

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Three years later: how capitalist greed caused Katrina disaster  
— PAGE 6

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 72/NO.34 SEPTEMBER 1, 2008

## Calero backs immigrant rights in Delaware

BY JOHN STUDER

GEORGETOWN, Delaware—“There is no ‘immigration problem,’” Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, told a group of workers here August 16.

“The rulers in this country want to pit workers against each other, to drive down wages, and worsen the conditions of all. Immigrant workers don’t take jobs away from anybody,” said Calero. The solution is not restricting immigration, in fact immigrants’ struggles strengthen the working class, added the socialist candidate. “The solution is in uniting together, immigrant and U.S.-born, to fight for union protection and jobs for all.”

Calero and his running mate, Alyson Kennedy, were certified for the Delaware ballot in June. Many people the socialist candidate spoke to were glad to hear a working-class candidate was participating in the presiden-

Continued on page 5

## Russian troops out of Georgia!

Working people everywhere should condemn Moscow’s invasion of Georgia and call for the unconditional withdrawal of all Russian troops from that country now. That is the course that is in the interests of workers and farmers in Georgia, the entire Caucasus region, Russia, and worldwide.

As Russian troops continue to dig in and build permanent military structures in Georgia, the bureaucratic regime in Moscow seeks to reassert its domination in the region. The invading force is protecting the interests of the privileged

### EDITORIAL

layer of wannabe capitalists in Russia. In doing so, the regime led by former KGB thug Vladimir Putin is continuing the Great Russian chauvinist policies of the Stalinist regime that for decades ruled the Soviet Union.

Russian forces, with the aid of the misnamed “peacekeeping” troops from the imperialist-led Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, have been stationed in South Ossetia since 1992 and in Abkhazia since 1994, under the pretext of ending the armed conflicts

Continued on page 9



Reuters/Denis Sinyakov

Russian tank rolls past house set on fire by Moscow-backed Ossetian forces in Georgian village outside the South Ossetian capital of Tskhinvali, August 18.

## Invading Russian troops dig in

BY SETH GALINSKY AND SAM MANUEL

Despite statements that they would withdraw from Georgia, Russian troops are still digging in.

Russian soldiers fortified positions at the entrance of Georgia’s main Black Sea port in the city of Poti, according to the August 21 *Washington Post*. They dug trenches, set up mortar stations, and blocked a key bridge with armored personnel carriers.

They also dug permanent structures, including earthen berms with barbed wire, on the road between Gori and Tskhinvali, capital of South Ossetia. In other parts of Georgia, Russian troops continued to destroy Georgian military equipment and bases.

“This is the buffer zone,” Anatoly Nogovitsyn, deputy chief of the Russian military’s general staff, declared at an August 19 news conference. He pointed to a map showing a swath of Georgian territory stretching from South Ossetia to the region of Abkhazia, effectively dividing Georgia in half. The country is

Continued on page 3

## SWP candidate: New Orleans needs public works program



Militant/Jacquie Henderson

SWP vice presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy speaks to residents at the B.W. Cooper Housing projects in New Orleans, Louisiana. Officials are demolishing workers’ housing, such as this project, while refusing to replace it with adequate, new, affordable housing.

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON AND AMANDA ULMAN

NEW ORLEANS—“New Orleans shows the true ‘values’ of the ruling billionaire families. This city is still devastated three years after Hurricane Katrina,” said Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party vice presidential candidate.

Speaking to campaign supporters here August 11 in the city’s Bywater District, Kennedy called for a massive, federally funded public works program to put people to work at union-scale wages, constructing and repairing

schools, houses, hospitals, roads, and other needed services.

The socialist candidate visited New Orleans several days before traveling to Baton Rouge, where she and campaign supporters filed for ballot status in Louisiana. The SWP became the first party to place its presidential ticket on the ballot here.

Civil rights activist Eloise Williams, a retired health-care worker, took Kennedy through the Algiers neighborhood on the west bank of the Mississippi River. Pieces of a barge that hit a tanker July

Continued on page 2

## Workers at Virginia airport protest raid

BY SETH DELLINGER

FAIRFAX, Virginia—Chanting “Stop the raids and deportations!” some 60 people held a picket line outside the Immigration and Customs Enforcement offices here August 13 to protest the arrest of 42 construction workers at Dulles International Airport.

More than 200 individuals were stopped at an ICE checkpoint at the airport that morning. All those arrested were detained for immigration violations.

“We want due process,” Jessica Alvarez, a leader of the National Capital Immigrant Coalition, told the crowd that protested the arrests. “We demand that these workers be given their day in court here in Virginia.”

Ricardo Gallardo of Mexicanos sin

Continued on page 5

## U.S. ally Musharraf steps down in Pakistan

BY BEN JOYCE

Threatened with impeachment by opposition politicians, Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf resigned from his post August 18. Many within the U.S. ruling class are concerned about the repercussions this will have on the stability of Islamabad as a key ally to Washington in its “war on terror.”

Musharraf’s resignation comes after a long campaign by opposition parties to oust him. By August 13, three of four Pakistani provincial assemblies passed resolutions demanding that Musharraf

Continued on page 4

### Also Inside:

- Wars against Chechnya reveal Moscow’s chauvinism 3
- Nader runs on procapitalist reform platform 4
- Washington meeting backs release of Sami al-Arian 5
- Anti-immigrant bill defeated in Nebraska town 9



# Kennedy in New Orleans

Continued from front page

23 and closed the river for six days were still being hauled to the shore, leaving a heavy smell of oil in the air.

“We have high rates of cancer in this area,” Williams said. “We have fought for compensation and we are still fighting to expose the city and the chemical companies for their total disregard for communities.”

### Decline in public schools

Williams pointed to boarded-up schools left largely untouched since the hurricane. “That one’s been closed since Katrina,” she explained. “That one is a closed public school that is now opening as a charter school.”

Teachers organized protests in the months following Katrina, charging their union was being broken by the city’s refusal to support public schools. Now more than half the schools that are open in the city are charter schools, which receive a mixture of public and private funds. They have no union teachers.

Sam Jackson introduced Kennedy to his neighbors at the B.W. Cooper housing complex. Across the street, a field of rubble sat where until a few months ago most of the apartments stood. City and federal officials agreed last year to demolish 4,605 public housing apartments and replace them with only 744 low-income units. Jackson is part of a fight to prevent further demolitions.

Most of downtown New Orleans and the better-off areas have been lavishly restored, while many working-class neighborhoods are still devastated. This is especially true in areas where Black workers lived and owned houses, such as the lower Ninth Ward, where block after block is now simply fields of weeds.

Jackson pointed out the Danziger Bridge over the Industrial Canal. “That is where the cops shot six people, killing two of them, a few days after the levee broke,” he explained. A New Orleans judge dismissed charges against the seven cops August 13.

Survivors of the shooting and other witnesses have described how unarmed pedestrians on the bridge were killed by cops who jumped out of the back of a rental truck and started shooting. Police claim they were shot at first, but no gun was ever found that was connected to the pedestrians.

Howard Allen, a retired member of the seafarers union and one of the many New Orleans workers who aided fellow residents during the hurricane and its aftermath, said that he is glad Kennedy and her running mate are union fighters who promote building a labor party.

A labor party based on a fighting union movement will not only contest against the Democrats, Republicans, and other capitalist parties, Kennedy said, but will also mobilize workers and farmers by the millions to resist the attacks of the employers and their government.

### Profitable ‘nonprofits’

Kennedy’s proposal for a public works program also received a warm welcome.

