

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Venezuela book fair panel:
Marxist magazine clarifies world
—PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 72/NO. 49 DECEMBER 15, 2008

U.S.-Iraq deal: troops to remain 3 more years

BY DOUG NELSON

The Iraqi government overwhelmingly approved an agreement with the United States that sanctions the deployment of U.S. forces in Iraq for three more years. The pact represents Washington's progress in establishing a relatively stable ally in Baghdad.

All troops out now!
—editorial p. 9

Under the agreement, all U.S. troops are to withdraw from Iraqi cities by June 30, 2009, and from the country by Dec. 31, 2011. The current UN mandate for the more than half-decade-long military operation expires in December.

If the Iraqi government were to decide to terminate the agreement, it would remain in effect for one more year.

Trained Iraqi military troops and special forces, which were effective in fighting Muqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi

Continued on page 4

Mumbai attacks set back toilers in region

BY CINDY JAQUITH

An armed attack on several sites in the Indian city of Mumbai, formerly Bombay, killed some 170 people November 26–29.

Indian police said the one attacker captured alive, Ajmal Amir Kasab, told them he was trained at a camp in Pakistan and is a supporter of the Islamist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba. The group has carried out armed attacks against Indian targets in the past. The Indian government accused the organization of a 2006 train bombing in India that killed at least 200 people.

According to press reports, two armed men entered the Chatrapati Shivaji train station the night of November 26 and began indiscriminately machine-gunning people. Fifty-four were reportedly killed. The train about to depart the station regularly takes migrant workers who work in Mumbai back to their homes.

Another band seized a Jewish cen-

Continued on page 2

Industrial slowdown yields cutbacks, layoffs

Cities, states plan education, health-care cuts



Getty Images/Bill Pugliano

Workers leave Chrysler assembly plant at end of their shift October 17 in Warren, Michigan. Auto workers are among many that will be laid off by bosses in coming months.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As the contraction in capitalist industrial production continues to increase, federal and local governments are planning cutbacks in vital social services. Local governments and bosses are already eliminating jobs while Washington is printing billions of dollars in an attempt to thaw the credit freeze.

The U.S. economy has been in recession since December 2007, according to the National Bureau of

Economic Research—longer than the average length for recessions since World War II.

The U.S. government announced a new \$800 billion bailout program November 25 in hopes of pumping up the country's faltering financial system. This move, one of a number of financial outlays by Washington over the past several months that total trillions of dollars, is the U.S. rulers' response to the deepest worldwide

Continued on page 9

2,374 readers sign up for subscriptions to 'Militant'

BY ANGEL LARISCY

Congratulations to supporters of the *Militant* around the world who sold 2,374 subscriptions to the paper in the past two months!

Over the previous week partisans of the socialist newsweekly campaigned to make their quotas in a variety of ways. In Atlanta, distributors of the *Militant* fanned out in working-class communi-

ties to sell door-to-door on the final day of the drive, winning 14 new subscribers, reports Rachele Fruit. In Chicago, Betsy Farley says seven subscriptions were sold there to taxicab drivers on a 24-hour strike.

Even though they had already surpassed their goal, supporters of the socialist press in San Francisco decided to maximize the number of subscriptions they could get and as a result landed at the top of the chart. "We sent a team to a supermarket in Vallejo November 29. This is the third time we've gone to this spot during the sales drive and we've always done well," wrote Carole Lesnick. "This is a city that has declared bankruptcy and has had well-publicized ICE

Continued on page 3

SWP fund set to go beyond \$90,000 goal

BY BEN JOYCE

The Party-Building Fund of the Socialist Workers Party is entering its final week more than \$8,000 ahead of schedule. The fund is on track to go above and beyond the \$90,000 goal, with only some \$1,800 left to collect. These much

Continued on page 6

Workers vote for union at Utah plant raided by ICE in 2006

BY DIANA NEWBERRY

DES MOINES, Iowa—An important union victory was scored November 19 at the Swift meatpacking plant in Hyrum, Utah, when more than two-thirds of the workers voted to join Local 711 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). Hyrum is a rural town of around 6,000 people about 60 miles outside Salt Lake City.

The pro-union vote has added significance because it comes almost two years after immigration agents raided the plant, arresting 158 workers. Of these workers, 124 faced state and federal charges of using false identity papers.

In an interview with the *Salt Lake Tribune* after the vote, Bernardo Ponce, a worker with 14 years in the plant, said that the company "just kept taking things away. We wanted the union to make a change." Ponce said he was influenced by friends who work at the union-organized Swift plant in Greeley, Colorado.

Johnny Garland, who has worked at the plant 13 months, said the workers "are just tired about how they've been

treated. There's no respect here. The biggest benefit is having a voice at work."

Of the ballots cast, 649 voted for the union and 290 against union representation.

The 2006 raid at the Hyrum plant was part of a nationwide raid by agents of Immigration and Customs Enforcement at six Swift plants. Nearly 1,300 workers in all were arrested. The other five plants were union.

The UFCW represents about 40 percent of meatpacking workers in the United States.



Militant/Deborah Liatos

Militant supporters at November 21 Florida rally for protected status for Haitians.

Also Inside:

| | |
|--|---|
| Haitians rally against deportations | 2 |
| Mexico conference theme: 'Martí, Juárez, Lincoln' | 3 |
| Sweden: financial crisis marks sharp layoff rise | 4 |
| Bakery workers strike in N.Y. solid after 3 months | 5 |

Haitians protest against deportations in Florida

BY EMILY PAUL

WEST PALM BEACH, Florida—Haitians rallied here November 21 in front of the federal courthouse to demand Temporary Protected Status (TPS). The more than 1,500 spirited protesters chanted, "What do we want? TPS!" Many held signs that said, "Obama talk to Bush for TPS."

The demonstration was organized by the Haitian Citizen United Task Force. The group brought eight busloads of Haitians and their supporters from all over south Florida.

"They can't deny us. We need TPS. And we're not going to stop until we get TPS," said Jackson Gurin, who lives in Haiti.

"We need working permits. We need Bush to give TPS so we can work," said Max Louis, a construction worker from this city.

"The country right now is in very, very bad shape and we think it's inhuman for the U.S. government to keep sending people to Haiti," said Lesly Jacques with the Haitian Coalition for TPS. Haiti has been hit by four tropical storms this season, which devastated the country leaving hundreds of thousands homeless.

This summer, the Department of Homeland Security announced a temporary suspension of deportations to Haiti because of massive flooding from the storms, but the

U.S. government has not gone as far as to call it TPS.

Although deportations to Haiti are temporarily halted, Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials are still arresting those living in the United States without proper documents and placing them in detention centers until the suspension is lifted.

Temporary Protected Status grants temporary residency and work authorization. In the past TPS has been granted to immigrants from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Somalia, Burundi, and Sudan.



Militant/Deborah Liatos

Some 1,500 people demonstrate in front of federal courthouse in West Palm Beach, Florida, November 21 to demand Temporary Protected Status for Haitians.

Mumbai attacks set back toilers in region

Continued from front page

ter where they killed six more people. Gunmen took over the Cama hospital, where several more people were shot. The attackers also drove through the streets, firing at pedestrians. They took hostages at two luxury hotels frequented by tourists, killing some 52 people at the Taj Mahal and 38 at the Trident/Oberoi, including children.

Among those killed were railroad workers at the train station, and cooks and waiters at hotels who attempted to help people evacuate buildings and find safe places to hide.

Proxy for Pakistani rulers

Lashkar-e-Taiba is an anti-working-class organization that has acted as a proxy for wings of the Pakistani capitalist class in its battles with rivals in the Indian bourgeoisie and elsewhere. In the past it has been used

by the Pakistani government to attack Indian government forces in the state of Kashmir and more recently India as a whole.

The group's name means "Army of the Pure." It calls for imposing Islamic rule and "seeks to bring about a union of all Muslim majority regions in countries that surround Pakistan," according to a pamphlet put out by the group.

Lashkar-e-Taiba was set up at the end of the 1980s with the support of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's secret police. Founders of the group had helped recruit volunteers to fight with the Taliban in Afghanistan following Soviet withdrawal from the country. Lashkar-e-Taiba later turned to opportunities to serve the Pakistani rulers in their efforts to undermine the government of India.

