, Mexico, Australia, New Zealand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Peru and Chile hunkered down in the Westin Peachtree Plaza Hotel in downtown Atlanta on Sept. 30.

The rosy prediction was that the deal would be signed on Oct. 1, but tense disagreements on several issues in the 30 chapter agreement, especially over drug and dairy regulations, kept extending the negotiating sessions for more days.

Although the talks are held in secret, the chief obstacle was reported to be U.S. insistence on a 12-year monopoly for the pharmaceutical industry on biologic, life-saving drugs that treat HIV-AIDS, cancer and other deadly diseases. Lower-cost generic drugs would be denied to the populations of the TPP in favor of high profits for a handful of pharmaceutical companies.

With countries threatening to leave the talks, on Oct. 5, major U.S. media announced that a compromise had been reached midmorning.

Exactly what is contained in the 30 chapters of the agreement is not known. Largely the product of thousands of corporate lobbyists, the public has been denied access to the negotiations.

Based on other trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, opposition has come from a wide variety of organizations and civil society in the affected countries, including organized labor and advocates for the environment, food safety, health, victims of human trafficking and other social justice issues.

The agreement covers 40 percent of the world’s economic output and will continue to be struggled over in each of the 12 countries, as the debate now goes to their elected officials for approval.

Anti-TPP demonstrations

Despite very short notice of the scheduling of the Atlanta meeting, protests were organized to both educate the public about the dangers of the TPP and to challenge the power of the corporate interests in the negotiations.

To that end, from Sept. 30 through Oct. 4, multiple press conferences, marches and rallies took place with demonstrators taking to Peachtree Street and blocking entrances to the hotel.

Several direct actions occurred with protesters gaining access to areas adjacent to the TPP meeting rooms despite

Continued on page 11

Kim Davis, the pope and hope

There’s been a hullabaloo about Pope Francis’ meeting with Kim Davis, the Kentucky official jailed for refusing marriage licenses to same-sex couples.

Many progressive people were disbelieving. This pope had said, “Who’s to judge?” when asked about condemning gay people. This pope had expressed compassion for the earth’s downtrodden and blasted big business. They thought, “Someone must’ve duped him!”

It’s probable that an unholy alliance of billionaires and bigoted bishops set up the meeting. Davis’ lawyer is funded by wealthy Protestant Christians who are rabidly anti-gay and also promote anti-contraception, anti-abortion “pregnancy-counseling centers.” Some prominent Catholic bishops have joined Protestant right-wingers to sign a declaration comparing liberals supportive of same-sex marriage to Nazis.

Next to these attack dogs of animosity, the pope’s public pronouncements of caring and concern made him seem almost angelic. But the New York Times and a Vatican press release confirmed the pope’s private audience with Davis.

A wave of outrage from people whose hopes for more compassion had been dashed made the Holy See backpedal rapidly and deny the meeting’s significance.

Millions of people crowded the streets to see Pope Francis on his U.S. visit. Their outpouring was an expression of deep longing for leadership and direction

out of the spirit-crushing weight of capitalism and the community-smashing hatreds cultivated by big business to divide people along lines of national identity, race, religion, sex and gender, sexuality and dis/ability.

The euphoria of hope raised by the pope was expressed by one observer who exclaimed, “He’s everybody’s pope — even the atheists.”

Actually, nope. Not everybody’s pope.

Pope Francis heads up a multibillion-dollar global institution that’s historically and inherently anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-lesbian, anti-bisexual and anti-transgender. His statements and his actions continue to uphold those bigotries.

Besides Davis, the pope also met with nuns suing the Obama administration over required birth control coverage in health care. In his recent encyclical “Be Praised,” the pope condemns “techno-science” that provides contraception, obtains abortions for women and enables sex-confirmation surgery for transgender people. He compares those actions to “the nuclear bombs dropped in the middle of the twentieth century.”

Where hope can be found

We who want justice and liberation don’t have to stand on the curbs of city streets to look to a pope for hope.

There is another kind of hope everywhere in the streets and workplaces of

the U.S. nowadays.

The dreamers and the doers of the immigrant rights movement raised a tide of hope with nationwide strikes in 2006 against deportation and Homeland Security terror. That struggle continues today.

Now the Black Lives Matter movement has stopped trains in their tracks and shut down superhighways at rush hour across the country to say #NotOneMore lost to racist police and state terror against Black people.