“We need that,” said Mike Howells, an elector for the party. Howells said there were some hurricane cleanup jobs for a while that paid decently. But then thousands of volunteers were brought here from churches and profitable “non-profits.” Many of the jobs disappeared and wages were driven down.

“What’s to prevent governments from stealing the money?” asked Cody Marshall. Earlier in the day it was revealed



Militant/Jacquie Henderson

From left to right: Sam Jackson and Eloise Williams discuss politics in a New Orleans restaurant with Socialist Workers Party vice presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy and Amanda Ulman, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Texas’ 9th District.

that the New Orleans Affordable Homeownership Corp., a “nonprofit” supervised and financed by Mayor Ray Nagin’s administration, had been billing for millions of dollars of home building work that had not been done by its contractors.

“Open the books,” responded Ken-

nedy. “When elected, Róger Calero and I will appoint trusted union fighters to oversee agencies like this.”

*Jacquie Henderson is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas. Amanda Ulman is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Texas’ 9th District.*

## Florida daily: Socialist Workers Party has ‘moxie’

BY MAGGIE TROWE

MIAMI—Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers vice presidential candidate, held a press conference in Tallahassee August 14 after filing to put her name, along with that of SWP presidential candidate Róger Calero, on the Florida ballot.

The Sarasota *Herald Tribune* wrote an article August 17 commenting on the impact of parties other than the Democrats and Republicans on the presidential race in Florida. Libertarian Bob Barr, the paper said, “could play a Nader-like spoiler role by taking hardcore conservatives away from McCain. We’re less sure about the impact of the Socialist Workers Party, but we admire their moxie.

“The party’s vice presidential candidate, Alyson Kennedy, had a press conference in Tallahassee last week touting their presidential candidate, Roger Calero. The party’s platform includes requiring ‘federal legislation to shorten the work week with no cut in pay’ and a push to ‘nationalize

the energy industry and run it under workers’ control.’

“The SWP had a pretty nice flier,” the article continued, “slicker than many we’ve seen from mainstream candidates, that solicits campaign contributions of up to \$750 and allows interested voters to ‘invite the socialist candidates to speak at my union, school or organization.’”

Kennedy participated in a candidate forum in Lake Worth August 16, sponsored by the Florida Immigrant Coalition and others. Her statement that the Calero-Kennedy administration will fight for nothing short of immediate, unconditional legalization of all immigrants received applause.

Kennedy was the featured speaker at the grand opening of the socialists’ new campaign headquarters in Miami August 17. The offices are located in Liberty City, a working-class district of Miami with a large African American population. Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in District 21, chaired the meeting.

## THE MILITANT

### Stakes in Russian invasion of Georgia

*The ‘Militant’ offers a working-class perspective on the Russian invasion of Georgia and the stakes for working people in the region. Don’t miss a single issue!*



Russian tanks roll through a town near the Georgian border on their way to South Ossetia.

## 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

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION PHONE

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

## The Militant

Vol. 72/No. 34

Closing news date: August 22, 2008

Editor: Cindy Jaquith

Business Manager: Angel Lariscy

Washington correspondent: Sam Manuel

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Ved Dookhun, Seth Galinsky, Ben Joyce, Martin Koppel, Doug Nelson, Ben O’Shaughnessy

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

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

Fax: (212) 244-4947

E-mail: [themilitant@mac.com](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 subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address.

**Africa, Asia, and the Middle East:** Send \$65 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

**Canada:** Send Canadian \$45 for one-year subscription to the Militant, 7105 St. Hubert, Suite 106F, Montreal, Quebec. H2S 2N1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# Invading Russian troops dig into Georgia

Continued from front page

slightly smaller than South Carolina.

Nogovitsyn claims a cease-fire agreement gives Russian forces the right “to move and occupy the borders of the zone.”

The six-point “cease-fire” was crammed down the throat of the Georgian government by Paris and Washington.

A Georgian official said French president Nicolas Sarkozy told the Georgians they had to accept the August 12 agreement because otherwise a Russian tank assault on the capital could ensue.

U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice flew to Tbilisi to strong-arm the Georgian government into signing the accord. She brought a side letter signed by Sarkozy that “clarified” that the accord allows the Russian forces to stay in South Ossetia and Abkhazia and to “implement additional security measures.”

Rice hammered Georgian president Mikhail Saakashvili during a nearly five-hour meeting. According to press reports, he emerged shaken and almost in tears. He agreed to sign.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* the revised accord allows Russian troops that were in South Ossetia before the fighting broke out “to stay and to patrol temporarily in a strip of up to 6.2 miles” deeper inside Georgian territory.

Moscow claimed its invasion was necessary to defend South Ossetia and Abkhazia, two regions that have declared independence from Georgia. On August 14, Russian president Dmitry Medvedev met with South Ossetian president Eduard Kokoity and Abkhazian president Sergei Bagapsh in Moscow to call for international recognition of the independence of the two regions.

Kokoity, formerly the head of the Stalinist Communist Youth in Tskhinvali, won the presidency in 2001 in elections that were not recognized outside of Moscow. Kokoity admits that 23,000 Georgians have been forced out of South Ossetia. “We do not intend to allow them back,” he said August 15.

Bagapsh spent most of his political career inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Abkhazia’s independence was declared in 1992 after a war that ended in the expulsion of 300,000 Georgians from Abkhazia and the election of Bagapsh, first as prime minister

and then as president.

## Russian domination of Georgia

From the time of the tsars, Russia has been a prisonhouse of nations. Except during the early years of the Russian revolution—under the leadership of the Bolsheviks led by V.I. Lenin—Georgia faced chauvinist domination by governments based in Russia. That domination continues today.

Thirty-one percent of Georgia’s 4.5 million people live below the official poverty line. Until the advance of cellular service, which now reaches the entire country, only 4 out of 100 people in the countryside had phone access. Even with the rising tensions between Moscow and Tbilisi, 50 percent or more of Georgia’s economy is owned by Russian businesses, according to the Association for Economic Security of Georgia.

Remittances from up to 1 million Georgians who live in more industrially advanced Russia reached \$558 million in 2007.

More than half of Georgia’s labor force works in agriculture, which includes grapes, citrus fruits, and hazelnuts. There are also small manganese and copper mines which employ

8,600 workers.

Once part of the Silk Road between Europe and Asia, Georgia continues to be an important transit point for everything from stockings to eggs shipped from Turkey to the former Soviet Union.

## Georgian gov’t looks to Washington

Saakashvili, after he was elected president of Georgia in January 2004, moved to deepen ties with Washington and accelerate capitalist investment.

Moscow was not pleased with con-

struction of the 1,000-mile Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline from Azerbaijan to Georgia, which began operation in 2006, along with a natural gas line. The pipelines weakened Russian control of energy in the region.

Moscow also saw a challenge to its power when U.S. president George Bush pushed for both Georgia and Ukraine to begin the road to membership in NATO, the U.S.-led imperialist military alliance.

Russian leader Vladimir Putin blunt-

Continued on page 7



## Wars in Chechnya revealed Moscow’s chauvinism

BY BEN JOYCE

Russian officials peddle Moscow’s invasion of Georgia as a defense of the rights of the Ossetian people. However, the brutality of the Russian government’s wars against the people of Chechnya in the 1990s displayed Moscow’s real stance toward the rights of oppressed peoples.

Chechnya’s population is largely Muslim, and is situated along Georgia’s northeastern border in the Caucasus mountain region. The toilers in Chechnya have a long history of resistance to Russian domination.

