

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**  
**Meeting in Havana discusses**  
**‘Cosmetics, Exploitation of Women’**  
 —PAGES 8–10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 75/NO. 11    MARCH 21, 2011

## Guantánamo order a blow to rights of workers

BY PAUL MAILHOT

The White House issued an executive order March 7 officially reversing a directive from the first days of the Barack Obama presidency to close the Guantánamo Bay prison camp and put a freeze on military trials of detainees. The administration also laid out its legal framework for keeping some prisoners locked up indefinitely without any form of due process.

Throughout his run for the presidency, Obama argued that the Guantánamo prison camp needed to be closed. As one of his first acts as president Obama issued an order vowing to shutter the facility within one year.

The latest order not only keeps Guantánamo open and resumes military trials, but acknowledges that the effort by the administration to try some detainees in civilian court is for

**Continued on page 11**

## All out for rallies in Wisconsin, other states!

Union members and supporters are mobilizing in cities and states across the country against attacks on the working class and our organizations. Another action, including a tractorcade of family farmers, will descend on the Wisconsin State House in Madison March 12. The *Militant* urges working people to join the Wisconsin protest and other rallies to defend public workers.

More actions will be taking place in Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Florida, Tennessee, and other states. Talk to coworkers about what’s at stake in these fights. Make up your own signs. Travel together to one of the protests—near or far.

Workers are resisting measures by

**Continued on page 11**

### EDITORIAL

## Union actions spread, labor solidarity grows

### Wisconsin workers, farmers lead way



Militant/Zena McFadden

Workers, farmers, and young people from across Wisconsin and beyond mobilized in Madison March 5 protest state government attacks on public workers and their unions.

BY TONY LANE

MADISON, Wisconsin—Some 30,000 gathered at the state capitol here March 5 as mobilizations to defend public workers continued for the third Saturday in a row. The state AFL-CIO union federation has called on unions everywhere to turn out for another rally March 12 at 3:00 p.m. A farmer-labor tractorcade will precede the rally starting at noon.

Demonstrations supporting public workers and responding to attacks on unions have been spreading to other

states. On March 6, some 1,500 teachers and other workers rallied in Indianapolis, Indiana. On March 8, some 3,000 workers filled the statehouse in Columbus, Ohio, protesting antiunion legislation. There were more than 30 actions across

**Continued on page 4**

**AS WE GO TO PRESS** March 9, the Wisconsin State Senate adopted union-busting legislation. All the more reason for a large turnout in Madison Saturday, March 12.



Militant/Deborah Liatos

Selling *Militant* at protest against budget cuts in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, March 8, one of more than 30 actions in Florida coinciding with Gov. Richard Scott’s “state of the state” address.

BY SARA LOBMAN

The *Militant* is an indispensable voice, not only for workers and youth pouring into the streets across Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Florida, and elsewhere in defense of unions, but for working people gaining confidence as this fight unfolds.

The showdown in Wisconsin is the most significant response by the working class and unions to the assault on our rights and job conditions

that accelerated with the deepening capitalist crisis beginning three years ago. This is why the *Militant* is getting such a good response. Supporters of the paper are taking it to actions in their hometowns, in neighboring

**Continued on page 3**

**Special offer: *Malcolm X, Black Liberation and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, page 3**

## U.S. rulers debate military options in Libya civil war

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

With civil war raging in Libya, divisions have widened within ruling-class circles in Washington and other imperialist capitals about options for possible military intervention against the Moammar Gadhafi regime.

Some capitalist politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties are calling for arming and training opposition forces, including airdrops of weapons or Special Operations troops on the ground as well as deeper military intervention under the guise of “humanitarian assistance.”

Among the issues in dispute is whether to impose a no-fly zone. Republican senators Mitchell McConnell, the minority leader, and John McCain have been campaigning for this, as is Democrat John Kerry, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Kerry has called for “cratering” the country’s runways to make them incapable of use.

“Lots of people throw around phras-

es like no-fly zone—they talk about it as though it’s just a video game,” retorted William Daley, the White House chief of staff, expressing the Barack Obama administration’s hesitancy.

U.S. defense secretary Robert Gates has also warned against undertaking

**Continued on page 7**

### Also Inside:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Atlanta rally protests bill targeting immigrants     | 2 |
| Action in United Kingdom protests London’s austerity | 3 |
| Rallies across U.S. defend union rights              | 4 |
| Egyptian workers press for rights to unionize        | 7 |



# Atlanta rally protests bill targeting immigrants

BY JANICE LYNN

ATLANTA—Some 200 supporters of immigrant rights rallied at the state capitol here March 3 to protest a bill in the Georgia House of Representatives aimed at tightening anti-immigrant measures. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Act of 2011, or House Bill 87, was approved the same day by a vote of 113 to 56.

Modeled on the Arizona law enacted last year, HB 87 would authorize state and local police to verify the immigration status of individuals in the course of any offense, including traffic stops, where there is “reasonable suspicion” to believe they may be undocumented, or where they cannot produce their documents.

It also provides additional incentives for localities to join federal programs aimed at undocumented immigrants such as 287(g) or “Secure Communities.” Under 287(g) the federal government deputizes local cops to enforce immigration laws. The Secure Communities program checks fingerprints of prisoners against FBI and Department of Homeland Security databases.

The bill would require private employers to use the E-Verify database to confirm immigration status and establish civil sanctions for noncompliance. The bill would also create criminal penalties for any individual who, while committing another criminal offense, encourages an undocumented person to come to Georgia or “transports or harbors” them once they arrive. It would also allow “le-

gal” residents to sue any Georgia official or agency that was not enforcing provisions of the bill.

The Pew Hispanic Center has estimated that Georgia has 425,000 undocumented immigrants, the seventh-largest number among states.

Demonstrators denounced the measure as an “Arizona copycat law” and called on Gov. Nathan Deal to veto it.

Construction worker Miguel Martinez, originally from Mexico, held a handmade sign that read, “Governor Deal, Don’t Make Georgia an Anti-Immigrant State.” He told the *Militant*, “Everybody just comes here to work, for a better living. For one Hispanic who may do something wrong, they want to blame everyone.”

Victor Sosa, an auto-body worker from Honduras, said he and his two coworkers heard about the protest on the radio and came to join in because “this is wrong, we work hard.” His sign said, “HB87, An Excuse for Hate.”

Speakers from Amnesty International, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Black and Latino civil rights groups said the measure would



Militant/Sam Manuel

**March 3 action at state capitol in Atlanta opposed bill that authorizes cops to check immigration status of those they stop for any reason and prison officials to check inmates’ fingerprints against FBI and Homeland Security databases.**

turn Georgia into a “show-me-your papers state” reminiscent of slavery and Jim Crow times.

Other bills pending in the Georgia legislature would ban undocumented persons from attending state colleges and from collecting unemployment

benefits and workers compensation. Another bill would require school and hospital officials to count the number of undocumented persons they serve.

HB87 now goes to the Georgia Senate. Another protest has been set for March 24.

## 7 Georgia prison guards arrested for beating inmate

BY LISA POTASH

ATLANTA—Seven guards at Macon State Prison in Oglethorpe, Georgia, were arrested February 21 on charges of beating inmate Terrance Dean.

According to the Georgia Bureau

of Investigation, they inflicted injuries so severe that Dean was in the hospital for “an extended period of time.” The guards are charged with “aggravated battery” and “violating their oaths of office.”

The assault against Dean came to light after a successful prison strike led to national publicity about the harsh conditions in the Georgia prison system. In early December inmates at 11 state prisons organized a six-day protest and work stoppage against abuse and lack of payment for work they perform. Following the protest, a delegation that included members of the Georgia NAACP and Concerned Coalition To Respect Prisoners’ Rights visited some state prisons to report on conditions.

Guards carried out retaliatory beatings of inmates at Macon State Prison and Smith State Prison. Prisoners’

relatives and prisoner rights advocates brought the retaliatory actions to light. Although Dean’s beating was not related to the prisoners’ strike, it was uncovered during the state’s investigation of prison conditions as a result of the protests.

In a related development, attorneys for mentally retarded Georgia death row inmate Warren Hill asked the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals February 15 to protect Hill from execution. In 2002 the U.S. Supreme Court banned executions of mentally retarded individuals, but left it up to each state to determine if an individual is mentally retarded.

Georgia law requires proof that the defendant is mentally retarded “beyond a reasonable doubt.” The Georgia Supreme Court had overturned a lower court ruling that Hill met the state’s standard.



*All out to join fight in Wisconsin!*

*A showdown between the employers and the labor movement is taking place in Madison, Wisconsin, where a bill to take away collective bargaining rights of public workers is under debate. Find out in the ‘Militant’ how you can be a part of this battle.*



Lansing, Michigan, protest February 26 against Wisconsin union-busting assault.

# 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.

## The Militant

Vol. 75/No. 11

Closing news date: March 9, 2011

Editor: Paul Mailhot

Managing Editor: Martin Koppel

Business Manager: Angel Lariscy

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Naomi Craine, Seth Galinsky, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Angel Lariscy, Doug Nelson, Jacob Perasso, Brian Williams, Rebecca Williamson.

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

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](mailto:themilitant@mac.com)

Website: [www.themilitant.com](http://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, 7107 St. Denis #204, Montreal, Quebec H2S 2S5.