Following the 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, Washington demanded the Pakistani regime end all support to the organization and similar armed groups. Islamabad formally banned Lashkar-e-Taiba. Its public face now is Jamaat ud-Dawa (Party of the Calling), which operates businesses, schools, and relief agencies near Lahore, Pakistan.

Lashkar-e-Taiba, like al-Qaeda, is a bourgeois group that has arisen in the absence of working-class leadership in this part of the world. Such groups are a major obstacle in the way of workers and farmers in the South

Asian region having the space to put together a working-class leadership that can begin to tackle the legacy of imperialist exploitation.

British colonial rule

Bourgeois governments' use of religious and ethnic differences to weaken and divide working people goes back centuries. Britain colonized India in the 1800s and was finally forced to grant it independence in 1947, in the face of a powerful struggle that included massive strikes.

In order to divide workers and farmers, the British imperialists partitioned India following independence, creating Pakistan, with east and west sections 1,000 miles apart, where the majority was Muslim. What remained as India was majority Hindu.

Muslim landlords and other bourgeois elements collaborated with the British to set up Pakistan. In India the main party of the capitalist class, the Congress Party, supported the partition as well, out of fear of the strong working-class movement that had emerged in the fight for independence.

There have been three wars between the governments of India and Pakistan since. Two of them, in 1965 and 1990, centered on the contested state of Kashmir, which is majority Muslim but remains partitioned, with Indians troops occupying two-thirds

Continued on page 9

THE MILITANT

online

www.themilitant.com

THE MILITANT

End U.S. occupation of Iraq now!

The U.S. military has occupied Iraq since 2003. The latest agreement extends the occupation to at least 2011. The 'Militant' tells the truth about the U.S. wars in Iraq as well as in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Don't miss an issue!



High school students in Ferndale, Washington, protest war in Iraq March 20.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

\$5 for 12 issues

RENEWAL

\$10 for 12 weeks

\$20 for 6 months

\$35 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

PHONE _____

E-MAIL _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 306 W. 37TH ST., 10TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, A\$8 • United Kingdom, £3 • Canada, Can\$6 • Caribbean and Latin America, US\$10 • Continental Europe, £9 • France, 12 Euros • New Zealand, NZ\$7 • Sweden, Kr60 • All other areas, US\$16 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 72/No. 49

Closing news date: December 5, 2008

Editor: Sam Manuel

Managing Editor: Martín Koppel

Business Manager: Angel Lariscy

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Ved Dookhun, Seth Galinsky, Cindy Jaquith, Ben Joyce, Doug Nelson, Ben O'Shaughnessy

Published weekly except for one week in January and one week in July.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 244-4899

Fax: (212) 244-4947

E-mail: themilitant@mac.com

Website: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

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

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

address.

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East: For one year send \$85 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

Canada: For one year send Canadian \$45 to the Militant, 7105 St. Hubert, Suite 106F, Montreal, Quebec, H2S 2N1.

United Kingdom: Send £25 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London, First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green (Entrance in Brick Lane), London, E2 6DG, England.

Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe: Send £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London at above address.

France: Send 76 euros for one year to Diffusion du Militant, P.O. Box 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris.

Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: Send 400 Swedish kronor for one year to Bildhuggarvägen 17, 12144 Johanneshov, Stockholm, Sweden.

New Zealand: Send NZ\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Australia: Send A\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 164 Campsie, NSW 2194, Australia.

Pacific Islands: Send NZ\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

Mexico conference theme: ‘Martí, Juárez, Lincoln’

BY STEVE WARSHALL

HOUSTON—An international conference taking place May 18–19 in Monterrey, Mexico, will bring together academics, students, workers, immigrant rights activists, and others from across the Americas to “draw on the contributions of José Martí, Benito Juárez, Abraham Lincoln, and other leaders of what Martí called ‘Our America.’”

Conference presentations and panels, according to the organizers, will discuss “how to confront the world crisis today and how to defend the interests of the vast majority of toiling humanity.” Most participants are expected to come from Mexico, the United States, Cuba, and Canada.

Martí was the most outstanding international leader in Latin America as the 19th century came to a close and the imperialist epoch was born. He was the central organizer of Cuba’s final independence struggle against Spanish colonial rule. Juárez led Mexico’s 1858–61 democratic revolution and the 1862–67 war to defeat a French invasion. Lincoln, elected president of the United States in 1860, marshaled the forces that assured the victory of the second American revolution, which overthrew the slavocracy, and backed Juárez’s forces in Mexico.

“Guided by Martí’s statement, ‘To be educated is the only way to be free,’ the principal goal of the conference is to promote an Alternative for the Americas Inspired by the Ideas of

Martí (in Spanish, Alternativa Martiana para las Américas—ALMA, or soul),” the organizers said in a conference announcement.

The International Conference on Martí, Juárez, and Lincoln in the Soul of Our America will include panels on topics such as: Martí’s thought in Cuba’s revolutionary struggles; Lincoln, Martí, Juárez, and the struggle to abolish slavery; Karl Marx and José Martí; Martí, pedagogy, and universalizing education and culture in Latin America; workers, farmers, and struggles for power; and the premise that “A better world is possible.”

The ALMA conference has broad interest for academics involved in Latin American, Mexican, and Cuban studies, as well as immigration and Black studies. Organizers are encouraging participation by Chicano, Latin American, Black, and other student organizations, as well as workers involved in the fight for immigrant rights and other social struggles.

Among the special guests at the event will be Armando Hart, president of the Cuban National Commission of the Martí Program. The ALMA conference itself came out of the success of Hart’s April 2008 speaking tour in Monterrey and Zacatecas, Mexico, in which he spoke to hundreds of interested students, teachers, artists, and others on “Marx and Martí in the Roots of Cuba’s Socialist Revolution” and related themes.

Interest in Pathfinder high at Miami book fair



Militant/Bernie Senter

MIAMI—Hundreds of people stopped by the Pathfinder Press booth November 14–16 at the Miami Book Fair International. Participants in the fair purchased 100 Pathfinder books. The pamphlet *Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?*—published in English, French, and Spanish—was the best seller with 18 copies purchased. Nine copies of issue number 14 of *New International* and two of issue number 8 of *Nueva Internacional*, which feature an article on the roots of the capitalist financial crisis, were sold along with 29 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

—BERNIE SENTER

A historic leader of the Cuban Revolution, Hart was Cuba’s education minister during the massive 1961 campaign that wiped out illiteracy in Cuba, and later served as minister of culture for two decades.

Initial conference sponsors include the José Martí Cultural Society in Monterrey; Autonomous University of Nuevo León; Autonomous University of Coahuila; José Martí Studies Program at the University of Guadalajara; Center for Martí Studies

in Havana; and the Latin American Studies Program at the University of Houston.

Among the U.S. academics promoting the conference are Dr. Susan Kellogg, director of the University of Houston Latin American Studies Program; Dionicio Valdés of Michigan State University’s History Department; August Nimtz, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis; and Lorenzo Cano, associate director of the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Houston.

April 19 is the deadline for submitting titles and abstracts of papers to present at the conference. To register for the event and for more information, write to Alma2008@uh.edu, or contact Dr. Agueda Marisel Oliva of the Instituto José Martí de Educación Superior in Monterrey at marisel.oliva@josemarti.edu.mx.

‘Militant’ Subscription Drive Fall 2008 ♦ Sept. 27 – Nov. 23 Final chart

| Country | Quota | Sold | % |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| UNITED STATES | | | |
| San Francisco | 140 | 152 | 109% |
| Miami | 160 | 173 | 108% |
| Atlanta | 250 | 257 | 103% |
| Des Moines, IA | 125 | 129 | 103% |
| Houston* | 100 | 103 | 103% |
| Newark, NJ | 125 | 129 | 103% |
| Twin Cities** | 155 | 160 | 103% |
| Philadelphia | 90 | 92 | 102% |
| Boston | 60 | 61 | 102% |
| Chicago | 100 | 102 | 102% |
| Seattle | 80 | 81 | 101% |
| Washington D.C. | 95 | 96 | 101% |
| Los Angeles | 100 | 100 | 100% |
| New York | 315 | 288 | 91% |
| Other | | 10 | |
| U.S. Total | 1,895 | 1,933 | 102% |
| CANADA | 125 | 125 | 100% |
| UNITED KINGDOM | | | |
| Edinburgh | 40 | 46 | 115% |
| London | 80 | 81 | 101% |
| UK Total | 120 | 127 | 106% |
| NEW ZEALAND* | 85 | 87 | 102% |
| AUSTRALIA* | 65 | 66 | 102% |
| SWEDEN* | 35 | 36 | 103% |
| Int’l Totals | 2,325 | 2,374 | 99% |
| Should be | 2,400 | 2,400 | 100% |

* Raised quota **Raised quota twice

‘Militant’ subscriptions

Continued from page 1
raids. The team sold 10 subs toward the international goal.”