In the early 1990s, the Stalinist bureaucratic regimes of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union shattered, creating a new opening for the struggle of the Chechen people. Chechnya declared its independence in 1991.

On Dec. 11, 1994, 40,000 Russian troops invaded Chechnya in what then-president Boris Yeltsin of Russia claimed was a war against “Islamic

fanaticism.” Washington and other imperialist powers backed Moscow’s action with an eye toward suppressing political unrest in the region that could upset plans to restore capitalist property relations. They said the invasion was an “internal affair.”

Chechens continued to resist Russian military incursions through 1996, when Yeltsin was forced to sign a cease-fire agreement, granting Chechnya de facto self-government.

Despite the agreement, Moscow did not officially recognize Chechen independence and launched another invasion in 1999, deploying 100,000 troops this time.

Sustained shelling throughout both conflicts left Chechnya’s capital in ruins. During a Dec. 16, 2000, invasion of that city, thousands of Chechen fighters defended the city against Russian tanks and military personnel. On March 3, 2000, United Nations personnel described the aftermath as a “devastated and still insecure wasteland, littered with grenades and bodies.”

The 11,000 hospital beds in the country in the early 1990s had been reduced to 2,200 by 2000. The oil industry, which had previously employed 6,000 workers, was now reduced to a workforce of 500.

Some 30,000 Chechens were killed in the course of Moscow’s two invasions.

Under tsarist rule, the peoples of the Caucasus, including Ukrainians, Jews, Central Asian peoples, and others were denied basic rights of

language, religion, and control of cultural, economic, and political affairs.

The October 1917 Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution decisively ended the tsarist empire and broke the domination of capitalist and landlord social relations. The Bolsheviks championed the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities, which was a decisive element in the alliance between workers and peasants—a driving force of the revolution. Federation in the new union of socialist republics was on a voluntary basis, with nations having the right to secede.

However, a political counterrevolution led by a bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin reversed this course. Chechnya retained formal autonomy, but in reality was subject to police repression and political dominance by Moscow.

## How Lenin fought to defend Georgia’s self-determination

*The Pathfinder book Lenin’s Final Fight contains valuable documentary material on the place of Georgia and the national question in the battle by V.I. Lenin to defend the communist course of the October 1917 Russian Revolution against challenges raised by a narrow, nationalist, petty-bourgeois layer that arose in the Soviet Union led by Joseph Stalin.*

Printed below is an excerpt from a review of Lenin’s Final Fight that appeared in the June 5, 1995, Militant.

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Readers will find it hard to put down this book as they follow Lenin’s struggle week by week, sometimes day by day, taking up political issues that remain vitally relevant

today. Lenin discusses questions including the need to forge a union of workers and peasants republics, to defend the rights of oppressed nationalities and combat Great Russian chauvinism, and to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. He takes up the New Economic Policy and its place in the world struggle for socialism, and defends the state monopoly of foreign trade.

These questions, as the book’s introduction notes, “deal with the most decisive piece of unfinished business in front of those who produce the wealth of the world and make possible culture: they deal with the worldwide struggle, opened by the Bolshevik-led

Continued on page 9



Associated Press

Overhead view of downtown Grozny, taken on January 6, 1996, showing the devastation caused by Moscow’s forces.



Nader runs on procapitalist reform election platform

BY BEN JOYCE

Ralph Nader is campaigning for U.S. president as an “anticorporate” alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. As in his previous presidential campaigns, his candidacy seeks to pressure the Democratic Party to take a more “progressive” direction. The economic nationalist policies he advocates, from protectionism to scapegoating immigrants, has also drawn support from some right-wing elements.

On August 2 Nader won the nomination of the Peace and Freedom Party in California, which acts as a “left” pressure group on the Democrats. In other states he is seeking ballot status as an “independent.” Nader, who built his early career as a “consumer advocate,” ran for president in 1996 and 2000 on the Green Party ticket, garnering nearly 3 million votes in the latter. In 2004, he ran as an independent and won about 400,000 votes. In that race, not backed by the Greens, he won ballot status in several states with the endorsement of the Reform Party, a group founded by rightist Ross Perot.

This year Nader’s campaign is running a similar procapitalist campaign. While criticizing the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, he says that “I see Obama being better on some domestic issues than McCain,” and goes on to offer a reform program of “cracking down on corporate crime.” He advocates a smaller

U.S. military budget and a “rapid, negotiated withdrawal from Iraq.” He has previously advocated a “modest” military intervention in Afghanistan.

Blaming immigrant workers for unemployment, in an interview posted on YouTube in March, Nader called for controlling “our borders.” A July 9 column by right-winger Jack Hunter in the *Charleston City Paper* praised Nader’s position and favorably quoted his statement, “I don’t like the idea of legalization because then the question is how do you prevent the next wave and the next?”

Nader calls for a protectionist trade policy he claims will secure “U.S.” jobs and preserve the “economic well-being of the American worker.” As part of his anti-China campaign he chastises U.S. companies for “outsourcing American jobs to China.”

He calls for a national public health care system modeled on the one in Canada, whose brand of capitalism he praises as an alternative to the U.S. variety.

He has been endorsed by a few middle-class radical groups such as Socialist Alternative, which in March argued on its Web site that “a strong vote for Nader could bring real pressure to bear on an Obama or Clinton presidency to deliver concessions.”

The Party for Socialism and Liberation, though running its own presidential candidate, Gloria La Riva, praises Nader as an “alternative progressive candidate.”

U.S. ally Musharraf steps down



Pakistani journalists hold placards during a protest against the ban on electronic media in Karachi, Nov. 12, 2007.

Continued from front page resign or face impeachment.

Musharraf’s party, the Pakistan Muslim League, was largely defeated in parliamentary elections in February, giving control to an opposition coalition of the Pakistan People’s Party, led by Asif Ali Zardari, and the Pakistan Muslim League–Nawaz, led by Nawaz Sharif.

Pakistan’s parliament and the four provincial assemblies will elect the new president within 30 days.

Sharif wants Musharraf tried for treason for violating the constitution. On Nov. 3, 2007, Musharraf suspended Pakistan’s constitution, dissolved the Supreme Court and four provincial high courts, arrested hundreds of opposition leaders, and shut down privately owned news media.

Martial law imposed to meet widespread protest couldn’t stem the tide. Musharraf kept his post as president, but resigned as chief of Pakistan’s military on November 28.

An aide to Musharraf claims he obtained immunity from the coalition government prior to stepping down as president, but Law Minister Farooq Naek insisted there is no such deal, according to the Associated Press.

Zardari is expected to run for the vacated office but has not publicly said so. He, along with his late wife, former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, had previously faced multiple charges of political corruption and got those charges dropped when Musharraf arranged amnesty for Zardari and others charged with government corruption.

Already the “coalition” government is showing signs of fracture. On August 18, Sharif walked out of a meeting in protest after People’s Party representatives failed to restore Supreme Court chief justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, who had been removed by Musharraf. Sharif threatened that the

Muslim League would leave the coalition government unless Chaudry is returned. Zardari supports the chief justice imposed by Musharraf in November largely because Chaudry might reverse the amnesty granted to Zardari under Musharraf.

Officials within the U.S. government are uneasy about a new president given the strategic role Pakistan plays in U.S. imperialism’s regional goals, as well as control over Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal.

The same day Musharraf stepped down, Taliban fighters killed 20 French and Afghan troops in Afghanistan. The following day, several people were killed in two separate Taliban attacks in northwest Pakistan.