Militant worker organizing is rising — by communication workers from Maine to Virginia; by first-and-second-tier autoworkers uniting in the plants of the Midwest; by low-wage cooks, home-health aides, child-care workers in Birmingham and Atlanta; by women jailed in a Pennsylvania immigrant detention camp launching a work strike for freedom for their children; by teachers in Seattle and school bus drivers in Boston.

We are fighters for a world where the wealth is owned by the people, not by the bosses and ruling class, where work and production is planned to meet human need, not corporate profit. We struggle for international working-class solidarity and the right of every nation to self-determination. We militantly oppose imperialist interventions and wars.

As the poet June Jordan said, “We are the ones we have been waiting for.”

We look to ourselves for hope. □

PART 1

INDONESIA 1965

Lessons of a catastrophic defeat

By Deirdre Griswold

Who wants to study defeats? It is much more satisfactory to study victories. To read about conquering heroes instead of fallen ones.

Yet any soldier can tell you that warriors shun the study of defeats at their own peril. The lessons to be learned from past setbacks are essential to future successes.

If for no other reason, the progressive social movements now rising in this period of deepening capitalist decay need to learn about the cataclysmic defeat that occurred in Indonesia starting on Oct. 1, 1965 — half a century ago.

Within a few short months, rivers throughout that populous Southeast Asian nation were clogged with bodies. The army had gone from island to island and from village to village asking local henchmen to round up those who had any association with the Indonesian Communist Party — the PKI — or its mass affiliates: associations of workers, peasants, women and youth who had been demanding justice and greater equality.

Once identified, they were either murdered on the spot or sent to concentration camps. Estimates in the Western press of the number who died in this months' long bloodbath, reported without emotion, ranged from 300,000 to a million.

You won't hear about any of this in the self-serving histories that present the U.S. government and military as defenders of world freedom and democracy. But the U.S. was deeply involved, even as it was expanding its neocolonial war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos at the same time.

In recent years, courageous Indonesians and some Western researchers have dredged up bits of this horrendous history. Two documentaries by the filmmaker

Joshua Oppenheimer — “The Act of Killing” in 2012 and this year’s “The Look of Silence” — are based on interviews with Indonesians who carried out some of the killings and still brag about it, as well as family members of their victims.

Oppenheimer says that working on the films was like going to Nazi Germany 40 years after the Holocaust — and finding the same people still in power.

Journalist Kathy Kadane in 1990 interviewed former State Department and CIA officials who not only admitted that the U.S. had given lists with the names of thousands of PKI members to the Indonesian military at the time of the killings, but tried to justify it. (Chicago Tribune, May 23, 1990)

Opposition to massacres in U.S.

What has not been mentioned, however, is that an active opposition existed in the United States at the time of the killings. Youth Against War & Fascism, the youth arm of Workers World Party, held demonstrations against the U.S. role in these massacres and exposed what was happening in Indonesia through articles in this newspaper.

YAWF also organized a Public Inquest at Columbia University on June 2, 1966, attended by 1,000 people. The group placed an ad about the inquest in an international edition of the New York Times so that the world could see there was opposition in the United States to the terrible crimes being perpetrated by Washington, in collusion with a cabal of right-wing Indonesian generals.

The famous mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell sent a message to the inquest on behalf of his Peace Foundation. Two of his representatives had been attending a conference in Ja-

karta at the time of the coup.

Russell wrote that “few had any doubt about what was taking place around them. The United States Seventh Fleet was in Javanese waters. The largest base in the area, feverishly constructed by the United States but a few months earlier on the southernmost point of the southernmost island of the Philippines, was ordered ‘on alert.’ General Nasution had a mission in Washington. The United States was directly involved in the day to day events.”

Speakers at the Inquest included William Worthy, a correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American who had visited Indonesia three times; Professor Andrew March, of Columbia’s East Asian Institute; journalist Eric Norden; and Mark Lane, a former New York State Assembly member who later conducted an independent inquiry into the John F. Kennedy assassination. The Inquest was chaired by this writer.

The corporate media boycotted the event, but a transcript of the entire meeting was published by YAWF that year in book form under the title “The Silent Slaughter: The Role of the United States in the Indonesian Massacre.” Copies are still listed by online book-sellers.