**United Kingdom:** Send £26 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London, First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane), London, E2 6DG, England.

**Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe:** Send £75 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.

**New Zealand:** Send NZ\$50 for one year to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140, 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 1140, New Zealand.

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



# Selling the ‘Militant’

Continued from front page  
states, and halfway across the country.

Supporters of the *Militant* are stepping up their use of the *Workers Power* book along with sales of the paper to help explain the economic crisis and the road forward for working people. A special offer of \$15 for a copy of the book together with an introductory subscription to the *Militant* is now being offered to help get these valuable tools into the hands of as many working-class fighters as possible.

At a demonstration of several thousand in Nashville, Tennessee, socialist workers from Atlanta sold 40 papers, one subscription, and a copy of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes to teachers and other workers protesting antiunion proposals before the state legislature.

Socialist workers from Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and New York joined tens of thousands at the state capitol in Madison, Wisconsin, March 5. Twenty-six people bought subscriptions to the paper and 111 got single copies. “Workers wanted to discuss what it will take to build a fighting labor movement,” said David Rosenfeld, a steelworker and member of the Socialist Workers Party from Des Moines, Iowa.

A retired member of the Coast Guard bought two subscriptions—one for himself, one for his daughter. “Everybody calls me a socialist and I want to know what that is,” he said.

Harry D’Agostino, a student at the State University of New York in New Paltz took a bus to Manhattan to join two socialist workers for the 15-hour drive to Madison. When he told the bus driver where he was headed, the driver let him on with no fare.

When he returned to campus, D’Agostino and other students began organizing to get a larger crew to Wisconsin for protests called for March 12. Ten people came to a March 7 meeting to make plans and begin raising funds. The next day several joined a walk-out from classes to protest state university budget cuts. D’Agostino spoke to the rally and helped raise an additional \$70. “Several students bought copies of the *Militant* and others are pulling together the five dollars to get a sub,” he said.

A team of *Militant* supporters from Iowa and Indiana brought the paper to a protest of 2,000 teachers and others at the state capitol in Indianapolis. Six people bought subscriptions and 18 got single copies. When the team went to a pizza place to warm up, a number of teachers were doing likewise. Three of them subscribed.

On March 8, more than 30 actions took place across Florida to protest budget cuts. The demonstrations coincided with Gov. Rick Scott’s “state of the state” address to the Florida Legislature. Some 750 participated in the Ft. Lauderdale action and 300 attended the event in Tallahassee.

Three bought subscriptions and 47 got single copies in Tallahassee. A slightly larger rally organized by the tea party took place across the street. Many at that rally talked with *Militant* supporters, and one bought a paper.

Sales of the *Militant* have picked up in Los Angeles over the past two weeks, reports Norton Sandler. “We have 19 new subscribers, and sold 120 single copies. Socialist workers also sold a couple new subscriptions to co-workers during this stretch and introduced the paper to other new readers on the job.”

“At a regular sale in front of Perrigo Pharmaceuticals in the Bronx, March 8, we sold six papers—five to workers at the plant and one to a student passing by,” Steve Clark reported. “This was one of our best sales ever.”

The headline on joining the fight

## UK action protests government austerity



Militant/Hugo Wils

MANCHESTER, England—Hundreds of protesters marched to the Town Hall here March 5 to protest government cuts. The demonstration was called by the Manchester Coalition Against Cuts and backed by local trade unions. The city council plans to reduce its budget over the next two year through 2,000 layoffs and cuts to public services. Supporters of the *Militant* sold two subscriptions and 13 single issues of the paper at the protest. Many who bought the newspaper were interested in the protests in Wisconsin.

In nearby Salford some 200 people protested March 2 against a £40 million budget cut. In Levenshulme, Manchester, a local campaign defeated plans to shut down a public swimming pool.

The Trades Union Congress is calling a national demonstration March 26 in London. Unions are organizing transport for tens of thousands of workers throughout the United Kingdom.

—HUGO WILS

of the Wisconsin workers caught the attention of a number of workers. One said he already had the issue and added, “I get it from my friends Dan and Francisco inside. They’re going

out there this weekend, they told me. I guess I’ll hear what happened on Monday.” Dan Fein, who works in the plant, joined the team for a while and helped in two of the sales.

## Virginia bill restricts women’s abortion rights

BY SUSAN LAMONT

WASHINGTON—Virginia’s General Assembly passed a bill February 24 placing restrictive regulations on abortion clinics in the state that in effect will close some of the state’s 21 clinics. At the Walk for Choice held in downtown Washington, D.C., two days later, some 300 supporters of abortion rights protested this and other attacks on legal abortion taking place around the country..

Gov. Robert McDonnell has said he will sign the bill. Upon enactment July 1, the Virginia Board of Health will set new guidelines for clinics that perform at least five first-trimester abortions a month. The rules would be similar to

those enforced in hospitals, forcing clinics to bear prohibitive costs.

More than 26,000 abortions were performed in Virginia in 2009, most in clinics that are regulated much like doctors’ offices where colonoscopies and other medical procedures are performed.

In states where government legislation imposed similar regulations, the number of clinics dropped dramatically. In Texas, for example, the number of clinics declined from 20 to four; in South Carolina they fell from 14 to three.

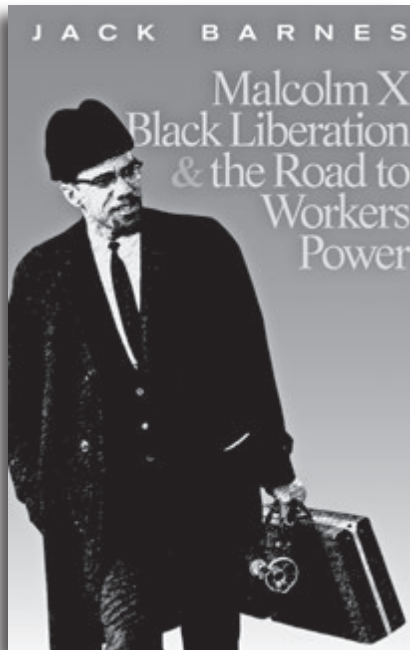
“Let’s be clear, this is not about health and safety,” Rosemary Coddling, director of the Falls Church Healthcare Center, told the *Washington Post* February 25. “This is about targeting abortion providers and making it more difficult if not impossible to provide women affordable access to abortion.”

Other state legislatures, including Delaware and Georgia, are considering similar measures.

Glova Scott contributed to this article.

## Special offer

Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power by Jack Barnes



“This is a book about the dictatorship of capital and the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. A book about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United States—from the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction to today—and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution. . . .”

**Special offer: \$15**  
**For the book and a 12-week**  
**subscription to the *Militant***  
**(50 % off book cover price of \$20)**  
**Contact distributor listed on page 6**

**PathfinderPress.com**

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Defend Workers Rights: Drop the Charges against the Irvine 11!** Speaker: Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. Suggested donation: \$5. 4025 S. Western Ave. Tel.: (323) 295-2600.

#### San Francisco

**Civil War in Libya—U.S., NATO Hands Off!** Speaker: Lea Sherman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 19, Dinner, 6:30 p.m., program, 7:30 p.m. 5482 Mission St. Tel.: (415) 584-2135.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Join Wisconsin Showdown to Stop Assault on Unions!** Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. Suggested donation: \$5. 307 W. 36th St., 10th fl. (north elevators) Tel.: (212) 629-6649.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Stop the Assault on Unions.** Speaker: Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in 2010. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-51A. Tel.: (713) 688-4919.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**The Fight against Women’s Oppression.**

Speaker: Mary Martin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. Suggested donation: \$5. 5418 Rainier Ave. S. Tel.: (206) 323-1755.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women.** Speaker: Leah Morrison. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 143 Kennedy St. NW, Suite 15. Tel.: (202) 536-5080.

## —CALENDAR—

### IOWA

#### Keokuk

**Solidarity Rally and March with Workers Locked Out by Roquette America.** Sat., March 26, 1 p.m. Keokuk Labor Temple, 3rd & Blondeau St. For more information, contact BCTGM Local 48G, (319) 795-0451, millman11@hotmail.com

### CANADA

#### Montreal

**Haiti: One Year after the Earthquake.** Speaker: Dr. William Alvarez Consuegra from the Cuban Medical Mission in Haiti. Sun., March 20, 4 p.m. La Perle Retrouvée, 7655 20th avenue. Sponsored by Canadian Network on Cuba and the Table de concertation de solidarité Québec Cuba. Tel.: (514) 728-7222 or (514) 272-5840.



# Rallies across the U.S. defend rights of unions

**Indiana teachers tell governor: 'Not without a fight'**

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana—"Not without a fight!" chanted the crowd, capturing the spirit at a rally here March 6 of teachers, students, and other workers. The action of some 1,500 gathered in the rain to protest a union-busting assault against teachers by the state government.

About 150 teachers came on three buses from public schools in South Bend, Indiana. Among other unionists here were members of the United Auto Workers, Teamsters, Sheet Metal Workers, and Machinists.

Gov. Mitchell Daniels is pushing bills aimed at weakening the teachers' union. The Indiana measures are similar to government attacks working people are resisting in Wisconsin.

Proposals include restricting unions' collective bargaining rights to wage-related issues. Working conditions and disciplinary actions would be nonnegotiable. Contracts would have to be renewed every two years and "performance evaluations" would determine wages, gutting seniority rights.