The same week, missiles fired from Afghanistan struck a tribal area in Pakistan, killing at least eight people. Pakistani military officials had few

Continued on page 9

SWP presidential campaign tour schedule



Presidential candidate Róger Calero, center facing camera, speaks with participants in May Day rally demanding legalization of immigrants in Los Angeles.



Vice presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy being interviewed by a Georgia TV station April 1 at a truckers’ convoy in Atlanta protesting high fuel costs.











Presidential candidate Róger Calero

- Aug. 28–Sept. 2 Los Angeles
- September 3–5 Chicago
- September 6 Madison, WI
- September 7 Muscoda, WI
- September 10–12 Atlanta
- September 13–14 Washington, D.C.

Vice presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy

- Aug. 28–Sept. 1 Twin Cities, MN
- September 4–6 Philadelphia
- September 7–10 Boston / Burlington, VT\*
- September 12–15 Newark, NJ
- September 16–20 New York
- September 23–26 Seattle

\*filing for ballot status

Get the Socialist Workers Campaign on the Ballot!	
STATE	STATUS
 NEW YORK	PETITIONS FILED
 NEW JERSEY	✓ ON THE BALLOT!
 WASHINGTON	✓ ON THE BALLOT!
 VERMONT	PETITIONING COMPLETED
 MINNESOTA	PETITIONING COMPLETED
 LOUISIANA	✓ ON THE BALLOT!
 FLORIDA	FILED FOR BALLOT STATUS
 DELAWARE	✓ ON THE BALLOT!
 COLORADO	✓ ON THE BALLOT!
 IOWA	✓ ON THE BALLOT!



# Washington meeting backs release of Sami al-Arian

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON—More than 150 people filled the Historical Society auditorium here August 12 to protest the unjust detention of Sami al-Arian, a supporter of Palestinian self-determination. Al-Arian's latest trial, set for August 13, had just been postponed until the U.S. Supreme Court addresses his appeal.

"My father's only crime was that he was active in raising awareness of what happened to the Palestinian people," Laila al-Arian told the audience. She described how in February 2003, FBI agents burst into their home, pointing guns at her family and arresting her father.

Al-Arian was a tenured professor of computer science at the University of South Florida. He was charged with conspiracy to support terrorism. The U.S. attorney general at the time, John Ashcroft, claimed he was a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

Al-Arian spent two and a half years in solitary confinement. In December 2005 he was acquitted on 8 of 17 charges and jurors voted 10–2 in favor of acquittal on the remaining nine. But the government announced it would retry al-Arian on the remaining charges.

In April 2006 al-Arian agreed to a government plea agreement stating he had assisted Palestinians in immigration proceedings. As part of the agreement the government said it would recommend the lowest possible sentence and that he would be released to another country. The agreement also stipulated that al-Arian would not be called on to cooperate with the government in other investigations.

But in May 2006, Judge James Moody sentenced al-Arian to the maximum term—57 months.

In breach of the plea agreement, al-Arian has since been called to testify before three grand juries investigating Islamic organizations in Virginia. Al-Arian has consistently refused to testify, and for this he was charged with two counts of criminal contempt.

The Supreme Court is to decide whether the federal subpoena which led to the contempt charges was lawful. This could take several months.

Although Judge Leonie Brinkema granted al-Arian bail, Immigration and Customs Enforcement continues to hold him on the pretext that he is in the process of being deported. He has not been allowed to speak with his attorneys.

## Calero backs immigrant rights

**Continued from front page**  
tial elections.

Calero was invited to set up a campaign table by Hidalgo Wilson, a Cuban-American shopkeeper who runs a convenience store on Race Street. Many area workers shop and eat on the block.

Wilson joined Calero and invited people to stop at the table to hear about the socialist campaign.

Georgetown is located on the Delmarva peninsula, home to many of the nation's largest poultry plants as well as numerous chicken farms. The town's population of 5,000 includes a large number of immigrant workers, many from Guatemala, as well as a substantial African American community.

Calero talked to a number of workers from both the Perdue plant in Georgetown and the Mountaire Farms poultry plant in nearby Salisbury, Maryland. Workers at the Perdue plant told him about attempts to bring in a union at that plant, and about the conditions there, especially the production line speed.

Several told the campaigners that *la migra*, the hated immigration cops from the Department of Homeland Security, had made a number of arrests on the street during the last couple of days.

Calero explained that championing demonstrations for legalization of undocumented workers, like those held on May Day the last three years, is a life-and-death question for the labor movement. The employers and their government strive to divide foreign-born workers from native-born in order to weaken the labor movement, he said.

Many agreed with Calero that organizing unions and transforming them into capable fighting organizations is necessary to defend life and limb.

A young man who works as a chicken catcher for Mountaire in

Salisbury told Calero that he and his team of eight catchers are responsible for capturing and caging tens of thousands of chickens a day, while trying to avoid the birds' sharp claws and beaks.

Another shopkeeper at Joe's Market across the street took a pile of SWP campaign brochures and placed them on the front counter. He handed them out and introduced people to Calero as he campaigned at the store. A worker who stopped at the table suggested to campaign supporters making an announcement on the local Spanish-language radio station the next time they set up a table.

Over the course of the afternoon, 24 people bought copies of the *Militant* and four bought subscriptions.

## Róger Calero joins protest against raid



Militant/Tim Mailhot

FAIRFAX, Virginia—Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, joined the rally outside the offices of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement here August 13 to protest the raid earlier that day at Dulles International Airport (see article on front page).

"Our campaign has pledged to join workers in their struggles," Calero told the media there. "We are here to express our solidarity with those detained and call for their immediate release." Calero spoke with many of the immigrant workers who turned out for the rally and told them his campaign calls for an end to all raids and deportations and for immediate legalization of all undocumented workers.

—JANICE LYNN

## ICE raid at Virginia airport

**Continued from front page**

Fronteras said the detainees should not be sent to far-flung locations where it would be more difficult for them to fight their deportations and receive family visits. Workers arrested by ICE are often "lost in limbo in the jails," he said.

Gustavo Guzmán, the Bolivian ambassador to the United States, also addressed the rally. Twenty-nine of the workers arrested are Bolivian.

Daniel Arancivea, a construction worker originally from Bolivia, told the *Militant* that his son-in-law was one of those arrested. "In our country, the indigenous people are poor," Arancivea said. "We come here to work because we need the money to send back home. If I didn't send money home, my children couldn't go to school."

Rossana Torrico, 26, also from Bolivia, told *El Tiempo Latino* that

her husband Limber Orellana called her on his cell phone after being detained by ICE. But when she called to get more information, immigration cops told her to call later, giving no further explanation.

Kimberly Propeack, from the immigrant rights group Casa de Maryland, told the *Washington Post* that ICE officials at the agency's office in Fairfax City turned away a lawyer who agreed to represent the workers.

An ICE press release about the raid said, "It is crucial to ICE's homeland security mission to know who enters sensitive areas like airports, military bases and power plants to insure the integrity of these key assets." But ICE agent Mark McGraw admitted to the *Post* that there was "no indication" that any of the arrested workers "were involved in any terrorist activity at all."

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



**September 2, 1983**

MORENCI, Arizona—As the sun rose on Friday morning August 19, striking copper workers in this small mining town were greeted by the sight of seven units of the Arizona National Guard moving into place to help break their strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp.

The guardsmen rolled into town equipped with armored personnel carriers, Huey helicopters, automatic weapons, and massive supplies of tear gas. They took up positions directly on Phelps Dodge property, overlooking the gates of the mine and the union picket lines. Hundreds of state troopers outfitted in full riot gear joined them.