YAWF continued to expose and protest the horrific physical extermination of the left in Indonesia, which before the coup had numbered at least 20 million people — 3 million members of the PKI and 15 million to 20 million activists in various allied groups.

In February 1970 YAWF published “Indonesia: The Second Greatest Crime of

the Century,” which went into the country’s struggle to overcome its legacy of extreme poverty after defeating Dutch colonial rule. Under Sukarno, its first president, Indonesia had become a magnet for newly independent countries trying to survive in a world dominated by imperialism.

The book also showed that U.S. politicians were well aware of the monumental crimes carried out by their allies in Indonesia, beginning in 1965, and regarded the tens of millions spent in military aid to the generals as having “paid dividends.” (Testimony of Alabama Sen. John Sparkman at hearings on the Foreign Assistance Program, 1967)

An important player in the Lyndon Johnson administration’s dealings with the Indonesian generals was Vice President Hubert Humphrey, whose “liberal” reputation provided a good cover for his secret contacts with Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik. Malik told journalist Marianne Means, of the World Journal Tribune, that Humphrey had played a secret, but important, role in encouraging the “democratic forces” in Indonesia, meaning the murderous generals. (WJT, Sept. 28, 1966)



Next: Political, social and environmental impact of Indonesia’s wrenching transition into the New World Order.

Griswold authored the book “Indonesia: Second Greatest Crime of the Century.” It is freely available online at workers.org.

“The Second Greatest Crime” was reprinted in October 1975. A third edition was published four years later.

Another war crime

U.S. targeted, bombed Afghan hospital

By John Catalinotto

Oct. 5 — Two days after a U.S. airstrike targeted and destroyed a hospital in Kunduz, Afghanistan, 10 patients and 12 health care providers, all Afghans, are reported killed. Doctors Without Borders (MSF), who ran the hospital, has decided to leave Kunduz.

U.S. military authorities keep changing their story of why they hit the hospital, leaving little doubt that the building was hit on purpose, probably in order to close the hospital and drive out the MSF. They also conveyed that purpose by using the term, “collateral damage,” to refer to the civilians killed in the strike. That term was first used extensively by NATO press officer Jamie Shea in the spring of

1999 as a euphemism to describe the civilian targets of NATO’s 78-day bombing campaign against Yugoslavia.

The U.S. command first claimed that a firefight was going on with Taliban fighters and the U.S. forces called in airstrikes for support. This lie was later abandoned. Afghan puppet forces claimed the Taliban used the hospital as a staging area. Doctors Without Borders denied this latter claim and called the bombing “a war crime.”

“MSF is disgusted by the recent statements coming from some Afghanistan government authorities justifying the attack on its hospital in Kunduz. These statements imply that Afghan and U.S. forces working together decided to raze to the ground a fully functioning hospital with more than 180 staff and patients in-

side because they claim that members of the Taliban were present.

“This amounts to an admission of a war crime. This utterly contradicts the initial attempts of the U.S. government to minimize the attack as ‘collateral damage.’” (doctorswithoutborders.org, Oct. 4)

It wouldn’t be the first U.S. war crime in Afghanistan. Since 1979, the U.S. has carried out multiple war crimes in that Central Asian country, atrocities that created the disastrous situation the Afghan people face today.

U.S. war crimes in Afghanistan

In 1979, the U.S. intervened against a progressive secular Afghan government that had overthrown the Afghan monarchy and which had friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The U.S., Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Emirates financed reactionary religious forces — including al-Qaida and the Taliban — that finally wore down the Soviet forces friendly to the government after nearly a decade and, in 1992, drove out the secular government.

After a few years of fighting among the various reactionary forces in Afghanistan, the Taliban, with heavy support from the Pakistani military intelligence known as the ISI, seized power in Kabul.

The U.S. used the events of Sept. 11,

2001, to justify an invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion deposed the Taliban quickly. In the last 14 years, other NATO countries joined the U.S.-led “coalition” that is currently occupying Afghanistan. Nevertheless, none of this intervention has been able to support a stable regime in Afghanistan.

According to the Watson Institute at Brown University, there have been 92,000 deaths due to war in Afghanistan since 2001, of which 26,000 were civilians. Another hundred thousand have been wounded or injured. These are minimum numbers.

Only a few of the atrocities creating “collateral damage” — rocketing of weddings, hitting schools and homes where someone reports a Taliban presence — make it to the corporate media.