Also being floated is a program in which private businesses can take over schools with low test scores. The new owners could throw out the union contract and fire teachers at will.

Teachers and other unionists have responded with sustained, often daily protests for several weeks. More than 2,000 teachers, students, and supporters filled the statehouse February 8.

In face of these protests Daniels announced February 22 he was withdrawing support for proposed "right to work" legislation that would ban union shops in which all workers are part of the bargaining unit if a majority votes to unionize.

"How much is enough?" asked Jeff Forsythe, 43, a member of Sheet Metal Workers International Association Local 20 in Granger, Indiana. His wife is a teacher. "They bail out the bankers, and we're the next attack? Really, it's a war to take away our standard of living. We've got to fight back and stick together."

Many who were there talked about discussions they are having with others on the job, with friends and family,

and why they should support the teachers. "My husband is a truck driver, a member of the Teamsters union," said Carol Douthitt, a second grade teacher from Spencer, Indiana. "I told him, 'If we fall, you fall.' He had to think about it, but then he agreed, and has been encouraging Teamsters to come to the rallies every day."

Unionists plan to return to the capitol March 10.

—Rebecca Williamson and Maggie Trowe

**'Mayor here is a Democrat; there is no difference'**

PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island—Some 1,000 people rallied outside City Hall here March 2 to protest termination notices sent by Mayor Angel Taveras to all of the city's public school teachers. Participants included teachers from Providence and surrounding cities, parents, students, and other unionists.

The Providence school board voted February 24 to send out these notices to all of the nearly 2,000 public school teachers in order to meet a March 1 deadline to notify teachers of possible changes to their "employment status." Mayor Taveras also plans on closing four to six schools.

"The mayor here is a Democrat, and the Wisconsin governor is a Republican," said high school teacher Antonia Vasquez, "but there is no difference."

—Sarah Ullman and Kevin Dwire

**Tennessee: March for teachers' collective bargaining rights**

NASHVILLE, Tennessee—Thousands of teachers and union supporters demonstrated March 5 to protest attacks by the Tennessee legislature on the right of the teachers' unions to negotiate with school boards. Several legislative bills would strip away collective bargaining rights and lengthen the time period to grant teachers tenure.

The crowd, estimated between 3,000 and 5,000, came from cities throughout Tennessee and Kentucky. Several buses came from Knoxville, Memphis, and Chattanooga. "All us working people have to stick together and fight," Greg Owens, a UPS driver and member of Teamsters Local 519, told the *Militant*.

Unions represented included the Tennessee Education Association, Teamsters, United Steelworkers, Ser-

**3,000 protest antiunion legislation in Ohio**



COLUMBUS, Ohio—More than 3,000 union members and supporters filled the Ohio Statehouse and its surrounding grounds March 8 to protest proposed antiunion legislation, which has already passed the state senate and is making its way through the house. Gov. John Kasich said he plans to sign it.

The new law would gut collective bargaining rights of public workers. It includes provisions to ban strikes and give local elected officials the power to arbitrarily settle labor disputes. The bill "drives down wages," Mike Carroll, a member of the United Steelworkers from Mansfield, told the press. "It affects all working families."

—BOB LAYCOCK

vice Employees International Union, Communications Workers of America, and others.

—Janice Lynn

**California: San Jose rally supports Wisconsin workers**

SAN JOSE, California—Hundreds of workers—union and non-union—as well as students and oth-

ers participated in a protest here March 1 sponsored by the South Bay Labor Council in support of Wisconsin workers. The next day hundreds at campuses across the state participated in activities from morning until night, building for a statewide protest March 14 at the state capitol in Sacramento.

—Eric Simpson



Militant/Eric Simpson

More than 100 students, faculty, and staff at Laney College in Oakland, California, participated in a March 2 protest against budget cuts and new fees for health care and other services. The same day, actions took place at other campuses throughout state.

## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics:

**Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions**

by Jack Barnes



Building the kind of party working people need to prepare for coming class battles. Handbook for those seeking the road toward effective action to overturn the exploit-

ative system of capitalism and join in reconstructing the world on new, socialist foundations. **\$24**

To order see distributors on page 6 or visit:

**www.PathfinderPress.com**

## Union actions spread, labor solidarity grows

**Continued from front page**

Florida March 8 against provisions of the new state budget. And thousands of workers rallied in Nashville, Tennessee, to protest attacks on teachers.

The demonstrations in Wisconsin are protesting Gov. Scott Walker's "budget repair bill," which takes away the legal right of public employees to collective bargaining on everything but wages. The bill mandates wage cuts for public workers by increasing deductions for pensions and health insurance.

Walker declared March 4 that since his bill has not been voted on, layoff notices would be sent out to 1,500 public workers.

Support from farmers for the next la-

bor mobilization is a blow to Walker's attempt to turn working people—particularly those from rural areas—against state workers. Groups supporting the March 12 action include Family Farm Defenders (FFD), Wisconsin Farmers Union, and the Land Stewardship Project.

"Busting unions will only make all of us more desperate," FFD board member and farmer Tony Schultz, who helped organize a prounion rally in Wausau, Wisconsin, March 6, told the press. "This struggle is all about human rights," added Joel Greeno, FFD vice president and a dairy farmer. "If you lower the bar for anyone, you ultimately lower it for everyone else."

News agencies have reported talks between Walker and some of the 14 Democratic Party senators who left the state February 17 to prevent a vote on the bill. In the framework of "shared sacrifice," these senators and many union officials have already agreed to Walker's proposed wage and benefit cuts.

More union contingents participated in the March 5 action than in the previous protests. Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) came from across Wisconsin and Illinois. "The aim of Walker is to eliminate unions, be able to fire workers for no reason," Joe Moss, a member of IBEW Local 14 in

**Continued on page 11**



## ON THE PICKET LINE

### Washington, D.C. nurses strike: 'We need this kind of unity'

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“It’s wonderful that we are here together,” said Judith Hayes, a dialysis nurse who has worked at the Washington Hospital Center (WHC) for 11 years. “We need this kind of unity if we’re going to win.” She was one of hundreds of nurses picketing outside WHC, the region’s largest hospital, March 4 as part of a one-day strike.

The nurses, members of National Nurses United (NNU), are protesting the hospital’s refusal to back off concession demands in wages, benefits, and staffing. The union represents some 1,600 nurses. According to chief shop steward Stephen Frum, 95 percent of the workers at the hospital complex are women and 30 percent of the strikers are immigrants.

Representatives of other unions—from the Laborers’ International Union to the Teamsters to the NFL Players Association—joined the picket line for a noontime rally at which AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka was the featured speaker. The constant blare of horns from passing trucks and cars drew roars and cheers from picketers, as did speakers’ calls for solidarity with public workers under attack in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

“The hospital has been so ugly,” said Geri Lee, a labor and delivery nurse with 32 years at WHC. “They have brought in 600 scab nurses to try to keep the hospital running.” Lee, a shop steward, recently won her job back after nearly a year. She and several other nurses were fired last winter after being unable to report for work when a massive snowstorm paralyzed trans-

portation in the D.C. area for days.

The union decided to keep the picket lines up for five days after the hospital told nurses they would be locked out for four days after the strike. WHS claims they have to keep replacement nurses working for a minimum of 60 hours once they are brought in. The nurses’ contract expired in April 2010.

—Susan LaMont

### Los Angeles: Nurses walk out one day over job conditions

LOS ANGELES—More than 1,000 union nurses organized a 24-hour walkout at Kaiser’s Los Angeles Medical Center on March 2. Members of the National Union of Healthcare Workers marched in front of the hospital in red T-shirts carrying picket signs that said, “Kaiser = Union-Busting” and “Patients Before Profits.” The action marked the first time in 20 years that the nurses struck.

“We have been trying to negotiate a contract with Kaiser for over a year,” explained Kimberly Tubbs, a nurse in recovery. “They are stonewalling and their attitude is one of disrespect for the actual quality of care we provide day in and day out.”

“The situation is urgent,” said nurse Patricia Tamayo. “The staffing ratio is not being upheld hospital-wide. It decreases the quality of care and it’s unsafe.” At the intensive care unit where she works “it makes a big difference if the ratio is one nurse to three or four patients or one nurse to two patients. This is what it is supposed to be,” she said. “If we can get better conditions, it will strengthen everyone.”

—Arlene Rubinstein

## New York governor approves steep cuts to Medicaid services

BY ELYSE HATHAWAY

NEW YORK—Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo has accepted his Medicaid Redesign Team’s proposals to cut \$2.3 billion from the state’s health-care program.

The panel appointed by the governor is made up of 27 state legislators, representatives from hospitals and nursing homes, and the health care workers’ union, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) 1199.

The Medicaid system currently provides health services to nearly one in four New York State residents. Enrollment spiked during the recession, growing by an average of 5.4 percent in 2009. In 2010 enrollment was projected to increase by 6.6 percent.

The main aim of the new plan is to move most of the 4.7 million New York Medicaid recipients to private HMO programs, which place more limits on availability of some medical services.

The proposals also include a 2 percent across-the-board cut in Medicaid payments to health-care providers and a 4 percent cap per year on future raises in state spending. To remain under the cap, health-care providers would need to find ways to reduce spending themselves or face future cuts in rates imposed by the state. Many hospitals and nursing homes say the changes will likely mean layoffs and reduced services.