Although negotiations continue, national solidarity from the labor movement is urgently needed to aid the embattled workers.



**September 1, 1958**

A Negro worker is waiting to die in Alabama's electric chair on Sept. 5 for the alleged theft of \$1.95. Protests, inquiries and appeals for mercy are pouring into the offices of Gov. Folsom of Alabama and President Eisenhower from a shocked international public. But whether they are sufficient or soon enough to stay the hands of the Alabama executioners remains to be seen.

Jimmy Wilson, a 55-year-old Negro handyman, was convicted July 27, 1957, of robbing Mrs. Estelle Barker, an 82-year-old white woman at her home near Marion.

At the trial it was charged that Wilson, unarmed, "took three 50-cent coins, one 25-cent coin and 20 one-cent coins of the United States" from the woman for whom he worked as a yardman. Under Alabama law, robbery is punishable by death.



**September 2, 1933**

In tens and hundreds of thousands in various trades and industries throughout the country, the workers are streaming into the conservative labor organizations. A. F. of L. unions which in many cases were reduced to skeletons during the recent years are experiencing a stormy revival.

If we wish to keep a live contact with the masses, hasten their inevitable disillusionment with the grandiose swindle of the NRA [National Industrial Recovery Act] and steer them into great class battles we must march with this instinctive movement and influence it from within.

To stand aside from this living movement with its present direction and arbitrarily prescribe a different path would only mean to rob the mass movement of its dynamic revolutionary nucleus.



# Katrina disaster caused by capitalist greed

August 29 marks the third anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, frequently referred to as a “natural disaster.” Yet as the following excerpt from number 14 of the Marxist magazine *New International* demonstrates, the devastation wreaked by Katrina was a social disaster caused by capitalist greed and indifference to the consequences for working people. The excerpt below is taken from “The Stewardship of Nature Also Falls to the Working Class: In Defense of Land and Labor,” a resolution adopted by the July 2007 convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

[T]he social disaster that followed Hurricane Katrina in 2005—ravaging low-lying parts of New Orleans inhabited largely by working people, most of them Black, as well as elsewhere along the Gulf Coast—shined a spotlight worldwide on the “values” of U.S. imperialism’s ruling families and the state that serves their class.

**‘Life or death, a home still habitable or forced diaspora—a few feet above or below sea level marked the class divide.’**

The moneyed rulers had known for decades that flood levies would give way when a strong hurricane hit near the city, yet they refused to dip into the surplus value they wring from the unpaid labor of working people in order to rebuild and reinforce the seawalls. Workers across the region, despite the acts of solidarity they displayed toward each other throughout the crisis, bore the deadly consequences of wretched housing; lack of emergency flood protection, transportation, and evacuation procedures; and longtime,

morale-sapping cop corruption and brutality so endemic to life under the city fathers.

Despite the rulers’ sentimental pretense of “rebuilding” New Orleans, toilers there continue to bear the brunt of capitalist greed and indifference to this day. Life or death, a home still habitable or forced diaspora—a few feet above or below sea level marked the class divide.

Long after the “Freedom Tower” replacing the World Trade Center has been completed, long after the concrete and steel skeletons from 9/11 are a distant memory, long after massive new rents are being collected across Lower Manhattan—New Orleans will still not have been “rebuilt.”<sup>1</sup> Not under capitalism. Not ever again the city we knew.

The tideland called New Orleans shows the future “free enterprise” has in store for the toilers.

In late 2006 a number of daily newspapers carried obituaries of a prominent U.S. geographer named Gilbert White. “Floods are ‘acts of god,’” White had written in 1942, “but flood losses are largely acts of man.” White’s studies documented the fact that throughout most of the world the poorest layers of the rural and urban populations live on or near flood plains, either to scrape out a living or because better-protected areas are reserved for the propertied classes.

“Instead of simply building dams, levees and other controls that can actually encourage development in vulnerable areas, society should reduce risks by steps like discouraging such development,” one of the news accounts said, paraphrasing White. It continued: “‘The basic problem is how to get people off the flood plain,’ he said. ‘And after all these years, here we are with Katrina.’” “Perhaps we may envisage a new kind of army,” White had said in his 1942 article, a global “peace force, of young people recruited and trained under international direction for the task of

1. As this issue was prepared for press in the opening months of 2008—two-and-a-half years after the catastrophe—the population of New Orleans remained an estimated 35 percent below its level in July 2005; there were some 100,000 fewer jobs; entire neighborhoods still looked like moonscapes, with average rents nearly 50 percent higher than before the storm; nearly 15,000 families were still living in deteriorating federal emergency trailers; only 19 percent of pre-Katrina public buses were running; only three of seven general hospitals had reopened; almost 40 percent of public schools and 60 percent of pre-Katrina child care centers remained closed; and not a single building at the city’s only Black public university had been restored.

2. In August 1960 the Argentine-born leader of the Cuban Revolution, Ernesto Che Guevara, himself originally a physician, told a group of young medical students and health workers in Havana that “to be a revolutionary doctor . . . there must first be a revolution.” In *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* (Pathfinder, 2000), 2007, printing, p. 52.



AFP/Getty Images/ James Nielsen

Residents of a working-class neighborhood in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina waded through flooded streets. “Workers across the region, despite the acts of solidarity they displayed toward each other throughout the crisis, bore the deadly consequences of wretched housing; lack of emergency flood protection, transportation, and evacuation procedures; and longtime, morale-sapping cop corruption and brutality.”

building healthy and prosperous communities.”

A worthy proposal. One deserving of the response, paraphrasing Ernesto Che Guevara: *To have an army of revolutionary rebuilders, you must first make a revolution.*<sup>2</sup> To forge a “new kind of army” of “young people recruited and trained for the task of building healthy and prosperous communities,” working people must first have a revolutionary ethos, élan,

**‘Long after the “Freedom Tower” replacing the World Trade Center has been completed . . . long after massive new rents are being collected across Lower Manhattan—New Orleans will still not have been ‘re-built.’”**

discipline, and determination that is conquered only in the course of a successful fight for power. Without the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, for example, the mass campaign that marshaled the enthusiasm and capacities of more than 100,000 youth in 1961 and wiped out illiteracy in a single year, transforming that generation of young people in the process, would have been unimaginable.

So long as the extraction of surplus value in warlike competition for profits dictates the production and distribution of wealth, land will remain private property and rental housing for the toiling majority will be built where the propertied classes don’t want to live. It will be constructed where workers can “afford” the rent, including often on flood plains.

Only the leadership of a workers and farmers government, conquered in revolutionary struggle, can lead working people to even face confronting the vast worldwide pathologies of capitalism, let alone bring to bear their creativity, energies, discipline, and solidarity to cure them.

## Labor’s transformation of nature

The capitalist system, and the propertied families who benefit from it in imperialist centers and semicolonial countries alike, will inevitably continue to ravage humanity and the planet we inhabit. It cannot be stopped without uprooting capitalism itself. Explaining this is part of preparing the working class and its vanguard to advance with determination along the historic line of march toward the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worldwide struggle for socialism. Workers must convince our toiling allies, young people attracted to the working-class struggle, and the vast majority of propertyless humanity to commit themselves without reservation to that line of march.

## New International

A magazine of Marxist politics and theory

### Issue no. 14

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

**\$14**

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



WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM



# Russian gov't digs in

Continued from page 3

ly told a NATO meeting that he viewed “the appearance of a powerful military bloc” on Russia’s borders as “a direct threat.”