The Taliban has over the last 14 years led the resistance to the occupation. In the past year, since the U.S. announced its plans to leave Afghanistan — something that seems unlikely now — the Afghan resistance forces have made gains around the country. The latest gain was the seizure of Kunduz.

Now, the U.S. bombing of the hospital has removed Westerners from the city who could witness any atrocities that U.S. and other coalition forces may carry out in order to secure the city for the occupation. □

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strong security. On three separate occasions, Atlanta police were called in to arrest activists who directly confronted negotiators.

In a dramatic move on Sept. 30, Zahara Heckscher, a cancer survivor, brought her IV stand that provides her with life-saving drugs into the meeting and addressed the delegates, appealing to them to fight for unfettered access to biologics for the people of their countries. She was the

first of four people to be arrested in three separate people’s interventions.

Large “#Stop TPP” banners were visible from the windows on the floor reserved for the talks, hanging from adjacent parking garages. Similar banners and small signs managed to be placed inside the hotel. Chanting protesters popped up in various locations, anti-TPP leaflets were tossed from balconies and at night, and “Stop TPP” messages were beamed onto the hotel’s exterior. □

Poniendo la revolución socialista sobre la mesa

Por **Monica Moorehead**

Mientras las/os trabajadoras y oprimidos están siendo constantemente inundados con personajes como Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders y otros en la carrera para la presidencia, el Partido Workers World - Mundo Obrero contrarrestará todo el alboroto de estas elecciones con su conferencia nacional anual en la ciudad de Nueva York el 7 y 8 de noviembre. El tema principal será "Poniendo la REVOLUCIÓN SOCIALISTA sobre la mesa".

Este tema está diseñado para ahondar sobre una alternativa real para trabajadoras/es, oprimidas/os y activistas sobre lo que se necesita para combatir el racismo institucionalizado, la pobreza y la guerra que está azotando al mundo.

Las/os candidatos burgueses, ya sean Demócratas o Republicanos, dirán o harán cualquier cosa - generalmente algo reaccionario- para obtener los dólares que necesitan para ganar las próximas primarias. Eso significa que no van a pronunciar una sola palabra sobre el capitalismo como

la causa de toda opresión y desigualdad en EUA y en el mundo.

Sólo puede un partido independiente, anticapitalista y multinacional de la clase obrera como el Partido Workers World - Mundo Obrero que ha dicho siempre la verdad clasista desde su fundación en 1959 hasta hoy.

Desde finales de la Segunda Guerra Mundial hasta 2007, la clase capitalista de despiadados banqueros multimillonarios y jefes corporativos podía contar con la parte del auge del ciclo económico para rescatar a su sistema de la crisis de sobreproducción. Pero esos días han terminado. Desde que la ola de ejecuciones hipotecarias de viviendas provocó la crisis de 2007-08, el sistema capitalista ha estado en un estado de pesimismo permanente. Ni los billonarios rescates bancarios pudieron revertirla. El reciente desplome de las bolsas mundiales es un indicador. La enorme expansión de las fuerzas productivas ha atrapado al capitalismo en un callejón sin escapatoria. Los capitalistas están tratando de resolver la crisis de su sistema sobre

las espaldas de las/os trabajadores, oprimidos y pobres.

Ya se trate de la alarmante epidemia de brutalidad policial, incluyendo los diarios asesinatos de jóvenes negras/os y latinas/os, mujeres y personas trans; o la enorme crisis migratoria donde la agresión militar de EUA-OTAN ha obligado a millones de personas - de Siria, Irak, Afganistán, Libia - a abandonar su patria; o trabajadoras/es de bajos ingresos que luchan por \$15 la hora y un sindicato; o mujeres de color pobres que luchan por justicia reproductiva; o decenas de millones de personas que luchan en contra del aburguesamiento, encarcelación en masa, deportaciones, ocupaciones, calentamiento global y la austeridad en general - en todos los casos el criminal es el genocida sistema capitalista.

Ninguna de estas crisis puede ser reformada bajo el capitalismo. Aunque parezca un objetivo lejano, sólo el socialismo puede resolver la crisis, y sólo a través de una revolución pueden las/os trabajadoras y oprimidos ganar el socialismo. Las experiencias en Cuba, la República Democráti-

ca de Corea, la antigua Unión Soviética, la Revolución China de 1949 y otros países, han demostrado que el socialismo como sistema económico sólo puede ser realizado por la plena movilización de las masas que extirpan un sistema opresivo que explota inhumanamente su trabajo y sus recursos con el único fin de obtener ganancias.