The Medicaid Redesign Team deci-

sion “resulted in pain, but it was a shared pain,” said George Gresham, president of SEIU 1199 Healthcare Workers East and a member of the panel, according to the *New York Times*.



Militant/Susan LaMont

Nurses picket Washington Hospital Center in District of Columbia March 4 in one-day strike against hospital’s demands for concessions on wages, benefits, and staffing.

### N.Y.: Building workers in Bronx reject contract, authorize strike

NEW YORK—Building workers in the Bronx, organized by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32BJ, voted to reject a contract offer by the Bronx Realty Advisory Board and on February 23 authorized a strike. The current contract expires March 15 and covers 3,000 workers at more than 1,000 residential buildings. According to SEIU Local 32BJ, the outstanding issues include health care and retirement benefits.

“I voted yes [to strike] for my family and for the families of all working people,” said Bronx doorman Darryl Mosley. “I feel like we’re being pushed out of the city with the rising cost of rents, mortgages, groceries, the subway, gas, you name it.”

The union plans a rally March 10. Building workers from Flatbush Gardens in Brooklyn plan to participate as part of their ongoing fight for a contract. They have been locked out since November 29 after opposing the bosses’ demand for a 30 percent pay cut.

Flatbush Gardens workers also participated in a February 16 rally of building workers and Local 32BJ members at Linwood Park Co-op Apartments in Fort Lee, New Jersey. The workers were protesting the refusal of Linwood Park

owners to agree to the contract that Local 32BJ negotiated with other northern New Jersey apartment employers.

—Mike Fitzsimmons

### Montreal newspaper workers accept settlement, return to work

MONTREAL—After a 10-hour meeting February 26, unionists at the *Journal de Montreal* voted by 64 percent to accept the settlement proposed by mediator Jean Poirier ending the lockout that began Jan. 24, 2009. Under the new contract only 62 of the 253 union members employed by the media company Quebecor will return to work.

In October members of the STIJM (Union of News Workers at the *Journal de Montreal*), which is affiliated to the CSN, one of Quebec’s labor federations, rejected by 89 percent an offer that would have had only 52 of them return. CSN had organized a boycott of the *Journal de Montreal*. The newspaper continued to publish throughout the lockout.

STIJM president Raynald Leblanc, who worked for 20 years as a photographer, told the *Montreal Gazette*: “It’s clearly a defeat, but I think people are relieved that the conflict is finally over.”

—Beverly Bernardo

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



March 21, 1936

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 100,000 people turned out here March 9 to stand up and fight for a woman’s right to choose abortion.

When combined with the Los Angeles action on March 16, the “National March for Women’s Lives: East Coast/West Coast” is easily the largest women’s rights action in U.S. history.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the organization that called the action, told the crowd, “We knew the time had come for people to stand up and be counted for women’s lives. Our message is simple. You cannot play with women’s lives any longer.” Smeal announced that more than 470 organizations had joined together to sponsor the action.

“What do we want? Free choice! When do we want it? *Always!*” the marchers yelled out, expressing their determination to defend their rights for as long as it takes.



March 20, 1961

Over 200 Negro students, mobilized by an NAACP student chapter, marched peacefully in front of the state house in Columbia, S.C., on March 2. They came to protest against South Carolina’s practically ironclad discrimination in employment and public accommodations and against the state government’s Committee on Segregation. Results:

In violation of the constitutional rights of free speech, and assembly, the police arrested 192 of them, including 65 women.

Most of the demonstrators were charged with breach of the peace and held on bond of \$50 each. But NAACP youth leaders David Carter and James Edwards, Jr., were placed under the exorbitant bond of \$5,000 each.

These measures by the state authorities were intended to frighten and demoralize the anti-segregation movement. But they failed completely.



March 21, 1936

AKRON, Ohio—“No, no, a thousand times no. I’d rather stay out than say yes!” sang five thousand Goodyear strikers in answer to the company’s proposal to go back to work.

Five thousand fighting gum miners, on strike for the fourth week, shouted down a plan to go back to their jobs with nothing, and left for the plant to tighten the picket lines.

For two hours the men stood in line, braving rain and snow, waiting to get into the Akron Armory, the largest auditorium in the city. But even it was too small. Across the street company men watched the crowd, and went back to their bosses with an unfavorable report.

The meeting climaxed a week of jockeying between the company and the union leaders. But the strikers were ready for anything. As each union official entered the hall—from the highest generalissimo to the lowest petty officer—the men shouted NO!



# Trade unions: their past, present, and future

Below is an excerpt from *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky, one of *Pathfinder's Books of the Month for March*. The book contains "Trade unions: their past, present, and future," a resolution drafted by Karl Marx that was adopted by the first congress of the *International Working Men's Association* (the *First International*), held in September 1866 in Switzerland. It is printed in its entirety below. Also excerpted is an unfinished article on the unions by Trotsky found in his papers after his assassination in August 1940. Copyright © 1969 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY KARL MARX

## (a) Their past

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

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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



Sit-down strike in shipyards in Camden, New Jersey, September 1945. Trade unions must learn to act as organizing centers of working class in broad interest of its complete emancipation, explained Marx. "They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction."

broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves*.

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

## (b) Their present

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trades' unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They

therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of trades' delegates at Sheffield:<sup>1</sup>

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

## (c) Their future

Apart from their original purposes,

1. The Sheffield conference, held July 17–21, 1866, brought together 138 delegates representing 200,000 organized workers in Britain. From 1865 to 1867, British unions helped lead a broad campaign for expanded voting rights. In early 1861, following moves by the southern slave states to secede from the United States, unions in cities throughout the northern and border states held meetings and demonstrations supporting the federal government and urging its defense. During the 1861–65 Civil War, new unions were organized and union activity for the eight-hour day increased.

## 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: 4025 S. Western Ave. Zip: 90062. Tel: (323) 295-2600. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net  
**San Francisco:** 5482 Mission St. Zip: 94112-1015. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

**FLORIDA:** Miami: 719 NE 79th St. Zip: 33138. Mailing address: P.O. Box 381063 Zip: 33238-1063. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: 476 1/2 Edgewood Ave. Zip: 30312. Tel: (404) 525-5200. 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@qwestoffice.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 YORK:** Manhattan: 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: newyorkswp@mac.com

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: 3701 Pulaski Ave. Zip: 19140. Tel: (215) 225-1270. 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.:** 143 Kennedy St. NW, Suite 15. Zip: 20011. 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@qwestoffice.net

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



BY LEON TROTSKY

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

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

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

### 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: 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: clc\_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:** 4/125 Grafton Rd., Grafton. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140. Tel: (09) 369-1223. E-mail: clauack@xtra.co.nz

### UNITED KINGDOM

**ENGLAND:** London: First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane). Postal code: E2 6DG. Tel: 020-7613-2466. E-mail: clondon@fastmail.fm

*March* BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS**

25% DISCOUNT

**Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay**  
by Leon Trotsky  
Explains the fundamental role of trade unions as elementary organizations to defend workers' conditions and rights and the link between the fight for economic justice and political power.  
\$16. **Special price: \$12**

**Women and the Cuban Revolution**  
by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín  
\$16. **Special price: \$12**

**The Jewish Question**  
by Abram Leon  
\$22. **Special price: \$16.50**

**How Far We Slaves Have Come!**  
by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro  
Speaking in Cuba in 1991, Mandela and Castro discuss the place in the history of Africa of Cuba and Angola's victory over the invading U.S.-backed South African army, and the resulting acceleration of the fight to bring down the apartheid system.  
\$10. **Special price: \$7.50**

**Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition**  
by George Saunders  
\$25. **Special price: \$18.75**

**Habla Nelson Mandela**  
(Nelson Mandela Speaks)  
\$13. **Special price: \$9.75**

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

ORDER ONLINE AT  
**WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM**  
OFFER GOOD UNTIL MARCH 31



# Libya civil war debate

Continued from page one

such a move. “Let’s just call a spade a spade,” he told Congress March 2. “A no-fly zone begins with an attack on Libya to destroy the air defenses.”

President Obama has said that while military options are on the table, any steps to enforce a no-fly zone must have participation of other members of NATO, especially those like Italy that have air bases near Libya. Others have raised seeking political cover from the Arab League or African Union.

The U.S. ambassador to NATO, Ivo Daalder, however, downplayed the impact of a no-fly zone, claiming fighter and air activity by the Libyan regime had recently declined.

NATO officials did agree March 7 to expand aircraft surveillance flights monitoring Libyan airspace and ground movements from 10 to 24 hours a day. Washington has also placed two warships with about 400 Marines aboard in the Mediterranean Sea near Libya.

## Sub-Saharan migrant workers

According to UN officials more than 213,000 foreign workers have left Libya since the civil war began. Most have crossed into Tunisia and Egypt.

But large numbers of workers from sub-Saharan Africa, many employed in Libya for years at low-wage jobs as oil, construction, and service workers, are facing much greater obstacles in getting out.

Many have faced discriminatory treatment in Libya and even more brutal treatment by Gadhafi forces since the civil war began. “Dark-skinned Africans say the Libyan war has caught them in a vise,” stated the *New York Times* March 8. Gadhafi’s police and militia forces “who guard checkpoints along the roads around the capital rob them of

their money, possessions, and cell phone chips.” At the same time some aligned with the opposition have threatened and attacked some of these workers, charging they’re African mercenaries brought in by Gadhafi to crush the uprising.