Since coming to power, Saakashvili has tripled the country’s military budget to \$3.2 billion and accepted U.S. and Israeli advisors.

He also sent 2,000 Georgian troops to bolster U.S. forces in Iraq. At the start of the recent fighting, Washington agreed to bring the Georgian brigade home aboard U.S. aircraft—but without their gear.

## U.S. missile base in Poland

While Moscow hoped that the invasion of Georgia would maintain its domination of the region and push back NATO, Washington took advantage of the Russian invasion to seal a long-stalled deal with Warsaw to place a U.S. missile defense base with 10 interceptors in Poland.

A week after the invasion, agreement was reached that U.S. soldiers would staff air defense sites in Poland—the first permanent stationing of U.S. troops there—and would rapidly defend Poland in case of an attack. A U.S. Patriot battery will be moved from Germany to Poland and operated by a U.S. crew.

“We have crossed the Rubicon,” Polish primer minister Donald Tusk said.

In an angry response Russian colonel general Anatoly Nogovitsyn said Poland was “exposing” itself to a possible Russian nuclear attack by allowing the missiles to be placed there. Moscow rejected U.S. assurances that the missiles are needed to protect against threats from Iran.

Another complication for Moscow occurred when Ukrainian president Viktor Yushenko issued a decree that the Russian navy give 72 hours’ notice before undertaking any movements from Sevastopol, the Black Sea Fleet’s main base, which is on Ukrainian territory. According to the weekly *Argumenty Nedeli*, the fleet has been severely weakened since the break up of the Soviet Union.

Moscow charges that the Saakashvili government committed “genocide” in South Ossetia. Russian officials claim that as many as 2,000 of Tskhinvali’s 10,000 residents were killed when Georgian troops attacked the South Ossetian city with rockets August 7.

However, the *Financial Times* reported that a later Russian commission looking into the charges said 133 civilians has been killed by Georgian troops.

While some neighborhoods were leveled during the fighting, according to some reporters, the heaviest damage was around the city’s government center. Many neighborhoods were unscathed. Tskhinvali Regional Hospital has confirmed some 40 deaths, including civilians and combatants.

In contrast, the *Financial Times* noted that in some Georgian villages in South Ossetia, 90 percent of the houses are charred and abandoned. Russian officers admit that Ossetian irregular forces had been “marauding,” looting, and killing Georgians. Russian troops have done nothing to prevent this.

On August 15, Nogovitsyn denied

reports by Human Rights Watch that Russian planes had dropped cluster bombs on the towns of Gori and Ruisi, Georgia.

## Moscow steps up pressure

Moscow had stepped up economic and military pressure against Georgia for the last three years.

Until 2006 most Georgian exports went to Russia, including 90 percent of Georgian wine production. That year Moscow banned imports of Georgian wine and mineral water and imposed an air, sea, and postal blockade after Georgian officials arrested several Russians on spy charges. Russia, Georgia’s main energy source at the time, also steeply raised gas prices.

During the winter of 2006 South Ossetian forces blew up a gas pipeline to Georgia, leaving the country without electricity or heat for two weeks, according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

## Russian army gets ready

Steps were taken well beforehand to prepare for combat. A week before the fighting Moscow completed a major railway upgrade in Abkhazia, key to the transport of troops. In July the Russian army held a military exercise called Caucasus 2008, just north of Georgia’s border. Among the units involved was the 58th Army, which later led the attack into Georgia. Skirmishes between the so-called South Ossetian “irregular” forces and the Georgian army increased.

It makes no difference who fired the first shot or whether or not Tbilisi fell into a Russian “trap.” The attempt by Georgian troops to occupy South Ossetia lasted less than a day; Russian troops backed by air power pushed the Georgians out and continued to advance into Georgian territory.

According to the United Nations more than 118,000 people, mostly Georgians, have been forced to flee their homes.

Since the invasion, Moscow has tightened the squeeze on Georgia.

British Petroleum (BP) closed down its 150,000-barrel-a-day oil pipeline that runs through Georgia to the Black Sea, citing fears of fallout from the fighting. It also temporarily shut down a second pipeline carrying Azerbaijani natural gas to Georgia and Turkey. After a key rail line was destroyed August 16—the only route across the country since the closure of the pipelines—BP halted all oil shipments.

On August 17 Russian troops seized the Inguri hydroelectric plant in Abkhazia, which supplies about 60 percent of Georgia’s electricity.

## A weakened Russian military

Moscow’s rapid military victory against a much smaller army can be misleading. The Russian army has about 640,000 troops, Georgia’s some 27,000. According to the *Moscow Times*, an English-language daily, the assault relied on elite commando and army units.

“The technical sophistication of the Russian forces turned out to be inferior in comparison with the Georgian military,” the Moscow-based daily said. Much of its equipment is antiquated. Several tanks and armored personnel carriers broke down as the Russian forces headed to South Ossetia.



Reuters/Umit Bektas

Russian convoy enforces removal of Georgian troops out of Senaki military base August 19 after the Russian military took it over.

The U.S. military also paid close attention to the Russian capabilities. “To the surprise of American military officers,” the *New York Times* said, “an impaired Georgian air-defense system was able to down at least six Russian jets.”

## U.S. ‘left’ groups back invasion

Virtually all U.S. middle-class radical groups that call themselves socialists have backed or covered up for Moscow’s invasion of Georgia.

Among these is the Communist Party USA, which for decades backed the Stalinist bureaucratic regime in Moscow, including its Great Russian chauvinist policies against oppressed nations in the Soviet Union. An article in the August 16-22 issue of the *People’s Weekly World*, which reflects the CPUSA’s views, defends the invasion, noting that “Russia has said it would never tolerate a NATO power on its borders.” It falsely dresses up the Russian grab for territory as Moscow defending self-determination for an oppressed people, claiming “With Russian support, Georgia granted South Ossetia autonomy [in the early 1990s]. It has functioned as a de facto independent country ever since.”

An editorial in the same issue emphasizes a bourgeois pacifist appeal, as part of the U.S. Stalinists’ class-collaborationist course and pro-Democratic Party orientation. “The current conflict in Georgia shows just how dangerous it is in this 21st century world to pursue political goals by military means,” it states.

Workers World Party, which has backed reactionary actions by Stalinist regimes from the 1956 Soviet crushing of a workers revolt in Hungary to the Serb regime’s bloody assaults on Kosova, is unabashedly backing the current Russian assault on Georgia. It uses the fallacious argument that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”—if Washington is at odds with Moscow, then the Kremlin is on the side of progress.

“U.S. hidden hand pushes Ossetia war” is the headline of an article in the August 13 issue of the weekly *Workers World*. In the August 21 issue it declares, “Georgia is at the center of U.S. imperialism’s moves to control the oil-rich Caspian Sea region.” It says Moscow is seeking to control oil fields in the region and that the “U.S. ruling class has no inten-

tion of allowing Russia to become an imperialist rival.” That’s put forward bald-facedly as a reason to hail the Russian invasion of Georgia. The paper repeats Moscow’s lie about Georgian “genocide” and reprints a statement by a Stalinist outfit in Georgia condemning the “Russian-phobic and pro-fascist antipopular regime of Saakashvili,” a statement that could have appeared in the Moscow pro-government press.

The Party for Socialism and Liberation, a split from Workers World Party, applauded the Kremlin thugs with an article on their Web site, pslweb.org, titled, “Moscow deals a setback to Washington’s geostrategic goals.” It proudly reports that PSL presidential candidate Gloria La Riva was interviewed on Russia Today Television, where she declared, “Russia has a right to defend itself and a right to be concerned about encroachment by the United States in the former Soviet republics.”