Solo el socialismo puede liberar a las/os trabajadoras de esta explotación y comenzar el proceso que permite utilizar su trabajo para satisfacer sus propias necesidades como clase. La construcción de una revolución por el socialismo en el país más industrializado — Estados Unidos — será un gran paso adelante para la caída del capitalismo en todo el mundo.

El primer paso en este salto es discutir estas ideas en el marco de un partido político. Estas son algunas de las cuestiones fundamentales que serán discutidas en la conferencia del Partido WW-Mundo Obrero 2015. Sea parte de ese diálogo crítico y oportuno. Vaya a workers.org/wwp para más información. □

Histórico acuerdo entre FARC-EP y Gobierno colombiano

Por **Berta Joubert-Ceci**

Después de más de dos años de diálogo para la terminación del conflicto armado entre las FARC-EP y el gobierno colombiano, finalmente se ha dado un paso importante que podría conducir a una paz duradera con justicia social.

El pasado miércoles 23 de septiembre, se reunieron por primera vez en la Habana-Cuba, el máximo líder de esa insurgencia, comandante Timoleón "Timochenko" Jiménez y el presidente de Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos para anunciar un acuerdo hacia la creación de una Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (JEP).

La gran importancia de esta Jurisdicción es que proveerá el marco legal para juzgar a quienes participaron en el conflicto armado ya sea directa o indirectamente, de forma que no queden impunes los crímenes cometidos. Sobre todo, los crímenes cometidos por fuerzas del estado y paramilitares. La impunidad en Colombia es lo que ha mantenido hasta ahora las violaciones y asesinatos contra la población, el pueblo indígena y afrodescendiente, las/os activistas de derechos humanos, sindicalistas, estudiantes y todas/os aquellos que luchan por la justicia social en ese país.

Un ejemplo de impunidad ha sido la Ley de Justicia y Paz establecida bajo el gobierno de Álvaro Uribe Vélez para la desmovilización de los grupos paramilitares. Según una reciente entrevista por Anncol a Enrique Santiago Romero, asesor jurídico de las FARC en los presentes Diálogos de Paz, luego de 10 años de procesos jurídicos, sólo han resultado 10 sentencias que afectan a 150 paramilitares, de un total de 33.000-34.000 paramilitares "desmovilizados". Además, la llamada 'desmovilización' realmente ha sido un cambio de nombre, pues en vez de las AUC, Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, resurgieron paramilitares bajo el nombre de Águilas Negras y otros. Las amenazas y asesinatos por fuerzas paramilitares no han cesado.

De hecho, según Santiago Romero, no puede haber acuerdo final para la paz si no se erradica el paramilitarismo.

Esta JEP se puede considerar como una victoria de la insurgencia. En el 2012, el gobierno de Santos había impuesto unilateralmente una Ley de Justicia Transicional donde se buscaba mayormente la penalización de las fuerzas insurgentes. Las FARC nunca aceptaron esta ley puesto que se había concebido durante el proceso de Diálogos de Paz por el gobierno santista sin ninguna intervención de la insurgencia. Además, se trataba de ignorar los crímenes cometidos por el Estado y los paramilitares.

Aquí hay que precisar que un informe de la Corte Penal Internacional sobre Colombia en noviembre del 2012, halló que los mayores victimarios en el conflicto armado han sido los agentes del Estado y los paramilitares. (<http://www.icc-cpi.int>)

El comandante "Timochenko", en una rueda de prensa luego de la firma del 23 de septiembre, se dirigió a sus compatriotas y a las/os amigos de la paz de Colombia diciendo "Les traemos hoy, además de nuestro abrazo fraterno, un parte de victoria colectiva: hemos logrado, con la invaluable ayuda de la subcomisión jurídica, retirar muchos de los obstáculos que hacían más difícil el camino de nuestra reconciliación. Tenemos una Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz que, además de garantizar el respeto a los derechos de las víctimas, será factor dinamizador de la firma de nuevos acuerdos en este tramo fundamental para alcanzar la terminación del conflicto".

Comunicado Conjunto

En una rueda de prensa y con la presencia del anfitrión de los Diálogos, el presidente Raúl Castro, y los representantes de los países acompañantes, se leyó el Comunicado Conjunto de las FARC-EP y el gobierno colombiano sobre el acuerdo. En él, ambas partes reafirmaron su compromiso con los pre acuerdos logrados hasta ahora: "Hacia un Nuevo Campo Colombiano: Reforma Rural Integral", "Participación política: Apertura democrática para construir la paz" y "Solución al Problema de las Drogas Ilícitas".

Explica los puntos principales de la JEP

que resumiendo, buscan "una fórmula de justicia que satisfaga los derechos de las víctimas y contribuya a la construcción de una paz estable y duradera". Para ello, se construirá un "Sistema Integral de Verdad, Justicia, Reparación y No Repetición" que se pondrá en movimiento a través de la creación de una Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición.

Se crearán Salas de Justicia y un Tribunal para la Paz compuesto principalmente por magistrados colombianos, con la finalidad de "acabar con la impunidad, obtener Verdad, contribuir a la reparación de las víctimas y juzgar e imponer sanciones a los responsables de los graves delitos cometidos durante el conflicto armado, particularmente los más graves y representativos, garantizando la no repetición". (Telesurtv.net)

De acuerdo al Derecho Internacional Humanitario en materias de conflictos armados, "el Estado colombiano otorgará la amnistía más amplia posible por delitos políticos y conexos". Esto implicaría que los "delitos" de la insurgencia, los cuales son catalogados como políticos, de rebelión, conllevarían una amplia amnistía. Por otro lado, el comunicado agrega que "En todo caso no serán objeto de amnistía o indulto las conductas tipificadas en la legislación nacional que se correspondan con los delitos de lesa humanidad, el genocidio y los graves crímenes de guerra, entre otros delitos graves.....".

La JEP tendrá dos tipos de procedimientos, "uno para quienes reconocen verdad y responsabilidad, y otro para quienes no lo hacen o lo hacen tardíamente". "A los primeros se les impondrá una sentencia" y "los segundos enfrentarán un juicio contradictorio ante el Tribunal". "Las sanciones que imponga el Tribunal tendrán como finalidad esencial satisfacer los derechos de las víctimas y consolidar la paz y deberán tener la mayor función restaurativa y reparadora del daño causado".

Quienes voluntariamente reconozcan sus delitos, tendrán sanciones más livianas conducentes a la reparación de las

víctimas; delitos muy graves tendrán penas de 5 años hasta un máximo de 8 en condiciones especiales. "Las personas que se nieguen a reconocer su responsabilidad por tales delitos y resulten culpables serán condenadas a pena de prisión hasta de 20 años, en condiciones ordinarias" (cárcel).

El comunicado termina diciendo que "en el caso de las FARC-EP, la participación en el sistema integral estará sujeta a la dejación de armas, que deberá comenzar a más tardar a los 60 días luego de la firma del Acuerdo Final, (el cual se espera que finalice en seis meses).

Y que la transformación de las FARC-EP en un movimiento político legal es un objetivo compartido, que contará con todo el apoyo del Gobierno en los términos que se acuerden.

Garantías de éxito

Si bien este es un acuerdo histórico, y según Santiago Romero, quien está muy versado en jurisprudencia internacional, no ha habido un marco jurídico tan integral en ningún otro proceso de paz, todo dependerá de la puesta en práctica del mismo.

Para ello se necesita primeramente, un financiamiento adecuado. También, la voluntad del gobierno actual y de futuras administraciones. Asimismo, es esencial la revelación de los actos criminales cometidos por el estado. Sobre este punto Santiago Romero recordó el caso de la dictadura militar en Chile, donde los altos mandos militares bajo Pinochet hicieron un pacto de silencio para no dar a conocer sus crímenes. Ese pacto duró hasta hace muy poco, lo que representa un silencio por más de 40 años.

En este contexto tenemos que tener presente el papel criminal, pasado y actual, del ex presidente Uribe y sus aliados paramilitares, los cuales será difícil que declaren fácilmente.

Toca también a la comunidad solidaria internacional de exponer los crímenes del estado colombiano y la participación de Estados Unidos como promotor de la militarización y la violencia en Colombia para beneficiar a sus grandes corporaciones. □