A young woman from Brooklyn who first subscribed to the paper in August sent in for a renewal and wrote, “I love the *Militant!*” She later called the paper’s offices asking if someone could come visit her for further discussion and bring revolutionary literature on Cuba and Black rights.

Over the course of the subscription campaign 238 people also decided to purchase *New International* no. 14 or *Nueva Internacional* no. 8. The magazine of Marxist politics and theory contains the articles: “Revolution, Internationalism, and Socialism: The Last Year of Malcolm X”; “The Clintons’ Antilabor Legacy: Roots of the 2008 World Financial Crisis”; and “The Stewardship of Nature Also Falls to the Working Class: In Defense of Land and Labor.”

The response by workers and youth around the world to the socialist newsweekly shows the opportunity to expand the

long-term readership of the paper. Over the coming weeks, *Militant* supporters will follow up with those who subscribed to make sure they are receiving the paper and see if they want to renew.

The *Militant* will be especially useful as it covers the 2009 Socialist Workers election campaigns in states and cities across the United States.

Meat packers arrested by ‘migra’ speak out at Iowa public meeting

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD

POSTVILLE, Iowa—About 250 people came out November 8 to hear human rights activist Rigoberta Menchú and workers fresh out of prison speak about the May 12 immigration raid here at the Agriprocessors slaughterhouse.

Some 389 workers were rounded up in the raid and 297 were sentenced on federal felony charges for having improper work papers. Workers described being treated “like animals” after being arrested and taken to the National Cattle Congress fairgrounds in Waterloo, Iowa. They reported agents of Immigration and Customs Enforcement held a party at the Cattle Congress to celebrate the raid.

“We want to work. We don’t like living on charity,” said López Byron, a former Agriprocessors worker. Prior to his arrest he was making \$7 an hour in the chicken kill and working 15 to 16 hours a day, six days a week. He was released from Leavenworth Prison in Kansas after five months.

The released workers have been or-

dered by a federal prosecutor to stay in the United States so they can testify against former supervisors at Agriprocessors. “We believe the government wants to use us then deport us,” said Byron, originally from Guatemala. The workers have received a one-year work permit and are waiting for additional documentation so that they can work.

Byron said workers wanted to take off work on May Day 2006 to join the actions for legalization of undocumented workers, but were told they would be fired.

The event here was sponsored by St. Bridget’s Catholic Church. After hearing one of the workers speak, Menchú asked if she could see the electronic ankle bracelet he was forced to wear. Dozens of former Agriprocessors workers left their seats and surrounded Menchú to show their bracelets.

The Agriprocessors plant, which employed around 900 workers at the time of the raid, closed its doors in mid-November after declaring bankruptcy.

Sweden: financial crisis marks sharp layoff rise

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—The spreading world capitalist financial crisis is reflected in a sharp rise in layoffs in Sweden. Layoff notices were given to almost 20,000 workers here in October, the highest number of any month since November 1992. This includes only workers with permanent jobs who by law have to be given advance notice.

Some 400 contract workers will be laid off at the Scania truck company plant in Södertälje, south of Stockholm, at the beginning of 2009. Workers employed for a specific amount of time are simply laid off when their contracts run out.

The auto industry and paper mills are among the hardest hit. More than 9,000 workers with “permanent” jobs will be laid off around the country at Volvo plants that produce cars, trucks, and construction equipment. A majority of those workers live in Gothenburg and the surrounding area. Paper mills have given notice to more than 2,200 workers.

Auto, metal, wood, and paper are among the most important industries in Sweden. An October 29 report by the National Institute of Economic Research estimates that 100,000 jobs will be cut in the next two years. The institute also expects negative economic growth in 2009.

During the last three months the Swedish kronor has dropped 30 percent in relation to the U.S. dollar and 7 percent in relation to the euro and the British pound.

The Swedish parliament adopted a government-initiated “stability fund” October 29 to guarantee 1.5 trillion kronor of borrowing by banks and financial firms. (US\$1=8.3 kronor.) The record package, equivalent to half of the entire gross national product of Sweden, was passed unanimously.

That same day Carnegie, a Swedish investment bank, asked for an emergency loan of 4 billion kronor from Riksbanken, the Swedish national bank. Carnegie claimed a loan guarantee made a few days before of 1 billion kronor was insufficient.

The Swedish Financial Supervisory Authority revoked Carnegie’s operating licenses November 10. Half an hour after the announcement the

Swedish National Debt Office took it over “in order to protect financial stability.”

On October 30 Riksbanken made 40 billion kronor available to companies, with the exception of financial institutions, that might need emergency loans. Despite these and other measures the credit squeeze continues.

As of November 15 only one bank, Swedbank, had decided to join the “stability fund.” Swedbank has many ties to the Baltic countries. Swedish banks control 85 percent of the banking system in Estonia as well as a majority in Lithuania and Latvia.

On November 10 the Latvian government took over Parex bank, the largest Latvian-owned bank, to avoid bankruptcy. According to Viktor Kravovskij, one of the former owners, the Swedish rescue package, including a 500,000 kronor deposit guarantee, was the reason Parex was near collapse, as people withdrew their money to deposit it in Swedish banks in Latvia.

U.S.-Iraq deal: troops to remain 3 more years

Continued from front page

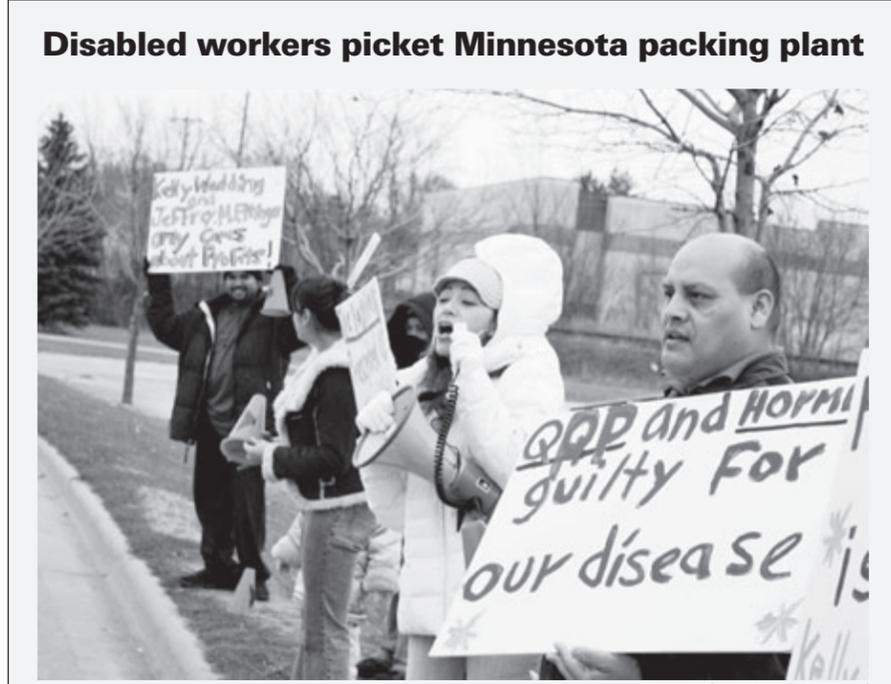
Army militia earlier this year, now total 265,000. The police force stands at more than 290,000.

As a result of Washington’s progress in Iraq, insurgent activity has declined. Average monthly U.S. troop fatalities are down this year to 25 per month from an average of about 70 in 2004–2007.

Nearly 100,000 civilians have been killed as a result of the U.S.-led war in Iraq since it began in 2003, according to statistics compiled by the Iraq Body Count Web site. While still high, less than 600 civilians were reported killed each month since July this year, down from a monthly average of 2,025 last year.

In November, the U.S. military moved to reduce the number of combat brigades in Iraq from 15 to 14 as part of a planned troop reduction of 8,000 announced by President George Bush in September. At least one combat brigade originally slated to go to Iraq will be deployed to fight the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan, where Washington has begun shifting more attention and resources.

Iraq’s parliament voted 149 to 35 for



Militant/Frank Forrester

AUSTIN, Minnesota—About two dozen disabled workers and their supporters protest in front of the adjoining Quality Pork Processors (QPP) and Hormel plants November 30 for the rights of workers afflicted with progressive inflammatory neuropathy, a work-related disease that has sickened at least 18 workers here. The workers are demanding reinstatement of fired workers, ensuring workers’ compensation claims, and adhering to physician-ordered work restrictions. The illness, which causes numbness, headaches, severe pain, discomfort, tiredness, and difficulty walking, was discovered last year among workers on the kill floor who used high pressured air to extract brain tissue. The protest was called by Centro Campesino.

—ROLLANDE GIRARD

the agreement on November 27. Some 14 members of parliament abstained and 77 were not present.

As part of garnering support, parliament scheduled a referendum on the deal for June 30, 2009—six months after it goes into effect.

Of the 35 legislators who voted against the agreement, 30 belong to the faction led by Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. Al-Sadr declared three days of mourning and his supporters organized demonstrations.

Iraq’s presidential council approved the deal December 4.

One concession granted by Washington was the end of absolute immunity from Iraqi law for U.S. troops. The pact provides that U.S. soldiers can be tried by Iraqi courts for “grave premeditated felonies,” provided they occurred outside U.S.-controlled areas and while off duty—a status left up to the U.S. military to determine. Any U.S. soldier arrested and accused by Iraqi officials would be turned over to U.S. custody within 24 hours but made available to Iraqi investigators.

Control of Iraqi airspace is officially turned over to the Iraqi government, as well as areas and facilities where U.S. forces have withdrawn. U.S. forces are not to use Iraqi soil for launching attacks against neighboring countries.

The agreement requires the U.S. military to obtain warrants from Iraqi authorities before searching Iraqi homes, “except in the case of actual combat operations.” It stipulates that prisoners are to be turned over to Iraqi authorities within 24 hours of arrest. Some 17,000 Iraqi prisoners are in U.S. custody without Iraqi arrest warrants.

An accompanying agreement approved by parliament November 27 lays out the long-term framework for Baghdad’s close political and economic ties to U.S. imperialism, with expanded U.S. trade and direct investment in Iraq’s agriculture, natural resources, infrastructure, and industries.

As part of the pacts, Washington will back Baghdad in seeking cancellation

of debt to other countries incurred under the government of Saddam Hussein, and support Iraq becoming a member of the World Trade Organization.

Before the vote, the Iranian government pressed Ali al-Sistani, the leading Shiite religious authority in Iraq, to come out against the pact. But al-Sistani steered clear of taking a stance, saying only it was up to the country’s elected politicians to decide. Following the decision, through an aide, al-Sistani came out in support of the referendum while mildly criticizing the pact for providing “no guarantee that Iraq will have its sovereignty recognized by other countries.”

Other high-ranking Shiite clerics outside Iraq followed Iran’s lead and opposed the pact, including al-Sistani’s counterpart in Lebanon, Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlullah, who condemned the agreement for “giving the occupation a legitimacy for three years.”

The Iranian government toned down its criticism leading up to the vote. Following the approval, some leading religious and political authorities in Iran, including the head of the Guardian Council and the head of the judiciary, made positive statements about the Iraqi parliament’s decisions.

Other clauses in the pact refer to Washington’s pledge to back the Iraqi government in defending its “territorial integrity” and to “reinforce national reconciliation within the framework of a united and federal Iraq.” These clauses could be used in opposing any moves by the oppressed Kurdish nationality toward independence.

One day after parliament voted for the agreement, Hussain Shahrastani, Iraq’s oil minister, declared that oil contracts signed by the Kurdish regional government with foreign oil companies were illegal and not recognized by the central government.

The Kurdish regional government and Shiite-led central government in Baghdad have often clashed sharply over control of oil.

NEW INTERNATIONAL A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

Available from www.pathfinderpress.com

Issue 12 (\$16)

“One of capitalism’s infrequent long winters has begun. Accompanied by imperialism’s accelerating drive toward war, it’s going to be a long, hot winter”

Includes:

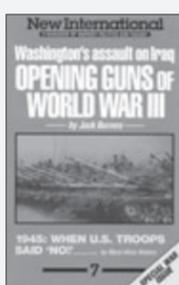
Capitalism’s Long Hot Winter Has Begun by Jack Barnes

Their Transformation and Ours SWP Draft Resolution

Crisis, Boom, and Revolution

1921 reports by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky

Issue 7 (\$14)



Includes:

Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s Assault on Iraq by Jack Barnes
Communist Policy in Wartime As Well As in Peacetime

Articles by Mary-Alice Waters and 1969 SWP resolution

Communism, the Working Class, and Anti-Imperialist Struggle: Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War

Two documents with an introduction by Samad Sharif



Bakery workers strike in N.Y. solid after 3 months

BY LUIS MADRID
AND MAURA DELUCA

BRONX, New York—A strike by workers at Stella D'oro Biscuit Co. here remains solid after three months. Strikers proudly explain not one of them has crossed the line.

Some 136 members of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union Local 50 walked off the job August 13. The cookie factory is owned by Brynwood Partners, which wants about half of the workforce to accept a \$1 an hour wage cut each year over the next five years, loss of health coverage, and to give up 12 sick days each year. The workers are also being asked to give back one week of vacation and eight holidays.

Michael Filippou, union representative at the plant, said, while picketing November 18, that for weeks leading up to the deadline he and other members of the union “went around explaining to everyone what the company wanted, and why we couldn’t accept that contract.” By cutting wages for less

skilled workers, but not for mechanics or electricians, the company hoped to pit workers against each other.

The company’s efforts to sap strikers’ morale have also failed. Incidents of harassment include being told by New York City cops to get rid of their picket tent and chairs. “Picketing is supposed to be moving, not just sitting down,” one cop said. Even umbrellas and knitting needles are not allowed on the line since the cops claim they can be used as weapons.

With cold weather now setting in, picketers are not permitted to have open fires either. They had a grill for the first two months and barbecued food donated by a local food cooperative. Strikers have not let themselves be provoked by these and similar moves.

The company has hired some 40 strikebreakers to work in the plant.

Many of the strikers have worked at Stella D’oro for more than 20 years—for some this is their second or third strike there.

A class-action hiring discrimina-



Militant/Dan Fein

Pickets at Stella D’oro Biscuit Company in Bronx, New York, November 20. From left to right are strikers George Patuhas, Emelia Dorsu (speaking), and Sara Rodríguez. No striker has crossed picket line during three-month walkout.

tion lawsuit brought against the company was settled in 1992. Workers who were discriminated against got jobs in the plant as well as a monetary settlement.

The workforce includes workers from Poland, Guatemala, Ghana, Ecuador, Cuba, Ethiopia, Greece, the

Dominican Republic, and the former Yugoslavia. Most of the workers are women.

Emelia Dorsu, originally from Ghana, was the first Black worker hired at the company. That was in 1979 and she attributes her hiring to the beginning of the lawsuit. Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum November 14 Dorsu noted a number of the workers are single mothers. “If the company wins, how could you feed your children, pay rent, and other bills?”

Addressing the company’s wage demand, Dorsu said, “If you’re making \$14 an hour now, at the end of the five-year contract—we also want a much shorter contract—you’ll be making \$9 an hour.”

During an impromptu rally November 20, picket captain Oscar Hernández told pickets and supporters, “Everything we have—wages, health insurance, our pension plan—we got it through fights.” Hernández thanked Maura DeLuca who presented a donation of \$332 on behalf of those attending the Militant Labor Forum.

“Through the strike I’ve learned that this is not a selfish fight just for ourselves,” striker Sara Rodríguez said. “We’re fighting for others too. Most important, we’re fighting to keep our union.”

Greece: inmates conduct national hunger strike

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

ATHENS, Greece—Inmates across Greece ended a two-week hunger strike November 21 after the Greek justice ministry submitted legislation to parliament that would reduce overcrowding in the country’s prisons.

The proposed law would reform the system of reducing sentences. As a result, some 5,500 additional prisoners could be released by April 2009. A statement by a prisoner’s committee in the Korydallos prison, one of Greece’s largest, said the legislation was “a first step.”

The protest started November 1 and turned into a full-blown strike November 7. It spread to include 21 of the 24 prisons in Greece.

At least 8,000 prisoners took part in the hunger strike, including 5,500 who refused all food. The total prison population is about 12,000. After several days the health risks were increasing and some prisoners’ lives were in danger.

Overcrowding is a major issue for the prisoners. Government figures show that prisons held more than 11,600 inmates in July with an official capacity to hold 7,543.

The prisoners are demanding improved conditions. These include the reduction in the number of prisoners per cell, common grounds and yards, special meeting places for visitors, and workshops for productive ac-

tivities. They are also demanding a reduction in the maximum penalty, which now stands at 25 years, as well as full hospital care, doctors assigned to each prison—including those far from the major cities—and upgraded facilities.

The response by the prison authorities and the government had been that there are no funds available. “How can they have funds to build four new high-security prisons when they have no funds to provide doctors?” asked Kostas Papadakis, a representative of the Lawyers Association of Athens.

Several actions in solidarity with the inmates have taken place outside prisons in Athens, Thessaloniki, and elsewhere. The largest was a rally and concert November 10 of some 2,000 people in downtown Athens.

For further reading

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Unions

by Jack Barnes

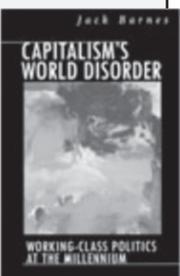
This is a handbook for the generations of workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills—workers who will react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality that is accompanying the opening years of the 21st century. —\$23



Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

by Jack Barnes

The social devastation, financial panics, political turmoil, police brutality, and military assaults accelerating all around us are not chaos. They are the inevitable product of lawful and understandable forces unleashed by capitalism. —\$24



Available from
www.pathfinderpress.com
or contact offices on page 8

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



December 16, 1983

As the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) convention assembles in Pittsburgh December 12, miners are under sharp attack from the coal operators. Close to a third of the active union membership is laid off. Mine safety and health is being willfully neglected. New mining operations are being opened nonunion. A recent court decision holding UMWA locals responsible for company profit losses due to “unauthorized” strikes is the latest example of antilabor government intervention on behalf of the employers.

The coal operators’ attacks on the UMWA are leading to a bigger confrontation between the companies and the union when the national contract expires at the end of 1984. This is part of the full scale assault the employers and their government are waging today against all working people at home and abroad.



December 15, 1958

AFL-CIO president George Meany received an enthusiastic response from the 2,800 delegates and alternates to the merger convention of the New York State AFL and CIO on Dec. 9, when he warned Big Business that if it did not halt its anti-labor drive the union movement would be compelled to build a labor party.

Meany’s statement is designed to put pressure on the Republicans and Democrats. It is not a serious declaration of intention to get down to the business of building such a party. Only last Oct. 8, Meany asserted that for labor to build its own party and aim for political power “would mean the end of democracy in America.”

While not intended as such, his declaration is in fact an admission that the victory of the “pro-labor” Democrats has not disposed of the anti-labor offensive.



December 16, 1933

The lynching wave comes up suddenly, and runs its course, with unrestrained violence. These features are characteristic now of almost every large scale social event. The strike wave of last summer was marked, among other things, by the speed with which it developed and the violence which accompanied it. In nearly every large strike there was not only the usual capitalist routine of police brutality, but bloodshed: Patterson, Ambridge, the Pennsylvania captive mine strike, etc.

The farm riots of the middle West last spring against foreclosures also shot across the social-political sky like a meteor. At Lemars, Iowa, the farmers dragged a judge from his court by a rope around his neck.

As the capitalist system disintegrates further the social weather is going to get stormier and stormier.

Marxist theory and communist leadership in the United States

The Socialist Workers Party is celebrating its unbroken communist continuity—which goes back to the founding of the modern communist movement in 1848—as it carries out a \$90,000 Party-Building Fund (see accompanying progress chart). This is the last in a series of articles to promote this campaign that highlight key chapters in the history of the struggle to forge a revolutionary working-class leadership in the United States.

COMMUNIST CONTINUITY

BY BEN JOYCE

The 1974–75 economic downturn was the deepest—and the first worldwide—recession since the 1930s, leading the bosses and their government to accelerate their attacks on workers' standard of living. Responding to the political opportunities created by this situation, the Socialist Workers Party initiated a turn to the industrial unions in 1978, getting the big majority of its membership and leadership into the industrial workforce and unions, where they continue to concentrate their political work today.

As part of this effort, the party took steps to strengthen its theoretical foundations and train its cadre in Marxist theory and strategy. Systematic, in-depth study of fundamental writings of leaders of the communist movement became more indispensable as the party deepened its political activity in the working class.

In 1980 the Socialist Workers Party established a Marxist leadership school. This gave the opportunity for party leaders to step back from day-to-day activity in the movement and participate in a rigorous, several-month-long study of fundamental political works of Marx and Engels—in

chronological order, as the founders of the modern communist movement developed their views.

The school aimed to deepen the students' understanding of theory and strategy so they could more effectively apply a proletarian course and explain it to fighting co-workers. It was organized in tandem with study in all party branches of writings by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin on the 1917 Russian Revolution and the early years of Soviet power and the Communist International.

In 1983 the communist movement further codified its political and theoretical conquests by launching *New International* magazine. The purpose of this new tool, as the first issue explained, is to “present political, theoretical, and historical material related to the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization confronting those building communist parties in North America and around the world.”

The lead article in the inaugural issue of *New International* is “Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today,” by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes. It is an appraisal of the contributions of Leon Trotsky, a principal leader alongside Lenin of the Bolshevik Party and the October 1917 Russian Revolution. Trotsky led the fight to maintain Marxist leadership in the face of the counterrevolutionary degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Communist International under the rule of a rising bureaucratic caste led by Joseph Stalin.

The article also looks at political differences Trotsky had with Lenin around important strategic questions and explains how the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada of 1979 help demonstrate that Lenin's views were correct.

Many other important contributions, worked out through experience in the international communist move-



Militant photos: Maura DeLuca (lower right) As Socialist Workers Party began its turn to industrial unions in late 1970s, it simultaneously sharpened its understanding of Marxist theory and strategy. Above: participants in 1986 session of SWP leadership school. Lower left: issues one and four of *New International* magazine. Lower right: members of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists take part in regional educational weekend on Marx's *Value, Price and Profit* October 18–19.

ment over the past two and a half decades, have been presented in *New International*, now also published in Spanish and French, with selected issues in Swedish and Icelandic, and several articles published in Farsi and Greek.

New International has taken up questions of political economy, the role of exploited farmers in the fight for socialism, why U.S. imperialism lost the Cold War, the place of workers and farmers governments, and other strategic questions for the working class in its line of march toward taking power.

The latest issue, number 14, features the article “Revolution, Inter-

nationalism, and Socialism: The Last Year of Malcolm X.” It explains the political evolution of Malcolm X and his convergence with the communist movement.

Local branches of the Socialist Workers Party also continue to organize regular educational programs where such questions are studied and discussed together in the course of carrying out political activity. Weekly classes, summer study programs, and special educational weekends are held to help communist workers effectively participate in the class struggle and build a proletarian revolutionary movement capable of leading workers and farmers to power.

SWP Party-Building Fund

Continued from front page needed funds will help boost the party's ability to respond to developments in the class struggle as capitalism's crises unfold.

Five Socialist Workers Party branches are already at or above their adopted quotas. Leading the chart is the Twin Cities branch, which has raised its quota twice and has contributed \$6,900 so far. Branches in Seattle; Chicago; and Des Moines, Iowa; have exceeded their quotas, which they also raised during the fund drive.

With this momentum, members, supporters, and friends of the communist movement can use the final days of the drive to help give the party more flexibility to respond to the many political opportunities ahead by pushing beyond the local and national goals.

Supporters of the

Militant are encouraged to help make this fund drive a success. Contributions received by Monday, December 8 will be included in the final tally. Those who would like to make a contribution can contact a local office listed on page 8.

Communist continuity

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics by Jack Barnes

A book that shows why only the working class can lead humanity out of the social crises endemic to capitalism in its decline and how millions of workers will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. —\$23

The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning by Jack Barnes

“Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity.” —\$3

The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

How workers today can use their power to change society to one based on human solidarity rather than profits. —\$5

WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

\$90,000 Socialist Workers Party Party-Building Fund

Fall 2008 ♦ Week 8 of 9

| CITY | QUOTA | PAID | % |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Twin Cities MN** | \$6,600 | \$6,900 | 105% |
| Seattle* | \$7,000 | \$7,298 | 104% |
| Chicago* | \$9,000 | \$9,123 | 101% |
| Des Moines, IA* | \$2,000 | \$2,021 | 101% |
| Atlanta | \$8,500 | \$8,501 | 100% |
| San Francisco | \$13,000 | \$12,932 | 99% |
| Washington, D.C.* | \$4,800 | \$4,615 | 96% |
| Philadelphia | \$3,500 | \$3,352 | 96% |
| New York | \$15,500 | \$14,461 | 93% |
| Newark, NJ* | \$3,900 | \$3,592 | 92% |
| Houston | \$2,500 | \$2,205 | 88% |
| Los Angeles* | \$9,200 | \$7,725 | 84% |
| Miami | \$3,200 | \$2,607 | 81% |
| Boston | \$2,800 | \$2,235 | 80% |
| Other | | \$650 | |
| Total | \$91,500 | \$88,217 | 96% |
| Should be | \$90,000 | \$80,000 | 89% |

*raised goal, **raised goal twice

Book helps 'clarify and understand the world'

Latest issue of 'New International' magazine presented at Venezuela Book Fair

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

CARACAS, Venezuela—A Pathfinder best seller at the Fourth Venezuela International Book Fair here was also the topic of a panel discussion involving revolutionaries from Venezuela, Cuba, and the United States.

The latest issue of *New International*, in English and Spanish, was launched at a meeting November 15 as part of the fair. Many of the 45 book fair participants who attended the event had bought the magazine earlier at the Pathfinder booth; three bought the remaining unsold copies immediately after.

Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of *New International*, chaired. She called attention to a sizable display of previous issues of the Marxist magazine. The new volume in Spanish, she explained, was part of a series of publications that, for 25 years, had taken up some of the most important questions facing working-class fighters in the United States and around the world.

Over the course of the discussion the panel, and the audience afterwards in questions and comments, took up articles in the current issue on the roots of the financial crisis, the revolutionary legacy of Malcolm X, and the working-class defense of land and labor.

Oscar Fuentes, a leader of the youth in the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, recommended the article "The Clintons' Antilabor Legacy: Roots of the 2008 World Financial Crisis" for its help "to clarify, to understand the world we are living in today."

The article is correct, he said, in stating we have to go beyond the way the financial crisis has been "presented in the media and by the Democrats in their campaign for president."

"They try to portray Bush as solely responsible for it. The truth is, Bush does have responsibility, but he's not the only one."

The financial crisis, Fuentes said, is the product of imperialism, of "big capital and all those who serve its narrow interests of profit."

Fuentes also spoke about the article tracing Malcolm X's political evolution



Militant/Tom Baumann

Panelists present issue number 8 of *Nueva Internacional* at Fourth Venezuela International Book Fair. From left to right: Oscar Fuentes, youth leader of United Socialist Party of Venezuela; Omari Musa, garment worker and leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Miami; Manuel Andérez, Cuban volunteer in Venezuela; and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press.

from Black nationalism to his convergence with revolutionary communists. Fuentes said there was one thing about the article that he would never forget: "The part about Malcolm's conversation with a leader from Algeria, who said to him: I am not a Negro. Where does that leave me in your system?"

Malcolm X came to understand, said Fuentes, that "the fight against racism, the fight against capitalist repression, is not a fight of just one sector of society—whether it be Blacks, farmers, native peoples, or whatever. It is a fight that requires the unity of working people inside and outside the United States, against the entire capitalist system."

Manuel Andérez, a Cuban volunteer in Venezuela, spoke on the article "The Stewardship of Nature Also Falls to the Working Class: In Defense of Land and Labor."

"Before I start," he said, "I'd like to explain that the person addressing you is a genuine product of the Cuban Revolution. Before the revolution I was shining shoes in a brothel in a tiny little town in Cuba. The triumph of the revolution gave me the chance to study. I grabbed it, I took advantage of it."

"Since then," he said, "I have worked for the government in many different ways, ranging from research to serving as vice president of Cuba's Ministry of Environmental Science and Technology. I've been in Venezuela for the last two years, with primary responsibility for overseeing the training of the Cuban agricultural specialists working here."

After Hurricane Flora hit in 1963, destroying tens of thousands of acres of crops, the Cuban leadership "saw the importance of making sure this never happened again," Andérez said. Construction began on what was to become a nationwide system of mini-dams, capable of controlling the flow of water from sudden massive rains.

Despite the severity of the storms that hit Cuba, very few lives have been lost—a stark contrast to what happens in the rest of the world, including some of the richest countries.

"When it becomes clear a part of the country is likely to be hit by a big storm," said Andérez, "every person in the area, no matter what age, is evacuated 72 hours in advance. They are housed, fed, and cared for—free of charge—until they are able to return to their homes."

Omari Musa, a garment worker and

a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Miami, zeroed in on the question of who is responsible for the economic crisis.

"Nothing could be more false," he said, "than to claim it's the result of Bush's 'failed policies.'"

The Clinton administration laid the legal basis for the financial crisis by getting rid of laws banks found "inconvenient," Musa said.

One law Clinton signed—the Financial Services Modernization Act—did away with the wall erected in 1933 between commercial banks and other financial institutions, like insurance companies, brokerage houses, and hedge funds. This law, passed in 1999, opened the gates to a massive expansion in now famous "derivatives."

Turning to the article "Revolution, Internationalism, and Socialism: The Last Year of Malcolm X," Musa pointed to its central theme: the role of workers who are Black in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalist rule in the United States and bring to power a government of workers and farmers.

He explained how, in the communist movement, discussion of this question began with Marx and Engels and continued in the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin.

Pathfinder books attractive feature at Caracas book fair

BY MAGGIE TROWE

CARACAS, Venezuela—Pathfinder's stand at the Fourth Venezuela International Book Fair was a constant pole of attraction during the 10-day event.

Some knew of Pathfinder and had bought books at previous fairs. Others were surprised to learn that such books—which take up the history of the working-class movement, the Cuban Revolution, the deepening disorder of capitalism, the fight against racism and women's oppression, and the possibility of socialist revolution in the United States—were published and sold in bookstores, factories, workers districts, and universities in the world's most powerful imperialist country.

Pathfinder sales at the fair were 60 percent higher than in 2007.

The top selling Pathfinder title was *Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?* by Mary-Alice Waters. This

Regarding Malcolm X's political trajectory, Musa explained that in the final year of his life Malcolm was moving toward becoming a communist.

In the interview he gave the *Young Socialist* shortly before he was murdered, Malcolm said he no longer used the term "Black nationalism" to describe his point of view. It didn't cover what he had experienced or the totality of what he defended, including the revolution in Cuba and the anti-imperialist struggle in the Congo and Vietnam.

It's important that this article is available in *Nueva Internacional*, Musa said. "Now anyone for whom Spanish is his or her first language can read about, study, and absorb the revolutionary vanguard position of workers in the United States who are Black."

"This issue of *New International*," Musa concluded, "is a weapon in the hands of revolutionary-minded workers and youth in the struggle to overthrow capitalist rule and replace it with a government of workers and farmers. Such a government can be used to do away with the roots of discrimination and exploitation."

Reflecting the wide range of views raised during the fair, at the Pathfinder booth and elsewhere, a lively debate opened in the discussion period.

It's fine you've done an analysis of the legacy of the Clinton administration, said one speaker. "But wouldn't an article on the legacy of the Bush administration be longer and more useful?"

The point, responded Musa, is not whether Bush or Clinton were "worse." It's that they both "served the interests of the ruling class" of the United States, in different periods, under different circumstances.

Another, after thanking Pathfinder for making Malcolm X available in Spanish, questioned whether Malcolm had broken from Black nationalism. Wasn't he really trying to build an "African American socialism?"

There is no such thing as Afro-American socialism, Musa answered. "You fight for socialism, or you fight for something different."

New International

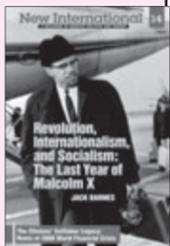
A magazine of Marxist politics and theory

Issue no. 14

- **Revolution, Internationalism, and Socialism: The Last Year of Malcolm X**
- **The Clintons' Antilabor Legacy: Roots of the 2008 World Financial Crisis**
- **The Stewardship of Nature Also Falls to the Working Class**
- **Setting the Record Straight on Fascism and World War II**

\$14

Order online or contact one of the distributors on page 8!



WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

Voluntary work and developing social consciousness

Below is an excerpt from Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism. *The Spanish edition is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for December. The book by the Cuban economist Carlos Tablada describes the contributions of Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Guevara advocated a system of economic planning and management that would organize and raise the political consciousness of workers, making possible their growing control over economic and social decisions that shape production and their daily lives. The piece quoted is from the chapter titled "Che and Voluntary Work."* Copyright © 1989 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Che Guevara (right) doing voluntary work at José Martí housing project, Feb. 27, 1961.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY CARLOS TABLADA

Ernesto Che Guevara was the originator of voluntary work in Cuba. For Che, its political impact on both the economy and morale was an important element of the system of economic management he developed.

Socialism, in this stage of building socialism and communism, is not being built simply to have wonderful

factories. It is being built for the sake of the whole man. Man must transform himself as production advances. We will not do an adequate job if we become simply producers of goods, of raw materials, without becoming at the same time producers of men.

Voluntary work is of incalculable value in this process. Lenin was the first to note this fact, taking up the concept in his article "A Great Beginning." Lenin's article is extremely important and timely in our decade and in decades to come until communism has been reached. Because in communist society all work will become voluntary, since it will cease to be an obligation and will become instead an inner necessity.

In this article, Lenin saw voluntary work as the seed of a revolutionary transformation of attitudes toward work, since it represents an effective means of struggle against petty bourgeois self-centeredness, against the defects inherited from capitalism. In discussing voluntary work, Lenin stressed the creation of new social relations; of a new attitude toward work; of a new labor discipline, conscious and free, among workers. He spoke of a higher type of social organization of work than under capitalism—one that combines the scientific and technical advances of capitalism with the collective effort of conscious workers, an

increase in the productivity of labor, and the importance of socialist emulation.

The ideas of Che Guevara are the logical continuation of those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Che offers us a rich source of ideas and solutions, of socialist formulas for building a new society. Voluntary work is unquestionably a major example.

For Che, voluntary work "is that done outside one's normal working hours, without additional economic payment. It can be done within or outside one's normal workplace."

One of the most important tasks in the transition period—a task to be carried out simultaneously with the socialization of ownership of the means of production—is the creation of a new attitude toward work. And one of the most significant concrete aspects of the changes generated by socialist relations of production is the emergence of a new kind of work—voluntary work.

When private property in the means of production is abolished, socialist social ownership emerges. This form of property creates the conditions for a mode of production completely different from capitalism. The relationship between labor power and the means of production is no longer antagonistic, and the character of work is now stamped by a new principle: the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. Labor pow-

er ceases to be a commodity, and work objectively acquires the content of relations of mutual assistance and comradeship. Work begins to be done not just in the interest of the individual, but in the collective interest of society. While the social ownership of property in the means of production makes such a transformation possible, however, it is not in itself enough to bring about this change in individuals. As Che observed:

The communist attitude toward work consists in the changes that occur in the mind of the individual. These changes will necessarily be prolonged and cannot be expected to be completed in a short period of time. Work must cease being what it still is today, a compulsory social obligation, and be transformed into a social duty.

Over time, voluntary work also contributes to creating an individual's identity with the tasks of daily work. It enhances the sense of individual fulfillment through labor.

Voluntary work is important economically, as well. As it develops, workers surpass the productivity records achieved in normal workdays.

The main importance of voluntary work lies in its role in communist education. It constitutes "a school that creates consciousness. It is an effort carried out both in society and for society, as an individual or collective contribution. And it shapes that high level of consciousness that allows us to speed up the transition process toward communism." "Voluntary work is part of this educational task we talked to the compañeros about. In places where it can't be done, there's no point in inventing it."

Che was not just concerned with the theoretical definition and importance of voluntary work; he dedicated equal effort to the problem of organizing it, implementing it, breaking it down into its component parts, and establishing systems of supervising it. In Che's view, good organization was an element of primary importance in voluntary work; he fought to keep time from being wasted. He stressed that voluntary work should not be done simply to burn up energy, but to incorporate that energy "into work that produces something and that helps to create consciousness."

December BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25% DISCOUNT

Che Guevara: Economía y política en la transición al socialismo

(Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism) by Carlos Tablada

Presents interrelationship of the market, economic planning, material incentives, and voluntary work; and why profit and other capitalist categories cannot be yardsticks for measuring progress in the transition to socialism. \$20. **Special price: \$15**

FBI on Trial

by Margaret Jayko \$18.95. **Special price: \$14**

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

by Evelyn Reed \$4.50. **Special price: \$3**

Teamster Bureaucracy

by Farrell Dobbs

How class-struggle Teamsters leadership in the Upper Midwest organized to fight union-busting, racism, colonial oppression, and U.S. imperialist war aims in World War II. How Washington—backed by top AFL, CIO, and Teamster officials—acted to gag class-conscious workers. \$19. **Special price: \$14**

The Logic of Marxism

by George Novack \$15. **Special price: \$11**

Join Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long

ORDER ONLINE AT WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

OFFER GOOD UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 2008

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

UNITED STATES

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2826 S. Vermont Ave. #9 Zip: 90007. Tel: (323) 737-2191. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net **San Francisco:** 5482 Mission St. Zip: 94112-1015. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

FLORIDA: Miami: 6777 NW 7th Ave., Suite 5. Zip: 33150. Mailing address: P.O. Box 381395. Zip: 33238. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 2840 NE Expressway, Suite 102. Zip: 30345. Tel: (404) 471-1165. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 3557 S. Archer Ave. Zip: 60609. Tel: (773) 890-1190. E-mail: Chicagoswp@sbcglobal.net

IOWA: Des Moines: 3707 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 255-1707. E-mail: swpdesmoines@qwest.net

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 13 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: swpboston@verizon.net

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: 1311 1/2

E. Lake St. Zip: 55407. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwestoffice.net

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Zip: 07104. Tel: (973) 481-0077. E-mail: swpnewark@optonline.net

NEW YORK: Manhattan: 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: newyorkswp@mac.com

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 188 W. Wyoming Ave. Zip: 19140. Tel: (215) 455-2682. E-mail: philaswp@verizon.net

TEXAS: Houston: 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-51A. Zip: 77092. Tel: (713) 688-4919. E-mail: swp.houston1@sbcglobal.net

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3717 B Georgia Ave. NW, Ground Floor. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 536-5080. E-mail: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5418 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: seattleswp@speakeasy.net

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718 9698. E-mail: cl_australia@optusnet.com.au

CANADA

QUEBEC: Montreal: 7105 St. Hubert, Suite 106F, H2S 2N1. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: cllc_can@bellnet.ca

FRANCE

Paris: P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 40-10-28-37. E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: Suite 3, 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 276-8885. E-mail: clauk@xtra.co.nz

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Bildhuggarvägen 17, 12144 Johanneshov. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. E-mail: kfstockholm@tele2.se

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND: London: First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green (Entrance in Brick Lane). Postal code: E2 6DG. Tel: 020-7613-2466. E-mail: cllondon@onetel.com

SCOTLAND: Edinburgh: Second Floor, 105 Hanover St. Postal code: EH2 1DJ. Tel: 0131-226-2756. E-mail: cledinburgh@talktalk.net

Troops out of Iraq, Afghanistan!

Working people should demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

The presence of thousands of U.S. troops in these countries has nothing to do with improving the conditions of the majority of the population there. They have one purpose: to protect the interests of the billionaire families who rule the United States, at the expense of the interests of working people everywhere.

In Iraq, under the new “security pact” between Washington and Baghdad, U.S. troops will remain for at least three more years. While their presence will be reduced, their job is to help consolidate a reliable pro-U.S. government there.

Through the pact in Iraq, Washington hopes to be able to focus more attention and resources on its war in Afghanistan, where it faces a more difficult challenge in establishing reliable central government capable of fighting the Taliban and al-Qaeda. The new U.S. administration plans to increase its forces there to 58,000 in addition to 30,000 under NATO command.

The U.S. rulers have made progress in turning the government in Pakistan into a strategic, although unstable, ally in their “war on terror.” They have gotten

the Pakistani army to participate in tracking down al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters. Washington has also pulled the Indian government more into its orbit.

To confront the increasing disorder of capitalism, the U.S. rulers seek the ability to rapidly put combat-ready brigades into action anywhere in the world. In face of the deepest world economic crisis since the 1930s, they will expand their wars to protect their class interests.

The last thing working people need—from Iraq to Afghanistan and the Indian subcontinent—is U.S. or other imperialist soldiers. Those troops will only enforce the continued plunder of natural resources, exploitation of labor, and fanning of reactionary divisions along national and other lines. Only workers and farmers, from India and Pakistan to the United States, will be able to solve the devastating conditions they face—ultimately by taking power out of the hands of the propertied rulers. To be able to wage this fight, they must get the military boot of the imperialists off their necks.

What working people here need to demand is: get all U.S. and allied troops out of Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and everywhere else they are deployed—now.

Mumbai attacks setback for workers

Continued from page 2

of the territory. In 1971 a war resulted when toilers in East Pakistan, resenting domination by the rulers of West Pakistan, rebelled. They were backed by the Indian government and succeeded in establishing the nation of Bangladesh. Washington supported the West Pakistani regime in the war.

In 1990 New Delhi and Islamabad came close to using nuclear weapons against each other. Islamabad placed its nuclear weapons arsenal on alert and massed troops on the border with India. Leading up to this, the Indian government integrated tactical nuclear weapons into border maneuvers threatening Pakistan.

In the six years prior to the Mumbai attacks, some 600 people in India had been killed in bombings and other armed attacks by Islamist forces. Last July a bomb killed 60 at the Indian embassy to Afghanistan in Kabul. At the time U.S. spy agencies accused their counterparts in Pakistan’s ISI of complicity in the bombing.

For its part, the Indian ruling class has used anti-Muslim, chauvinist campaigns to dampen the class struggle as well. This has come mainly through appeals to Hindu nationalism. The rightist Bharatiya Janata Party, which led the government in the early part of this decade, has been the principal force doing so. It is widely viewed as responsible for the massacre of more than 2,000 Muslims in the state of Gujarat in 2002, when gangs of Hindus were organized in a pogrom against fellow Indians who were Muslim. Hindu nationalists have also targeted working-class Indians from other religions.

The working class and peasantry of India and Pakistan have born the brunt of the wars these two bourgeois governments continually wage, and they have been the overwhelming majority of those killed and maimed in the religious pogroms. They will also be targets as New Delhi steps up “antiterror” measures, using the Mumbai events as a pretext. Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh has already announced a big expansion of the National Security Guards.

U.S. role

Washington’s wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and its growing military operations in Pakistan, exacerbate these conflicts between bourgeois regimes throughout South Asia. When U.S. troops invaded Afghanistan in 2001, Washington pressed then Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf, who had been a staunch supporter of the Taliban, to change his stance. He became a firm ally of the U.S. government in the war and the Pakistani army began working with the U.S. military to target Taliban and al-Qaeda forces.

The U.S. rulers succeeded in establishing strong ties with the government of India, including its two main bourgeois parties. Prior to the early 1990s, the Indian government had closer relations with Moscow than with Washington. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, relations with Washington have steadily drawn closer.

In a bid to improve relations with India, Pakistan’s new president, Asif Zardari, recently pledged Pakistan would never be the first to use nuclear weapons and condemned Kashmiri insurgents as “terrorists.” The Zardari government is a civilian one, replacing the military regime that was run by Musharraf. Zardari was exiled under Musharraf’s rule. His wife, Benazir Bhutto, was assassinated in a bomb attack while campaigning for president last year.

Zardari’s initial response to the Mumbai bombings and charges by the Indian government that Pakistanis were involved was to send the head of the ISI to India to help with the investigation. That offer was quickly withdrawn, however, and a lower-ranking ISI official assigned instead.

As tensions rose between the Indian and Pakistani regimes, Islamabad threatened to move 100,000 troops to the border with India. The troops are currently involved in operations against Taliban and al-Qaeda forces near the Afghanistan border. India’s minister for home affairs, Sriprakash Jaiswal, replied that New Delhi had put its security forces on a “war level” and increased Navy and Coast Guard patrols. The Pakistani government denies any connection to the attackers and refuses to extradite any suspects to India.

The outbreak of fighting between the Indian and Pakistani governments poses a big problem for Washington, which is moving quickly to significantly expand its war in Pakistan. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice interrupted a trip to Europe to fly to India and Pakistan for talks. She urged Islamabad to help track down the assailants and called for calm, as have President George Bush and President-elect Barack Obama.

Despite projecting an image of “peacemaker,” however, Washington is on a course with its “war on terror” that can only sharpen the conflicts in India and Pakistan, producing more devastating consequences for the workers and peasants of those two countries. Nor will workers in the United States be immune. Already federal, state, and local politicians and police departments are calling for stepped-up “anti-terror” measures. The New York City police announced it would hold “live exercises simulating scenarios in the Mumbai attacks,” *USA Today* reported December 5.

Cutbacks, layoffs

Continued from front page

capitalist economic crisis seen since the 1930s—with its unfolding social catastrophe for working people.

As the auto barons headed back to Washington December 2 pleading for a \$34 billion bailout for General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Ronald Gettelfinger signaled the union officialdom’s willingness to reopen contracts. He said the union would consider delaying payments to a new retiree health-care fund and suspending its jobs bank, which requires the companies to pay wages to laid-off workers, reported the *New York Times*.

With 1.2 million jobs already slashed by the bosses so far this year, November is expected to show a decline of another 350,000 jobs, reports *MarketWatch*. The credit crunch has led to declining sales of municipal bonds—down 9.1 percent this year—which cities and states depend upon to finance their operations. As a result new taxes and deep cuts in social services are being prepared in many cities aimed at qualitatively driving down workers’ standard of living.

At the end of November New York governor David Paterson told school board presidents that deep cuts in funds for education must be implemented to make up for the state’s budget deficit of \$1.5 billion this year and \$12.5 billion next year.

A new federal rule announced at the end of November boosts payments that working people on Medicaid will have to pay for visits to doctors, hospital care, and prescription drugs. “Medicaid recipients will pay more than \$1.3 billion in co-payments over five years and the federal government will save \$1.4 billion, while states will save \$1.1 billion,” said a November 27 *New York Times* article. “The savings would result not only from the collection of co-payments, but also from reduced use of services.”

The number of workers on food stamps is about to exceed 30 million, an all-time high. Official government statistics say that 11.9 million people went hungry in the United States for some part of last year. This included nearly 700,000 children.

According to a study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the deepening recession could push another 10 million people below the federal government’s official poverty level. In 2007, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 37.3 million people, or 12.5 percent of the population, were already living in poverty.

\$800 billion bailout package

The government’s \$800 billion bailout package includes \$200 billion to buy up repackaged securities backed by auto loans, student loans, credit card lending, and small-business loans. Officials hope to make credit more available to working people, those operating small businesses, and others.

The market for lending funds for these securities “essentially came to a halt in October,” stated U.S. treasury secretary Henry Paulson, after generating \$240 billion in 2007.

The new pump-priming fund “underscored the severity of the credit crisis and raised concerns among some analysts that the Fed might be taking too much risk—and printing too much money—in response,” stated the November 26 *Financial Times*.

“Recent events showcase policymakers as bumbler or quick-footed financial firefighters,” commented *Investor’s Business Daily*, expressing unease that massive federal outlays are failing to staunch the economic crisis.

Over the past year, the U.S. government has taken on about \$7.8 trillion in direct and indirect financial obligations. This is equal to about half the size of the nation’s entire economy and way above the \$700 billion bank bailout plan Congress authorized in October. About \$1.4 trillion has already been spent in loans, infusions to banks, and bailing out companies like American International Group. Additional trillions are for government guarantees on mortgages, bank deposits, commercial loans, and money market funds.

Meanwhile, the U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) shrank at an annual rate of 0.5 percent in the third-quarter. Projections are for a much steeper drop in this year’s last quarter, with *Business Week* estimating a 4 percent decline.