The *Socialist Worker*, reflecting the views of the International Socialist Organization, echoes some of the same arguments in a piece in the August 12 issue titled “How imperial rivalries stoked war in Georgia.” It takes a “plague on both your houses” approach in decrying the Russian invasion while complaining that “far less attention is given to the vicious attack of the Georgian military—trained by the U.S.—on the disputed South Ossetia region.” The paper also dismisses the Kosova independence struggle, stating that “the U.S. used the nationalist movement of Kosovar Albanians to carve out a now-independent Kosovo as an outpost of NATO in the Balkans.” It ends with a CPUSA-like pacifist wail, “Russia’s war in Georgia signals a new, dangerous phase in world politics that is already dominated by endless war and economic crisis.

In France, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), which is part of the same international current as Socialist Action in the United States, ran an editorial in the August 12 issue of its paper, *Rouge*, titled “The Caucasus region: Stop the fighting now!” The editorial declares, “Blame lies on both sides,” referring to the Great Russian invaders and Georgia. Instead of calling on all Russian troops to get out of Georgia now, it ends with a pacific plea, “A spirit of brotherhood is needed.”



# Engels on revolutionary potential of U.S. workers

Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years 1848–1917, *one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month in August, is the first in a two-volume series by Farrell Dobbs, who was a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Teamsters organizing drives in the Midwest in the 1930s. The book contains an appendix of articles and letters by Frederick Engels, a cofounder with Karl Marx of the modern communist movement, that shed valuable insight on the challenges in forging a communist movement in the United States in the late 19th century. Excerpted below is an article Engels wrote in 1887 as a preface to the American edition of his Condition of the Working Class in England. Copyright © 1980 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

### BY FREDERICK ENGELS

Ten months have elapsed since, at the translator's wish, I wrote the appendix to this book; and during these ten months, a revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February 1885, American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point; that there was no work-



Illustration of members of the 6th Maryland Regiment shooting workers in Baltimore during 1887 railroad strike. It was part of a wave of strikes by rail workers, miners, and others.

ing class, in the European sense of the word, in America; that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalists, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American republic; and that, therefore, socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal-miners, and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations, all over the country, for the great Eight Hours' movement which was to come off, and did come off, in the May following. That I then duly appreciated these symptoms, that I anticipated a working-class movement on a national scale, my Appendix shows; but no one could then foresee that in such a short time the movement would burst out with such irresistible force, would spread with the rapidity of a prairie fire, would shake American society to its very foundations.

The fact is there, stubborn and indisputable. To what an extent it had struck with terror the American ruling classes, was revealed to me, in an amusing way, by American journalists who did me the honor of calling on me last summer; the "new departure" had put them into

a state of helpless fright and perplexity. But at that time the movement was only just on the start; there was but a series of confused and apparently disconnected upheavals of that class which, by the suppression of Negro slavery and the rapid development of manufactures, had become the lowest stratum of American society. Before the year closed, these bewildering social convulsions began to take a definite direction. The spontaneous, instinctive movements of these vast masses of working people, over a vast extent of country, the simultaneous outburst of their common discontent with miserable social condition, the same everywhere and due to the same causes, made them conscious of the fact that they formed a new and distinct class of American society; a class of—practically speaking—more or less hereditary wage-workers, proletarians. And with true American instinct this consciousness led them at once to take the next step towards their deliverance: the formation of a political workingmen's party, with a platform of its own, and with the conquest of the Capitol and the White House for its goal. In May the struggle for the Eight Hours' working-day, the troubles in Chicago, Milwaukee, etc., the attempts of the ruling class to crush the nascent uprising of Labor by brute

force and brutal class-justice; in November the new Labor Party organized in all great centers, and the New York, Chicago and Milwaukee elections. May and November have hitherto reminded the American bourgeoisie only of the payment of coupons of U.S. bonds; henceforth May and November will remind them, too, of the dates on which the American working class presented *their* coupons for payment.

In European countries, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under the existing social conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class-consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favored soil of America, where no mediaeval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of its development within ten months.

Still, all this is but a beginning. That the laboring masses should feel the community of grievances and of interests, their solidarity as a class in opposition to all other classes; that in order to give expression and effect to this feeling, they should set in motion the political machinery provided for that purpose in every free country—that is the first step only. The next step is to find the common remedy for these common grievances, and to embody it in the platform of the new Labor Party. And this—the most important and the most difficult step in the movement—has yet to be taken in America.

A new party must have a distinct positive platform; platform which may vary in details as circumstances vary and as the party itself develops, but still one upon which the party, for the time being, is agreed. So long as such platform has not been worked out, or exists but in a rudimentary form, so long the new party, too, will have but a rudimentary existence; it may exist locally but not yet nationally; it will be a party potentially but not actually.

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

### UNITED STATES

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

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

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** 2840 NE Expressway, Suite 102. Zip: 30345. Tel: (404) 471-1165. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net **Carrollton:** 1109 S. Park St., Ste. 504 #148. Zip: 30117. Tel: 770-834-0420. E-mail: swpcarrollton@bellsouth.net

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

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

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

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis:** 1311 1/2 E. Lake St. Zip: 55407. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwest.net

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

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

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

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

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

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

### AUSTRALIA

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

### CANADA

**QUEBEC: Montreal:** 7105 St. Hubert, Suite 106F, H2S 2N1. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: 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:** Suite 3, 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 276-8885. E-mail: clauk@xtra.co.nz

### SWEDEN

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

### UNITED KINGDOM

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

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

*August* BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS**

25% DISCOUNT

**Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years 1848–1917**  
by Farrell Dobbs  
The continuity of revolutionary working-class leadership in the U.S., its influence, strengths, and shortcomings are the focus of this first volume in a series by Farrell Dobbs.  
\$20. **Special price: \$15**

**The Politics of Chicano Liberation**  
by Olga Rodríguez  
\$15.95. **Special price: \$12**

**Democracy and Revolution**  
by George Novack  
Traces the limitations and advances of various forms of democracy in class society, from its roots in ancient Greece through its rise and decline under capitalism and how democracy will be advanced under a workers and farmers regime.  
\$20. **Special price: \$15**

**Le désordre mondial du capitalisme**  
(Capitalism's World Disorder)  
by Jack Barnes  
\$24. **Special price: \$18**

**The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution**  
by Leon Trotsky  
\$20. **Special price: \$15**

**Eugene V. Debs Speaks**  
by Eugene V. Debs  
\$24. **Special price: \$18**

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

ORDER ONLINE AT  
**WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM**  
OFFER GOOD UNTIL AUGUST 31, 2008



# Russian troops out of Georgia!

Continued from front page

there. Their presence in these regions—which are inside Georgia’s internationally recognized boundaries—have been a violation of Georgia’s national sovereignty from the start.

Moscow cynically claims it is defending the national rights of the peoples of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. It hopes no one will remember the tens of thousands slaughtered by Russian forces during its 1994 and 1999 wars against Chechnya.

The rights of the Ossetian and Abkhaz peoples have been trampled on by the Russian tsars, the Stalinist regime, and the various governments in Tbilisi since Georgia declared independence in 1991. The only exception was the early years of the Russian Revolution, when the Bolshevik-led government under V.I. Lenin carried out a working-class course championing the right of self-determination of nations oppressed by the tsar. The bureaucratic caste that usurped political power in the mid-1920s overturned those policies.