About 10,000 Africans are stuck in Saloum, a town on the Libya-Egypt border. Among those waiting to cross is Asante Jonny, a Ghanaian migrant worker who for the past two years worked in Benghazi for a construction company. He fled the city fearing that now “walking around town can get you killed,” he told *Al Masry Al Youm*.

“Come see the black working class,” he said. As of March 6 he had been held up there amidst miserable conditions for four days. He can’t return to Libya but Egyptian authorities insist that before he crosses into Egypt, the Ghanaian embassy in Cairo must commit to his repatriation.

Despite these experiences he and other African immigrants express support for the fighters standing up to the Gadhafi dictatorship.

Sub-Saharan Africans comprised the majority of the estimated 1.5 million undocumented workers living in Libya when the revolt began, according to the International Organization for Migration.

## Egyptian workers press for right to unions

BY SETH GALINSKY

Almost a month after Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was ousted, demonstrators continue to demand the dismantling of Egypt’s State Security Agency, the lifting of national emergency laws, and the release of political prisoners.

Working people are also pressing for wage increases, for permanent jobs for temporary workers, removal of corrupt managers at state-owned and private enterprises, and the right to form unions.

Scores of strikes and sit-ins and other protest actions continue. Rail, textile, and other factory workers, as well as hospital and university workers, farmers, the unemployed, students, and others are using the space won by the mass movement that deposed Mubarak.

The March 4 edition of *Al Masry Al Youm* reported on close to a dozen protests. Among the actions: women in Beni Suef demanding reduced apartment rents, students at Alexandria University calling for the resignation of the university president and deans, a sit-in by Misr Bank workers demanding the resignation of the bank board, fired Nasr Automotive workers fighting for higher pensions, village residents in Luxor Province protesting price hikes for cooking gas, and demands for housing by people living in tents.

About 1,000 workers at Cairo Pharmaceuticals and Chemical Industries held a sit-in March 1. According to *Al Masry Al Youm*, “they wanted permanent contracts and higher bonuses.” Three hundred workers from Samuel Tex, a linens manufacturer, announced a strike for higher pay, fixed working hours, and guaranteed days off.

The Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), the only legal union organization in the country, is still controlled by members of Mubarak’s National Democratic Party. “Stop



Migrant workers stranded in Saloun, at the Egypt-Libya border. Black Africans have long faced discriminatory treatment in Libya. Since civil war began, they have been targets of brutal treatment both by Gadhafi authorities and some in the opposition.

A refugee camp with thousands of migrant workers from sub-Saharan Africa has sprung up by the airport in Tripoli. Some have been there for two weeks or more, lacking passports, other documents, or funds to purchase an airplane ticket.

In Benghazi, where Africans and hundreds of Bangladeshi workers have been stranded by the port, aid is being

provided by representatives of committees running the rebel-held city, reported Associated Press. They’re providing meals, blankets, and medical visits.

As antigovernment fighters were forced to retreat from the coastal city of Bin Jawwad, “they stopped to pick up about a half dozen Filipino factory workers,” noted the *Times*, driving them to a safer area.

these protests,” demanded the federation’s secretary general Ibrahim El-Azhari. “Most of the protests are asking for wage increases or the removal of chairmen and so on. This is a kind of extremism.”

The Egyptian Federation of Independent Unions, which promotes unions independent of the government-dominated federation and has won support, including among government and textile workers, held a conference March 2. “There are some 5,000 factories in the Tenth of Ramadan City [northeast of Cairo], yet only 13 of these have unions,” one delegate told the conference.

Other union militants are pushing their demands inside the ETUF. Karim Reda, a fired Petrotrade Company worker participating in a demonstration of 2,000 outside the government oil ministry February 23, told the press, “Most of these protesting employees want to establish a trade union of any sort, whether independent or within the ETUF structure.”

## Military tries to placate protests

Ongoing protests against government officials appointed by Mubarak and against antidemocratic laws have forced the military regime to make some concessions.

Egypt’s Supreme Military Council named Essam Sharaf as prime minister March 3, replacing Ahmed Shafiq, who had been appointed by Mubarak shortly before he was forced to resign. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the appointment of Sharaf “marks a bid by Egypt’s interim military rulers to placate protesters who have sustained demands for sweeping governmental changes in the wake of Mr. Mubarak’s exit.”

Sharaf is an engineering professor who served in Mubarak’s cabinet as minister of transport from 2004 until he resigned in 2006, apparently to distance himself from corruption

in the department. He joined an anti-Mubarak demonstration at the university a week before the president’s ouster although he was still a member of Mubarak’s party.

The day after his appointment, Sharaf was a featured speaker at a demonstration in Tahrir Square called to celebrate Shafiq’s removal. The action demanded the dissolution of both the National Democratic Party and the hated State Security Agency, as well as the release of political prisoners. Sharaf told demonstrators to be patient.

Sharaf also announced he was naming a new cabinet, replacing most of Mubarak’s appointees, including Interior Minister Habib el-Adly, widely seen as responsible for organizing attacks against anti-Mubarak protesters in Tahrir Square. El-Adly was arrested February 17 on charges of corruption. Gen. Mansour el-Essawy has been appointed as the new interior minister.

The minister of military production, Sayed Meshaal, remains in place, however. The military is one of the largest employers in Egypt with tens of thousands of workers in both military and civilian production.

While the Egyptian rulers have freed some political prisoners, thousands are still being held, including some arrested since the start of the anti-Mubarak protests. Among those at the March 4 protest in Tahrir Square were supporters of Amr al-Beheiry, who was beaten by military police February 26 during a protest demanding Shafiq’s resignation.

Two days after his arrest, al-Beheiry was tried before a military court. “His trial took three minutes, with no lawyer and no witnesses, and he was sentenced to five years,” his brother Mohamed said.

Also on March 4 thousands marched in northern Sinai demanding the release of prisoners, many of whom are held without charge or remain incarcerated after finishing their sentences.

## NEW INTERNATIONAL

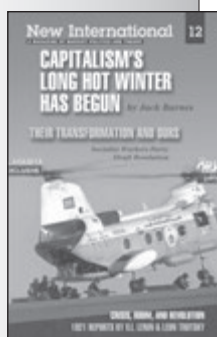
A MAGAZINE OF  
MARXIST POLITICS & THEORY

ISSUE NO. 12

### CAPITALISM’S LONG HOT WINTER HAS BEGUN

By Jack Barnes

Today’s interim-imperialist conflicts are fueled by the beginning of what will be decades of economic, financial, and social convulsions, and by the most far-reaching shift in Washington’s military policy since World War II. Class struggle-minded working people must face this turning point for imperialism, and draw satisfaction from being “in their face” as we chart a revolutionary course to confront it. \$16

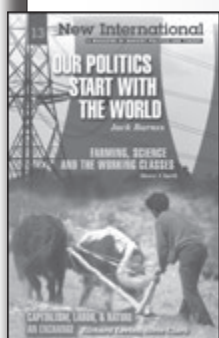


ISSUE NO. 13

### OUR POLITICS START WITH THE WORLD

By Jack Barnes

\$14



Pathfinderpress.com



# How capitalists cynically cultivate ‘demand’ for ‘must have’ cosmetics and fashions

## ‘Textbook in fundamentals of communism’ launched at Havana book fair

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL  
AND REBECCA WILLIAMSON

HAVANA—“Is the use of cosmetics worth the attention of a Marxist?” asked Isabel Moya, a leader of the Federation of Cuban Women’s (FMC) and director of its publishing house, Editorial de la Mujer. She was quoting Joseph Hansen, one of the authors of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*.

Her answer—like the author’s—was a definite yes.

Moya was the opening speaker at a well-attended meeting here launching the new Spanish-language translation of the book by Hansen, Evelyn Reed, and Mary-Alice Waters, published by Ciencias Sociales, one of the main publishing houses in Cuba.

First published in English by Pathfinder Press in 1986, it was translated into Spanish by Esther Pérez, editor of *Caminos*, a magazine published by the Martin Luther King Center here.

The February 14 presentation was one of 800 public events organized as part of the 11-day Havana International Book Fair. As in previous years, the fair started in Havana and moved on to provincial capitals across the island.

The meeting was chaired by Sonia Almaguer, director of Editorial Nuevo Milenio, which includes Ciencias Sociales. Also speaking were Julio César González Pagés, a professor of history and gender studies at the University of Havana, and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Waters is the editor and author of the introduction to the 1986 edition and wrote the preface to the 2010 Spanish translation. Pathfinder will publish a new edition in English, Spanish, and French this year.

Among the 75 people in the audience were José Ramón Fernández, vice president of Cuba’s Council of



Above: February 14 Havana Book Fair panel launching Spanish translation of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. From left, Sonia Almaguer, director Editorial Nuevo Milenio; Mary-Alice Waters, book’s editor and Socialist Workers Party leader; Isabel Moya, Federation of Cuban Women; Julio César González Pagés, University of Havana professor. Capitalism, said González,

depends on “exploitation of women in home and workplace.” Top right: “Life begins after five . . . thanks to her Remington Electric typewriter,” says ad, fetishizing human relations to sell products and boost profits. Bottom: Steelworkers strike in Virginia, 1979. Fight to emancipate women is a class battle, Waters said, between those with no property and those who own land, mines, and factories.

Ministers, and Víctor Dreke, president of the Cuba-Africa Friendship Association, both legendary fighters of the generation that overthrew the Batista dictatorship in the 1950s and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. Also in attendance were Luis Morlote and Lázaro Castillo, president and vice president of the Saíz Brothers Association, an organization of young Cuban artists and writers.

The overflow audience included students from the University of Havana. To publicize the event, students there circulated posters and electronic mailings with images of the book’s cover and other illustrations. The event was held at the Cuba Pavilion, a

popular cultural center in downtown Havana and one of several venues used for book sales and presentations during the fair.

### ‘Seems like it was just written’

Moya welcomed the new Cuban edition as a contribution to the fight for women’s emancipation, not only in capitalist countries but “in our own context” in Cuba. (See her remarks on page 9.)

The book, she noted, originated in a debate in the *Militant* in 1954. “I very much enjoyed the irony of the initial article by Joseph Hansen, using his pen name Jack Bustelo,” which sparked the debate, Moya said. Hansen explains how the owners of cosmetics and fashion corporations exploit women’s economic, social, and sexual insecurities to sell products and boost profits.

The authors, she said, describe how the capitalists dictate norms of beauty and try to convince women that meeting those norms—by buying the latest styles—“is a requirement for success in the labor market” and to be sexually desirable to men.

She quoted Evelyn Reed’s statement that it is necessary “to expose the capitalist system” for telling women “that the road to success in life and love is through the purchase of objects.”

That “seems like it was just written,” Moya said.

### Rulers play on women’s insecurities

González Pagés called *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* “a Marxist classic on women’s liberation.” He noted that “there are few Spanish translations of books about fashions and the cosmetics industry,” and, in particular, “very little literature on this subject from a Marxist standpoint.” It will be a valuable addition to textbooks used at the University of Havana, he said.

“The sexist image of the model woman is an inevitable consequence of a social system in which those who hold power benefit from the exploitation of women in the home and the workplace,” González said. The cosmetics and fashion companies rake in “billions of dollars a year based on a strategy of creating a deep dissatisfaction among women with their own bodies.”

Ads that glamorize “superthin fashion models,” González said, pressure women “to spend more time and money, and suffer more physical and psychological stress, to try to achieve the standards” of beauty dictated by bourgeois society. Noting that young people are particular targets of such campaigns, he pointed to figures on the numbers of women in capitalist countries—particularly teenagers—who go on extreme weight-reduction diets or suffer from eating disorders such as bulimia and anorexia.

The most effective way to combat stereotypes, he said, is “to involve large numbers of women in campaigns to change their unequal conditions of life.” *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* can be used as part of those struggles, González said.

In introducing the final speaker, chairperson Sonia Almaguer noted that Waters was also one of the three judges in the annual *Pensar a Contracorriente* (Thinking against the mainstream) essay contest organized by Ciencias Sociales as part of the book fair.

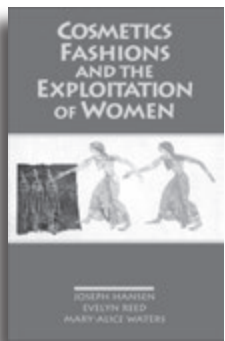
### ‘A class question’

Waters said that Hansen’s article “The Fetish of Cosmetics” is in fact “a popular introduction to Marx’s *Capital*,” which she called “the best book ever written to help us understand women’s oppression and the struggle

Continued on page 11

## Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

by Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, Mary-Alice Waters

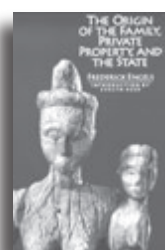
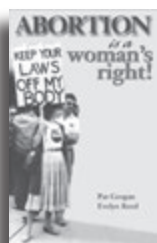


Why do ever-changing standards of beauty, as well as moral values, always reflect those of the ruling class? How do the wealthy owners of the cosmetics and fashions “industries” play on women’s insecurities to sell products and rake in profits? How have the foundations of women’s oppression weakened as a result of the integration of women into the workforce? When did women become the “second sex” and what social forces have the power to end this second-class status? \$15

### Abortion Is a Woman’s Right!

by Pat Grogan, Evelyn Reed

Why abortion rights are central not only to the fight for the full emancipation of women, but to forging a united and fighting labor movement. Available in English and Spanish: \$6



### The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

by Frederick Engels

How the emergence of class-divided society gave rise to repressive state bodies and family structures that protect the property of the ruling layers and enable them to pass along wealth and privilege. Engels discusses the consequences for working people of these class institutions—from their original forms to their modern versions. \$18

[www.PathfinderPress.com](http://www.PathfinderPress.com)





# ‘A class battle, not women against men’

The following are remarks by Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, at a February 14 event in Havana, Cuba, to launch a new Spanish translation of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Evelyn Reed, Waters, and Joseph Hansen (see article on facing page).

The book, *Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer*, was recently issued under the Ciencias Sociales imprint of the Cuban publishing house Editorial Nuevo Milenio. Waters, who is the editor and author of the introduction to the 1986 Pathfinder English-language edition of the book, wrote the preface to the 2010 Spanish translation (reprinted in the February 21 issue of the *Militant*).

Notes on page 10 and subheadings are by the *Militant*. Waters’s remarks are copyright © 2011 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.



## BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

First, a warm greeting to Vice President José Ramón Fernández. For the few of you here today who may not know him, compañero Fernández was the commander, under Fidel, of the main column of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces that dealt Washington its first military defeat in the Americas 50 years ago this spring at Playa Girón. Barely two months from now, on April 16, in the streets of Havana, we will be celebrating the anniversary of that victory for all working people—at the same time that we mark Fidel’s proclamation to the world of the socialist character of the revolution.<sup>1</sup>

I would like to begin by thanking Sonia [Almaguer], [Osvaldo] Padrón, and



**Autoworker at Chrysler plant, Windsor, Canada, 2008. Women have fought for and gained access to industrial jobs they were long excluded from. Ending women’s second-class status, however, will only be won through socialist revolution, said Waters.**

all the compañeras and compañeros of Ciencias Sociales who made this book possible, with a particular note of appreciation for Susana de la Cruz, who designed the eye-catching cover for this Cuban edition.

I also want to extend a special thank-you to three compañeras, each of whom played an important part in bringing this book to fruition, and who intended to be here today but were unable to make it due to other book-fair responsibilities this afternoon.

Esther Pérez, the editor of *Caminos* magazine, published by the Martin Luther King Center here in Havana, volunteered her time and very fine abilities as a translator to make this book available in Spanish for the first time ever.

Pilar Jiménez, who has carried major editorial responsibilities at Ciencias So-

ciales for many years, was instrumental in convincing a few skeptics that *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* was indeed a subject worthy of consideration by a serious Marxist publishing house.

And last but far from least, Carolina Aguilar, one of the founding leaders of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), and a tireless fighter for the socialist revolution and for women’s emancipation over more than half a century, was among the comrades in the FMC leadership whose collaboration and encouragement were irreplaceable. I don’t know how many years ago it was that Carolina, Isabel, and I first discussed getting this book into Spanish, and that is one of the reasons why it is so appropriate that Isabel, together with Julio César, is here to present the book this afternoon.

## From U.S. to Cuba and Iran

I want to say a few words about where the book comes from, what it is about, and why it has been one of Pathfinder’s most popular titles over the last 25 years—and not only in the United States and elsewhere in the English-speaking world.

For instance, more than 4,000 copies of the book have been bought in Iran. A Farsi translation, now in its second printing, was released there almost a decade ago by Gôlazin, an Iranian publisher that has edited numerous titles promoting women’s struggle for equality.

I’ve thought about that every time I’ve turned on the TV in recent weeks and seen pictures of so many women among the millions from Tunisia to Egypt and beyond taking to the streets in massive demonstrations against brutally dictatorial regimes, propped up by Washington, that had lost all pretense of popular legitimacy.

## Debate in the ‘Militant’

*Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer* was born more than 50 years ago. In fact, the first article in the book appeared in the July 26, 1954, issue of the *Militant*—a fighting socialist newspaper, based in New York, whose masthead proudly proclaims it is “published in the interests of working people.” It was a coincidence, of course, but as you here are well aware, that was the first anniversary of the assault on the Moncada barracks, the act that sounded the opening shots of the revolutionary war against the U.S.-backed Batista tyranny.<sup>2</sup>

The U.S. economy at the time was in one of its cyclical recessions—something far different from the profound crisis of production, trade, and finance that the capitalist system worldwide is in the opening years of today. With unemployment relatively high and household cash tight, working women in 1954 were spending less on cosmetics. Profits of many big companies were sagging, and the cosmetics manufacturers were ramping up an advertising campaign to convince women they just *had to have* some new color of lipstick or magical skin cream to make themselves sexually desirable and to be able to compete successfully with other women in selling their labor power.

The editor of the *Militant*, Joseph Hansen, published a very humorous

# ‘As though it were written today’

The following is the text of a presentation by Isabel Moya, a leader of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) and director of its publishing house, Editorial de la Mujer, at a February 14 panel presentation in Havana to launch a Spanish translation of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*.

## BY ISABEL MOYA

“Is the use of cosmetics worth the attention of a Marxist?”

—Jack Bustelo

“Naked or clothed, dressed in linen or polyester, shaved, plucked, tattooed, painted, adorned with pearls or ceramic beads, siliconed, liposuctioned, covered with visible or invisible scars, with piercings in the most unimaginable places, dyed, bleached, with gray hair, highlights, subjected to diets and sessions at the gym or abandoned to the reign of carbohydrates and fat, the human body is a representation, an expression of one’s self and of other men and women.”

I wrote these reflections for the article “This body trimmed in beautiful things,” which appears in a book [*Macho, varón, masculine*—Macho, male, masculine—by Julio César González Pagés] that was also presented here a few days ago. However, the debate about the body and women, and in particular

about the dictates and control exercised over them, which could appear very much something belonging to the third millennium, sparked a debate more than half a century ago in the New York workers paper, the *Militant*, and continued in a bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

This debate is available in the book we are presenting today, *Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer* [Cosmetics, fashions, and the exploitation of women], by Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, and Mary-Alice Waters. Waters, who is with us this afternoon, wrote an enlightening preface that explains the context in which the debate occurred.

This book has several merits, in my opinion. First, it takes up the issue of the control of women’s bodies in the framework of the reproduction of patriarchal values during the explosive development of the consumerist phase of imperialism—a phase that today, paradoxically, has reached its highest expression and its deepest structural crisis.

Although we know that promises of youth and beauty go back to the origins of humanity, the exalted expression in advertising today—which promise youth and beauty not only from creams and all kinds of alchemy but also from surgery—emerged in its modern form in the 1950s.

In addition, the debate applies Marxist feminist analysis and a class perspective to the woman question. This is extremely useful in our context, where some men and women still see feminism as something foreign and of dubious origin and importance.

I must acknowledge that, unlike some of his contemporaries, I very much enjoyed the irony of the article by Joseph Hansen (alias Jack Bustelo). It hit a nerve, preparing the way for important essays, “The Woman Question and the Marxist Method” by Evelyn Reed and “The Fetish of Cosmetics” by Hansen himself, which are printed in this book.

The inclusion of letters from women readers, not just those of theorists, offer a rich example of how the ruling powers get the exploited classes to internalize views about female beauty that the ruling powers themselves developed; and how, at the same time, obeying this cultural mandate is required for entering the labor market.

In the Cuban context, where there are more and more gender studies programs—we now have some 33 women’s or gender studies programs, various master’s degrees, and dozens of related theses—this book enables us to approach the issue from a Marxist perspective.

But the part of the debate that perhaps

**Continued on page 11**

**Continued on page 10**



# Not women against men

Continued from page 9

and at the same time a very serious article about the “marketing” plans of the so-called “merchants of beauty.” Most readers of the paper loved it, but a few responded with angry letters accusing the author of making fun of women. The use of cosmetics was a woman’s “right,” they argued; working women were only seeking a little beauty in their lives.

The lively, sometimes heated debate that ensued in the pages of the *Militant*, and then in a discussion bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party, went deep into the real historical, the real class questions involved.

In our class-divided society, it is not working people who determine what is considered beautiful or moral or true. The worldwide standards promoted—or better, professed—by the imperialist ruling classes are imposed on us, as part of maintaining and justifying their rule.

Hansen wasn’t making fun of women for using cosmetics. To the contrary. The *Militant* article was exposing where the compulsion all of us live under—women and men—comes from and why such questions, far from being frivolous, are questions of great concern to working people.

The end product of the debate, published here as *Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer*, can accurately be described as a textbook in fundamentals of communism and class struggle.

## Commodity fetishism

I want to underscore two questions among many that could be emphasized.

First, one of the most enjoyable articles in this collection is Joseph Hansen’s “The Fetish of Cosmetics.” It is in fact a popular introduction to Marx’s *Capital*—a book that is not only the most comprehensive critique of political economy that exists, but the best book ever written to help us understand women’s oppression and the struggle to end it.

Hansen succeeds in rendering the seeming mystery of what Marx calls “commodity fetishism” understandable even to the newest reader.

The ways in which the owners of capital, with total calculation, target the economic, social, and sexual insecurities of women—and those of adolescents as well—to sell products and maximize profits is a lesson you won’t forget.

Hansen asks the rhetorical question: “Has the bourgeoisie ever gone about cultivating the fetish of commodities

more cold-bloodedly than American big business?” Those of us who continue to live and work under its daily bombardment have no doubt of the answer.

Moreover, the siren song of the commodity fetish has become an imperialist weapon, like none other, against peoples across the earth. Already a hundred fifty years ago, the *Communist Manifesto* described this reality with unmatched eloquence:

The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which [the bourgeoisie] batters down all Chinese walls.... It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.<sup>3</sup>

Today more than ever, those prices, that cynical cultivation of “demand” for must-have brand-name products of capitalist industry, are the heavy artillery aimed at Cuba. It is a battle we confront with full knowledge of the stakes for working people the world over.

## A working-class battle

Secondly, at the center of *Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer* is the class question. The fight for women’s emancipation is not a battle of women against men. It is a class battle, a battle between those who own no property and those who own and control the land, the mines and factories, and who expropriate for themselves the product of our social labor.

The second-class status of women as a sex is not rooted in biology or “human nature.” It was born only a few thousand years ago, a microsecond in the history of the human species. It emerged in bloody battles out of which a handful of men established their domination over others, men and women alike, and women themselves were reduced to a form of property.

Most important for us: as it was born, so shall it die.

The forms and expressions of women’s oppression have evolved and changed over the millennia. In today’s capitalist world, we are generally not bought, sold, and traded like cattle or slaves. Some women are even allotted positions of leadership at the head of giant capitalist corporations, bourgeois “charitable” foundations and educational institutions, and imperialist government ministries.

But women remain the second sex, and the elimination of that status will never be achieved as long as class-divided societies exist. It will only be achieved along the road we are fighting to make our own—through socialist revolution.

## ‘Measure of general emancipation’

As Marx emphasized so clearly in one of his earliest works, citing what he called “the masterly characterization of marriage” by utopian socialist writer Charles Fourier:

The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women toward freedom.... The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation.<sup>4</sup>

*The natural measure of general emancipation!*

And the caliber of a revolutionary leadership today can always be measured with the same yardstick—by



Militant photos: Mark Satinoff, Naomi Craine  
Left, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, signs books after Havana book fair panel. Waters also spoke to journalism class of international students in Cuba, where lively discussion took place on fight for abortion rights in Latin America and whether socialist revolution is possible in the United States. Above, march to defend women’s right to choose, November 1971 in New York City.

how they act on that reality.

That is where the example of the Cuban Revolution, since its beginning, has been unique. And it remains so today.

The course fought for by the forces led by Fidel—from Moncada and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon<sup>5</sup> on; the course set by the thousands of women in the *sierra* and the *llano*, the mountains and the plains, who put their lives on the line in countless missions during the revolutionary war; the course set from the beginning by the FMC under Vilma’s leadership;<sup>6</sup> the course set by Cuba’s proletarian internationalism.

These are acts that have confirmed and reconfirmed the class character of the Cuban Revolution and its leadership for more than half a century.

And I would add that the presence here today of compañero Fernández, vice president of the Council of Ministers, to celebrate the publication of a book such as this—*something that would be inconceivable in any other*

*country of the world*—is but a registration of that class course and leadership caliber of the Cuban Revolution.

No one claims the work is done, least of all those of us here. But one scorecard has already been filled in. In a few short decades, women—and men—in Cuba, as they fought to advance the socialist revolution, conquered the economic and social ground that it took women in what are today the imperialist countries a century and a half to cover.

Above all, the people of Cuba, unlike anywhere else in the world today, have in their hands a government of the working class, the most powerful weapon possible *to use* in fighting to end every aspect of the millennia-old oppression of women, once and for all.

This is but one of the conquests we will be celebrating on April 16.

We hope the book we are presenting today will make a small but useful contribution in arming us in face of the battles that lie ahead.

## Recommended reading

## Capital by Karl Marx

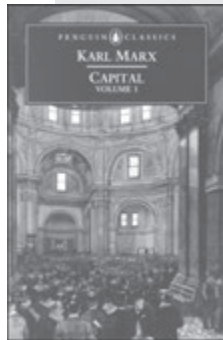
“Marx’s *Capital* is not only the most comprehensive critique of political economy that exists, but the best book ever written to help us understand women’s oppression and the struggle to end it.”

—Mary-Alice Waters at the 2011 Havana International Book Fair

Volumes 1-3 \$18 each. Order from:

**pathfinderpress.com**

Or see page 6 for distributor near you



1. On April 17, 1961, 1,500 Cuban mercenaries deployed by Washington invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast. In fewer than 72 hours of combat, they were defeated by Cuba’s revolutionary militias, armed forces, and police at Playa Girón (Girón beach), as the battle is known in Cuba. Two days before the invasion, a U.S.-organized bombing of three Cuban airfields resulted in the deaths of seven Cubans and the wounding of 53 others. In response, Prime Minister Fidel Castro explained to a mass mobilization in Havana on April 16 that what the U.S. imperialist government “cannot forgive is the dignity, the integrity, the courage, the firmness of ideas, the spirit of sacrifice, and the revolutionary spirit of the people of Cuba. . . . What they cannot forgive is that we have made a socialist revolution right under the very nose of the United States!”
2. On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro led an attack on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba, which marked the beginning of the revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista. After the attack’s failure, Batista’s forces massacred more than 50 captured revolutionaries. Castro and

- others were captured, tried, and sentenced to prison. They were released in May 1955 after a public defense campaign forced Batista’s regime to issue an amnesty.
3. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970, 1987, 2008), p. 36 [2010 printing].
4. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, “The Holy Family,” in *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), vol. 4, p. 196.
5. A female combat unit of Cuba’s Rebel Army, founded September 1958. It was named after an ardent supporter of Cuban independence, eight of whose sons died fighting Spanish colonial rule. One of those sons was Antonio Maceo, known as the Bronze Titan, a legendary general of the independence army, killed in battle in 1896.
6. Vilma Espín (1930–2007), was a founding member of the July 26 Revolutionary Movement and, together with Frank País, leader of the underground in Santiago de Cuba. She joined the Rebel Army in July 1958. Espín served as president of the Federation of Cuban Women from its foundation in 1960 and was a member of Cuban Communist Party Central Committee from 1965 until her death.



# All out for actions to defend unions!

Continued from front page

the bosses and capitalist government to place the burden of *their* economic crisis onto *our* backs. The mobilizations in Wisconsin are making a statement that working people can *act* to defend our interests. “We will not go quietly” is how one young worker’s sign outside the Ohio State House put it.

Democrats and Republicans alike demand that working people “share the sacrifice,” as deteriorating economic conditions exact a rising toll—long-term joblessness, speed-up and job injuries, and cuts in social services we depend on. And these same politicians are out to strangle the only organizations workers now have to defend ourselves—our unions.

Working people need to reject arguments by the bosses’ government and political parties, too often echoed by the labor officialdom, that workers in “these tough times” must give up hard-fought gains in wages, health and pension benefits, and protection against arbitrary layoffs and firings. Bowing to false appeals for “equality of sacrifice” only strengthens the hand of the wealthy ruling families against all working people—workers for public and private bosses; union and currently nonunion; employed and unemployed. As a farmer building the March

12 tractorcade heading to Madison said, “busting unions will only make all of us more desperate.”

The ongoing mobilizations are having an impact on politics in the United States and beyond. Working people are gaining confidence. Union members and the unorganized alike are getting to know who our fellow fighters are. Making these connections, and finding ways to deepen them in action, is how a new and combative leadership of the labor movement will develop.

The *Militant* is an invaluable tool for working-class fighters to help build solidarity and raise consciousness about our class interests. Take a bundle with you to sell to other workers and youth at these protests. Introduce them to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, as well as other books and pamphlets by revolutionary leaders of the working-class movement in this country and around the world.

Gov. Scott Walker in Wisconsin, and his counterparts in Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, California, New York, and elsewhere—and the powerful capitalist interests they represent—aren’t about to give up. Working people can’t either. The *Militant* urges our readers, including the many just now signing up as subscribers, to actively join this fight.

# ‘Must have’ cosmetics and fashions

Continued from page 8

to end it” (see her talk on page 9).

At the heart of this book “is the class question,” she said. The fight for women’s emancipation is not a battle of women against men—it is “a battle between those who own no property and those who own and control the land, the mines, and factories, and expropriate for themselves the product of our social labor.” Women’s oppression, a cornerstone of class society, will be eliminated only along the road of a socialist revolution.

Waters pointed to the example of Cuba, where workers took state power some 50 years ago and “have in their hands a government of the working class, the most powerful weapon possible to use” in fighting to end women’s second-class status.

Members of the audience purchased 52 copies of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, as well as other Pathfinder titles. The event was among those featured that evening in the coverage of the fair on national TV.

Two days later Waters spoke to a class of 40 stu-

dents—mostly women, from across Latin America and from Spain—taught by Moya at the José Martí International Institute for Journalism. A lively discussion ensued not only on the fight for a woman’s right to abortion—from Mexico to Colombia, Brazil, and Chile—but on whether a socialist revolution in the United States is possible.

There were numerous presentations at the book fair of titles on the struggle for women’s equality. These included a new edition of *Mujeres y la revolución* (Women and the revolution), a collection of speeches by Fidel Castro, edited by the leadership of the Federation of Cuban Women; *Género y transgresión mediática* (Gender and media transgressions) by Isabel Moya; *Macho, varón, masculino* (Macho, male, masculine) by Julio César González Pagés; and *Ser mujer científica o morir en el intento* (To be a woman scientist or die trying) by Lilliam Alvarez.

Naomi Craine and Doug Nelson contributed to this article.

# ‘As though it were written today’

Continued from page 9

moved me the most, and that I think could be an inspiration for the Cuban people in general and for specialists in particular, are the speculations sketched in the pages of this book about what beauty will mean under socialism, about how women’s bodies will be valued in the new society. . . .

As Hansen himself writes, this type of debate should not be seen as something secondary or subordinate. I quote: “What we have in cosmetics is a fetish, a particular fetish in the general fetishism that exists in the world of commodities. The special power that cosmetics have derives from the fact that in addition to economic relations, sexual relations attach to them. That is the real source of the ‘beauty’ both men and women see in cosmetics.”

*Los cosméticos, las modas y la explotación de la mujer* is a book that could be approached as work of philosophy, esthetics, economics, or gender studies—or perhaps as a bibliography. In my opinion, however,

it is above all intended to provoke an ongoing debate in theory, in political practice, and in daily life—a debate both on how we relate to each other and on the communications media.

In the midst of the proliferation of so much garbage in the media, Evelyn Reed’s analysis seems as though it were written today. I quote: “Our task, therefore, is to expose both the capitalist system as the source of these evils and its massive propaganda machine which tells women that the road to a successful life and love is through the purchase of things. To condone or accept capitalist standards in any field—from politics to cosmetics—is to prop up and perpetuate this ruthless profit system and its continued victimization of women.”

In her own way, a Cuban woman with a universal outlook, Dulce María Loynaz, also demanded, as does Reed, the right of women to their diverse and multiple beings.

If you love me, love me whole,  
not by zones of light or shadow . . .

If you love me, love me black  
and white, and gray and green,  
and blonde and dark . . .

Love me by day,  
love me by night . . .

And by morning in the open window!

If you love me, don’t break me in pieces:

Love me whole . . . or don’t love me at all!

# Guantánamo

Continued from front page

now dead in the water. The precedents set through such trials—with guilty verdicts and executions predicted by the administration before any evidence is presented—would have further undermined rights of the accused and strengthened the hand of the capitalist state against working people.

About 80 of the 170 men being held in Guantánamo will face military tribunals on various “terrorism” charges. Among the rest are some who have already been cleared for release but no country, including the United States, has agreed to take them. Others include a number of Yemeni prisoners that Washington refuses to send back home following a thwarted terrorist attack on a U.S. flight in 2009 by a Nigerian man who allegedly trained in Yemen; and at least 48 prisoners that the government plans to hold indefinitely without any form of due process because the threat of their release is supposedly too great.

Among the first prisoners likely to appear in front of a military commission is Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, who is accused of planning the bombing of the USS *Cole* off the coast of Yemen in 2000. Before being brought to Guantánamo in 2006 Nashiri was tortured at secret CIA prisons in Thailand and Poland, according to lawyers seeking to defend him.

A centerpiece of President Obama’s latest executive order is the provision to periodically review the status of detainees held at the Guantánamo prison. This provision is especially designed to dampen criticism of the indefinite detentions of prisoners whom the administration does not plan to put on trial because it has no evidence against them, or because it doesn’t want to divulge how the charges against the prisoners were put together.

But event if one of the reviews determines that a prisoner should be released, there is no requirement that he actually be freed.

# Wisconsin protest

Continued from page 4

Eau Claire, Wisconsin, told the *Militant*.

Transit workers from Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Minnesota were part of an Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) contingent. Glenn Talbert, who came on a bus of ATU Local 26 members from Detroit, said, “Wisconsin workers have made a great start, we stand with them.”

Two busloads of hotel workers came from Chicago with Unite Here Local 1. There were signs identifying union pipe fitters and steamfitters. Laborers union members from Wisconsin and surrounding states were there in brightly colored T-shirts. Fifty workers from the sheet metal workers union at the Greenheck Fan plant in Wausau, Wisconsin, came. It was their first time at the capitol protests. United Auto Workers members from the Oshkosh, Wisconsin, truck plant joined the protest.

Along with union members there were many workers who aren’t organized. Carmen Healy came from Sterling, Illinois, and carried a sign saying, “Non-union and pro-union.” On March 6 thousands again gathered in the capitol. Many members of the National Association of Letter Carriers came from nearby states, including three busloads from Minnesota, 150 from Chicago, and 50 from Des Plaines, Illinois.

In his budget report Walker proposed ending insurance coverage for birth control. “It’s a war on workers’ rights, a war on women’s rights,” said Madison teacher Richard Moran. “Under Walker’s bill health insurance no longer has to cover contraception. Firefighters and cops are exempt from the bill, but teachers and nurses are not, and the majority of them are women.”

“It’s taking away from those that have the least voice,” said Lori Brown, a nurse from Weyauwega, Wisconsin.

A national group that backs the Walker’s budget bill, Americans for Prosperity, organized a 10-city bus tour through Wisconsin to drum up support. Called “Stand Against Spending. Stand with Walker,” the tour drew 100 people to a March 5 event in Hudson, Wisconsin. Some 350 pro-union counterprotesters outnumbered them.

THE MILITANT

online

www.themilitant.com