Moscow had long been planning its attack on Georgia, tightening the economic squeeze on that nation and strengthening its military presence there. It makes no difference who fired the first shot.

The so-called cease-fire agreement is in reality a plan for the permanent stationing of Russian troops in Georgia. The “agreement” was rammed down the throat of the Georgian government at gunpoint, with the help of Paris and Washington.

Anyone with doubts on where U.S. imperialism stands should look at statements by U.S. National Security Council spokesman Gordon Johndroe. After chiding Moscow for its “disproportionate” actions, he said Washington “can understand their [Moscow’s] desire to protect their peacekeepers” from Georgian attack.

Washington has also taken advantage of the Russian invasion to strengthen its own interests in the region. Within days of the Russian assault, the Washington announced it had reached agreement with Warsaw for a permanent U.S. missile base in Poland.

Working people should demand: All U.S. troops out of Europe!

Workers and farmers in Georgia, including in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, need political space to advance their interests, including the right to self-determination. To do that they need to remove the boot of Russian occupation.

Russian troops out of all of Georgia, including South Ossetia and Abkhazia, now!

## Lenin on Georgia’s self-determination

Continued from page 3

revolution nearly eighty years ago, to replace the dictatorship of a tiny minority of exploiting capitalists families with the dictatorship of the proletariat,” that is, a workers state.

The revolutionary government that came to power in October 1917 was based on councils of workers’, peasants’, and soldiers’ delegates called soviets, the Russian word for council.

It mobilized peasants to expropriate the big landlords’ estates and distribute the nationalized land to be worked by the tillers. It freed oppressed peoples who had been under the tsarist boot of Russian oppression from Ukraine to Mongolia, and guaranteed their right to national self-determination—the first government in the world to do so.

The Bolshevik leadership organized workers to expropriate capitalist property in industry, banking, and wholesale trade, and established a state monopoly of foreign trade.

### Georgian republic

In September 1922, just a few months before the stroke that finally debilitated him, Lenin launched a political fight around the question of the Georgian republic and of the voluntary union of Soviet republics.

In a letter to the party’s Political Bureau and addressed to Bolshevik leader Lev Kamenev, Lenin criticizes the proposal by Joseph Stalin, the CP’s general secretary, to incorporate five independent Soviet republics—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Georgia, and Ukraine—into the Russian Federation as “autonomous republics.” The book reprints the text of Stalin’s initial plan.

Lenin proposes a completely different approach: that Russia join with the other republics “on an equal basis into a new union, a new federation, the Union of the Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia.”

This stance was crucial, given the strong proindependence sentiments of working people in Georgia and other Soviet republics in the Caucasus because of Russian tsarist domination in the past. The Georgian Communist Party had rejected Stalin’s “autonomization” plan and favored remaining independent as part of a Soviet federation.

*Lenin’s Final Fight* documents how Lenin waged a political debate to win other members of the Bolshevik leadership to a proletarian internationalist stance on this question. This fight was based on one of the major conquests of the October 1917 revolution: the right of oppressed peoples to national self-determination.

### ‘War to the death’

Through the efforts of Lenin and other Bolshe-

vik leaders, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded as a federation of equals at the end of 1922. But Lenin felt compelled to “declare war to the death on dominant nation chauvinism,” as he put it in an October 6 memo to the party’s Political Bureau.

In a series of notes addressed in December 1922 to the upcoming 12th party congress, Lenin makes some of his sharpest and most concise statements on the national question. Referring to the argument by some Russian Communist leaders that a single government is needed to rule over all the Soviet republics, he states, “Where did that assurance come from? Did it not come from that same Russian apparatus which we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil?”

### Affirmative action

He adds that without a conscious approach of preferential treatment toward the historically oppressed nations—an affirmative action policy—all talk of a voluntary federation “will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is.”

Lenin condemns Stalin for his “spite against the notorious ‘nationalist socialism.’” Stalin had accused the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party of “nationalist deviations,” saying these should be “burned out with a red-hot iron.”

Lenin’s concern about Great Russian chauvinism was well-founded. Stalin and Grigory Ordzhonikidze, another Central Committee member, resorted to strong-arm tactics to try to ram through their policies on the national question. In protest, the Georgian CC resigned. The conflict flared up in late November when Ordzhonikidze struck one of the dissident Georgian communists during a verbal confrontation. This fact came to light through an investigation by a Political Bureau-appointed commission, headed by Russian CC member Feliks Dzerzhinsky.

Over the final months of 1922, Lenin’s doubts about the conduct of Stalin and his allies around the Georgian question mounted. Lenin organized three of his personal secretaries to carry out a separate investigation in February and March 1923 to verify the Dzerzhinsky commission’s account. They reported to Lenin that Dzerzhinsky had basically whitewashed the abusive policies of Ordzhonikidze and Stalin.

This report—kept secret by Moscow until the collapse of the Stalinist apparatus in the former USSR in 1991—appears in this volume for the first time in any language.

# Anti-immigrant bill defeated in Nebraska town

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

FREMONT, Nebraska—In a victory for the forces in favor of legalizing undocumented workers, a reactionary anti-immigrant law in this town of 25,000 was voted down.

More than 1,000 people turned out here July 29 to debate the controversial city council measure that would have banned hiring or renting to undocumented immigrants.

Fremont Mayor Donald Edwards, who does not support immigrant rights, cast the decisive vote, defeating the ordinance by a vote of 5 to 4.

The audience at Fremont High School was evenly divided between supporters and opponents of the measure, according to workers who were present. Tensions ran high at the meeting. There was a heavy police presence, bomb-sniffing dogs, and metal detectors.

The meeting lasted six hours with some 75 speakers. A good number in the audience were meat packers from the Hormel slaughterhouse, a large employer in the Fremont area. There were also members of the Nebraska Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a rightist anti-immigrant group.

## Musharraf resigns

Continued from page 4

details. Agence France Press reports that there have been a series of missile attacks in Pakistan in recent weeks attributed to U.S.-led forces or CIA drones based in Afghanistan.

“We’ve said for years that Musharraf is our best bet, and my fear is that we are about to discover how true that was,” an official for the Bush administration told the *New York Times*.

Musharraf has been viewed by many in the U.S. ruling class as an unstable, but staunch ally in the war in Afghanistan. The Musharraf regime, which first took power in a 1999 military coup, had initially been a protector of the Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan. As Washington launched its invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, determined to overthrow the Taliban and establish a stable client regime there, Musharraf came out as a firm ally of the U.S. government and pledged support to the military assault.

During this time, Pakistan has received billions in military aid from Washington and has conducted joint military operations with U.S. special forces against the Taliban on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

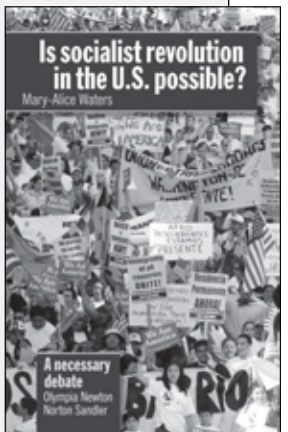
*For further reading...*

### Is socialist revolution in the U.S. possible?

“To think that a socialist revolution in the U.S. is not possible, you would have to believe not only that the ruling families of the imperialist countries and their economic wizards have found a way to ‘manage’ capitalism. You would also have to close your eyes to the spreading imperialist wars, civil wars, and economic, financial, and social crises we are in the midst of.”

—Mary-Alice Waters  
Caracas, Venezuela, November 2007

—\$5



WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM