

Defend the Palestinians!

U.S./Israel Axis of Terror

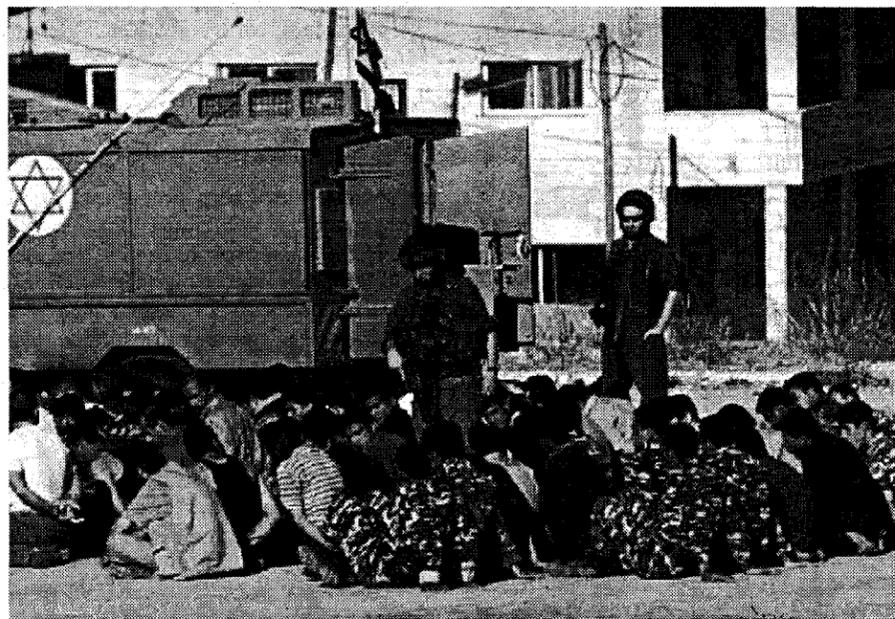
As Israeli troops and tanks imposed direct military rule over seven of the eight West Bank cities nominally controlled by Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority (PA), George W. Bush took to the airwaves on June 24 to give his blessings to the Zionist reoccupation. Echoing Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, Bush arrogantly demanded Arafat's ouster—through "free" elections, no less. An Israeli government spokesman gloated, "Tonight, the president announced the official political death of Yasir Arafat." Five days later, Sharon's troops reduced the PA building in Hebron to rubble, his way of announcing the official death of any semblance of Palestinian "autonomy" in the Occupied Territories.

The U.S.-sponsored Oslo "peace" accords that gave birth to the Palestinian Authority in 1993 had in any case already been buried under Israeli tank treads in April. Taking their green light from Washington's "war against Islamic terror," the Israeli rulers launched the biggest and bloodiest military action in the Occupied Territories since their seizure in 1967. Hundreds were killed, entire neighborhoods razed, the Jenin refugee camp devastated. The Zionists destroyed the infrastructure not only of the Palestinian administration but of much of Palestinian society as a whole—roads, medical facilities, sewage systems, even the curriculum records of the Department of Education.

It is U.S. imperialism that provides the jets and helicopter gunships used to bomb and strafe Palestinian communities. It is Washington's determination to invade Iraq, and to gain the backing of the other Arab bourgeois states for such a war, that drives its determination to get the "Palestinian problem" out of the way as soon as possible. The arrogant American imperi-



Reuters photos
Israeli forces reoccupy West Bank city of Hebron, destroying Palestinian Authority offices and rounding up residents.



alists believe they can dictate who should govern the Palestinians, the Iraqis and any other nation Washington thinks it can strong-arm. Less than two weeks after Bush endorsed Sharon's reoccupation of the West Bank, the U.S. government

"leaked" yet another report of how it plans to carry out an invasion of Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, which could mean the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis.

It is urgently necessary for the working

class, in the U.S. and internationally, to take up the defense of the Palestinian people through demonstrations, protest strikes and other class-struggle actions. Defend the Palestinian people! U.S. hands off Iraq—Down with the embargo! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East! Down with U.S. aid to the Zionist state! Down with the U.S./Israel axis of terror!

The Ghettoization of the Occupied Territories

The 1993 "peace" deal arranged by Washington was hailed by Arafat and by liberal and leftist cheerleaders for Arab nationalism as a harbinger of Palestinian statehood. But as Palestinian scholar Edward Said put it, the Oslo accords "in effect simply licensed Arafat and his people to run bits of the West Bank and Gaza for the Israelis" (London *Independent*, 20 June). The PA security forces, which have now been decimated by Sharon's storm-troopers, were originally set up by Israel and the CIA to police the Palestinian people. Now the Israeli rulers and their imperialist quartermasters in Washington have decided to dispense with Arafat's services, and the Palestinian masses are paying in blood.

The condition of the Palestinian people is today more perilous than at any time since the 1948 Zionist expulsion, which has become known as *Al Naqba*, "The Catastrophe." The current reoccupation of Palestinian cities takes place under conditions far more hellish than those before 1993. Palestinian children are being blown away outside their homes by tank shells, Arafat is again confined to his Ramallah headquarters, the Palestinian populace as a whole is subjected to house imprisonment through 24-hour curfews.

Every West Bank town or village of any
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Defend the Separation of Church and State!

Hysteria over "Pledge of Allegiance" Decision

The June 26 decision by the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals banning the use of the Pledge of Allegiance in the public schools under its purview because the words "under God" violated

the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state was, legally speaking, a no-brainer. Congress had added those two little words to the pledge in 1954 at the height of the Cold War. The specific purpose of the insertion was to distinguish god-fearing Americans from the atheist "barbarians" in the Soviet Union, a clear call for religious belief as a defining characteristic of "Americanism."

Case closed? Well, not quite. Not since the anthrax letters have the halls

of Congress emptied so quickly, as the 400-odd representatives, supposedly outraged by the decision, raced to pledge their allegiance "under God" on the Capitol steps. Many of these had been more covertly betrothed to Enron until it went belly-up. Democratic Senate majority leader Tom Daschle piously intoned, "We have been drawn together in the face of tremendous tragedy in the last nine months and in part that healing process has come by our belief in a supreme being." It is safe to assume that

Allah was not the "supreme being" he had in mind.

In fact, the forced recitation of the pledge was declared unconstitutional shortly after Congress officially recognized it in 1942. In 1943 the Supreme Court ruled that mandating its recitation (then absent the two little words) was in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution. This ruling, made by a court that saw no obstacle to holding Japanese American citizens in concentration camps during the course of the war, was less than popular in the climate of frenzied patriotism that accompanied WWII. That decision notwithstanding, the pledge has since been a daily ritual forced on most all American schoolchildren. In response to the reactionary hysteria, the Ninth Circuit judge who wrote the June 26 decision ordered it stayed pending appeal.

The uproar over the court's decision recalls the furor in 1963 when atheist activist Madalyn Murray O'Hair won a Supreme Court decision outlawing
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Imperialist-Backed South Korean Provocation

Defend North Korea!

All U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

The June 29 clash between South Korean and North Korean naval forces is the latest in a series of escalating military provocations by South Korea and its U.S. imperialist paymasters against the North. South Korean sources claim that up to 30 North Korean sailors were killed and some 70 wounded. One South Korean patrol boat sank in the fighting, with four sailors killed and 19 wounded. This military confrontation comes in the context of George W. Bush's January State of the Union address, where he ranted that the North Korean deformed workers state, along with the mutually hostile Near Eastern capitalist states of Iran and Iraq, formed an "axis of evil." To the power-crazed U.S. imperialists, this means once again asserting their "right" to overthrow

the rulers and attack the masses of any state where they think they can get away with it. Making the U.S. rulers' bloody plans explicit was a subsequent Pentagon announcement listing these countries and four others, including the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states, as potential targets of an American nuclear first strike.

Following June 29, U.S. spokesmen immediately denounced North Korea for carrying out an "armed provocation" and railed that its "incursion" across a purported sea border violated the Armistice Agreement that ended the 1950-53 Korean War. In fact, as North Korean spokesmen pointed out, this "border" was unilaterally imposed by the U.S. and never included in the agreement. The Pyongyang regime declared that its ships had been engaged in routine coastal guard duty and rightly protested the attack as a "grave provocation." The fighting took place in rich fishing waters off Korea's west coast during the height of the crab season, when boats from both North and South Korea routinely cross the bogus

"border" in search of catches. In June 1999, the South Korean navy rammed North Korean fishing boats, touching off a battle that cost the lives of as many as 80 North Korean sailors.

South Korean spokesmen justify the sinking of the North Korean ships on the grounds that they were fired upon first. From the standpoint of the proletariat, whoever fired first is irrelevant. We stand for the *unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against the South Korean capitalist state and its imperialist backers!* Capitalist rule was overthrown in the northern half of the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed regime of Kim Il Sung. In a failed attempt to reverse that social revolution and the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism devastated the peninsula in the Korean War, killing *more than three million* people and obliterating whole cities, including Pyongyang. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

For the past five decades, North Korea has been subjected to military encirclement. The U.S. has also maintained an economic embargo aimed at starving the country into submission. Particularly since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which had been North Korea's principal trading partner and major economic lifeline, conditions in the country have vastly deteriorated, leading to widespread starvation in recent years. In the aftermath of the June 29 provocation, Japan has canceled its program of food aid to North Korea, and the South Korean regime is considering the same. Illustrating how the imperialists wield such programs as tools of economic blackmail, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (6 June) noted that "for the first time since 1995, when famine first struck North Korea, food is running out as donors tire of Pyongyang's unwillingness to make changes to its centrally planned economy." *Down with the imperialist embargo!*

In a murderous show of increasing imperialist belligerence, last December Japanese warships sank a purported North Korean "spy ship" in Chinese

waters, killing up to 15 people. Tokyo fully backs South Korea's latest provocation and has joined the U.S. in stepping up surveillance of Korean waters. The American military command and its South Korean underlings are also discussing revising the "rules of engagement" that supposedly prevent South Korean forces from firing unless they are attacked. A South Korean Defense Ministry spokesman explained that the goal was to "streamline the process of firing at the enemy," i.e., to give Seoul carte blanche in carrying out military aggression.

The nuclear-armed imperialists in Washington and the South Korean capitalist rulers who are dependent on the U.S. have put the Korean peninsula a big step closer to a devastating war, as military forces North and South have been placed on high alert. The U.S. maintains 37,000 troops in South Korea—aimed not only against North Korea but the Chinese deformed workers state as well. This huge military presence also acts as a forward base for maintaining U.S. imperialist hegemony in the Pacific, including against its Japanese imperialist rivals. Under former president Clinton, the U.S. had already begun a shift of its military power to the Pacific region. Now, as part of Bush's "war on terror," U.S. imperialism has sent troops to the Philippines and established new bases in Central Asia, forming a military arc around China. *All U.S. troops out of Korea! U.S. out of Central and Southeast Asia!*

The U.S. troops in Korea would also be deployed to drown in blood any challenge to capitalist rule by the militant South Korean proletariat, just as they were used to suppress one peasant uprising after another in the years before the Korean War and later insurgencies against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship. It was the massive class battles of the 1980s, in defiance both of police-state repression and the regime's CIA-financed "unions," that led to the forging of independent trade unions and an end to open military rule. South Korean workers have continued to wage fierce struggles against imperialist-dictated austerity and in defense of independent unions against the current "democratic" government, a thinly disguised police state. Most recently, on June 27 over 1,000 trade unionists rallied in Seoul to demand freedom for imprisoned union leaders, leading to the release of the president and vice president of the Daewoo auto workers union.

Packed with unreconstructed Cold Warriors, the Bush administration made clear from the beginning its intention to step up imperialist pressures against the

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Defend the Separation of Church and State!

In this climate of religious reaction, it is vital for the workers movement to defend the strict separation of church and state. This point was stressed by American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon in an earlier period of reaction, when U.S. imperialism used religion as a battering ram against "godless communism" during its Cold War against the USSR.



TROTSKY



LENIN

We Marxists are by definition alien and hostile to each and every form of religious superstition. We believe with Marx that religion is the opium of the people; and we are not Marxists, not genuine socialists, if we do not say so openly, regardless of whether our opinion is popular or not. Our business is not to save souls for another world, but to tell the truth about this one....

The First Amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious. It seems to me not accidental at all that the authors of the Amendment linked freedom of worship with free speech and free press in the same sentence. Thereby they clearly indicated that religion is to be considered a matter of opinion, in which each individual is free to choose, and by no means a revelation binding upon everybody. Moreover, "freedom of worship" implies also freedom of non-worship. That's the freedom I am exercising and I would surely hate to lose it.

Under this interpretation of the First Amendment, free thinkers and atheists, heathens and public sinners, who are very numerous in this country, have had a chance to breathe and spread enlightenment without fear of the dungeon and the rack. The First Amendment has been a protecting shield for the Children of Light and has enabled them to make their great contributions to literature, art and science. A breach in this provision of the Constitution, leading to its eventual repeal, would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world.

—James P. Cannon, "Church and State," *Militant*, 19 November 1951, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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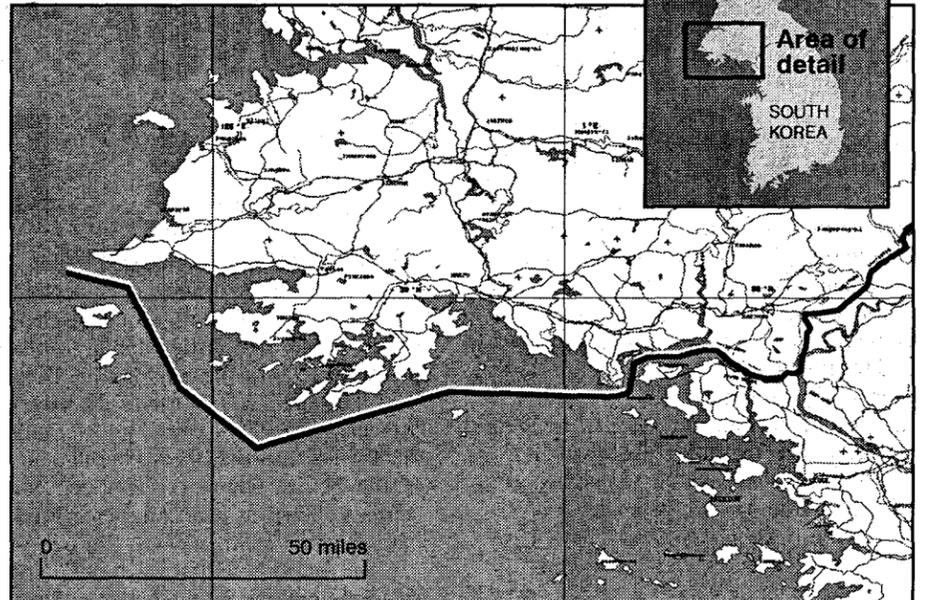
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Sea border unilaterally imposed by U.S. imperialism in 1953 after end of Korean War.

Federation of American Scientists



WORKERS VANGUARD

Queens, NY

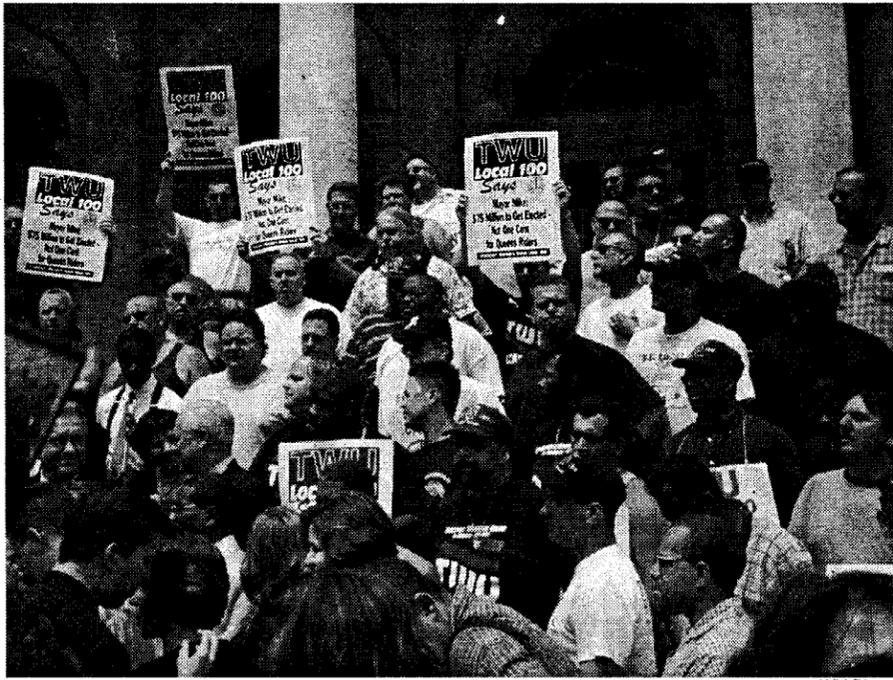
JULY 7—After working without a contract for over 18 months, transit workers at three Queens bus companies went on strike June 17 in a battle to preserve their health care benefits. This is the third strike this year for over 1,500 bus drivers, mechanics and cleaners at Queens Surface Corporation, Jamaica Buses Inc. and Triboro Coach Corporation. Together, they transport 115,000 people to work and school each day. The strikers are organized by Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 along with the bus and subway workers at the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), yet they receive lower wages and benefits for doing the same work. However, unlike MTA workers, the private lines workers are not subject to the state Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees. This law was brought down with a vengeance to prevent a strike by subway and bus workers when their contract expired in December 1999.

The strike began when Mayor Michael Bloomberg, reneging on a deal made in March, provocatively threatened to cut funding for health benefits. In fact, health care benefits are on the line for the entire membership of Local 100 since the MTA is also threatening to bankrupt its employees' health insurance fund, having already withheld some \$20 million from the Health Benefit Trust. The Queens private lines strike is a precursor to what could be a much larger showdown in December, when the city transit contract expires. A powerful display of the union's muscle in this strike would galvanize transit workers for the struggle to come later this year. TWU Local 100 should fight for full health care coverage for all union members and their families. With health benefits increasingly under attack by employers across the country—and at least 42 million people with no health coverage at all—the labor movement must take the lead in fighting for *free, quality health care for all!*

Claiming that the city has no responsibility for the private bus lines, the mayor told the union and stranded Queens residents to take a hike. But the private bus companies are as much a part of the public transit system as the MTA subways and buses. They are contracted by the city, which owns the buses and most facilities, and are subsidized to the tune of over \$160 million per year. All union contracts with the private lines must be approved by City Hall.

Indeed, the city is fully involved in running a strikebreaking operation. Mayor Bloomberg declared a "state of emergency" a full week before the strike began. Under the city's "Private Lines Contingency Plan"—prepared long in advance of the strike—hundreds of "dollar vans" and countless livery cabs driven by unorganized, largely immigrant workers have been authorized to cruise the 42 struck bus routes. The vans sport placards reading "Transit Strike 2002 Authorized Vehicle Permit" and some are even equipped with armed NYPD escorts.

TWU Local 100 must mobilize its membership in roving pickets to stop the scab vans. Instead of allowing the racist bosses to pit non-union van drivers against unionized bus workers, the TWU should organize the predominantly Caribbean and African van drivers into the union. Central to such an organizing drive is the fight against anti-immigrant racism and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is all the more critical now in the face of the anti-immigrant witchhunt carried out by the ruling class, which is a deadly threat to the labor movement as a whole. But the Local 100 leadership promotes the bosses' "national unity" campaign, which fuels the anti-immigrant repression. The TWU tops used a mass



WV Photo

Victory to Private Lines Bus Strike!

Above: Striking Queens bus drivers rally at NYC City Hall, July 1. Below: Picket line outside Triboro Coach bus company.

Arellano/El Diario-La Prensa



transit workers rally for health benefits in April to promote red-white-and-blue patriotism as they kicked things off by singing the national anthem. From the beginning transit union leaders have pledged their allegiance to the bosses' "war on terror," competing with the company in handing out T-shirts, hats and buttons emblazoned with the American flag. *Organize the unorganized to fight together along class lines against our common enemy, the racist ruling class!*

Within TWU Local 100, private lines workers are isolated from the bulk and power of the 36,000-strong membership, the majority of whom work for the MTA under a separate contract. Moreover, transit workers are currently fragmented into several different unions—TWU Local 100 as well as four Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals covering private lines workers in Queens and Staten Island. Looming in the background is Mayor Bloomberg's proposal for the MTA to take over the private bus lines and create a "Regional Bus Company," amalgamating all NYC bus operations. Transit workers have told WV salesmen that they fear this proposal would lead to job cuts and would split their union into separate bus and subway bargaining units that could be pitted against one another in the event of a strike. Transit workers must not allow the bosses to undermine the power

of the union. What's needed is to unify all NYC transit workers, including the "dollar van" drivers, into a single, industrial union with the same contract. The union

must fight for parity in wages and benefits at the highest prevailing standard for all transit workers, with no job cuts. And a union-led fight for *free, quality mass transit* would win wide support from the city's working people and poor.

In the Local 100 newspaper *TWU Express* (31 December 2000), union president Roger Toussaint promised workers, "We will mobilize the rest of our Local in support of Private Lines members." Indeed, the thousands of workers who have regularly come out for rallies in defense of the union would readily join in a show of strength on the picket lines. But they have not been mobilized to do so by the union leadership. Above all, Toussaint & Co. fear any mobilization of the workforce that could get out of their control and upset their cozy relationship with Democratic Party politicians.

Toussaint and his now-defunct New Directions coalition rode into office in 2000 posturing as a militant alternative to the discredited "old guard" bureaucracy. But from the moment Toussaint took office he made clear his intention to use the TWU as the base for a "political machine" for the Democratic Party. Union officials have hosted a parade of Democratic Party politicians, like Hillary Clinton, at union rallies and meetings. On June 30, Democratic Senator Charles Schumer came out to a picket line at Triboro Coach. Such phony "solidarity with labor" is a standard gambit of the Democrats, who with the avid assistance of the labor bureaucrats seek to direct any labor militancy into the shell-game of electoral politics. Transit workers should remember that every one of these "friends of labor" support the union-busting Taylor Law and backed the court injunction that threatened massive fines and imprisonment against the union membership if they went out on strike during the December 1999 contract showdown. And Toussaint's New Directions joined in enforcing the government's anti-strike measures, even forbidding workers from uttering the word "strike" at a rally organized by New Directions. *Defend the right to strike! Smash the Taylor Law!*

It is necessary to fight for the complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions from the bosses, their state and their political parties. A class-struggle leadership of the unions must be forged based on the understanding that the interests of capital and labor are irreconcilably counterposed. The forging of such a leadership is integrally linked to the fight to build a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government which will rip transport and industry out of the hands of the greedy capitalists and put it at the service of the working people and oppressed. *Victory to the private lines bus strike!* ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

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Los Angeles, CA 90029
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Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
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and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
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Capitalist Europe's War on Immigrants Is a War on All Workers

The following statement was issued on July 2.

One day after a powerful general strike paralysed Spain on 20 June, Europe's capitalist rulers met in Seville to ratchet up the war against immigrants as the spearhead of an attack against the proletariat as a whole. The competition between the dominant nations of the European Union (EU) for economic advantage in the midst of a recession meant the summit fell short of its stated goal of establishing supranational police-state measures, such as joint border patrols on land and sea, but all that and more is promised by the guardians of Fortress Europe. In the meantime, each capitalist ruling class is trying to outdo the next in raising the bar to immigration and enhancing police-state measures against immigrants with the aim of regimenting the entire population, driving down wages and slashing social gains which were wrested through decades of class struggle.

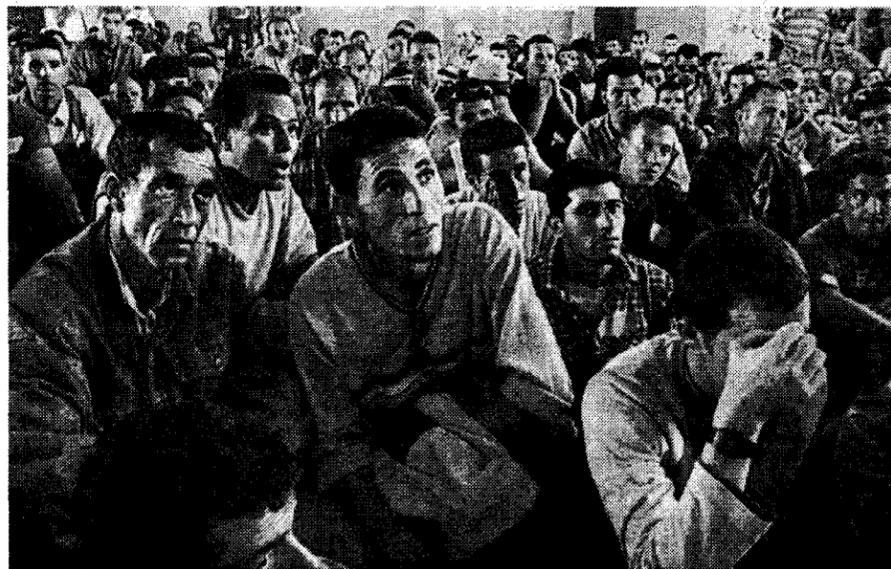
The Seville EU summit seized on the recent electoral gains by fascists like Le Pen and the British National Party (BNP) to pander to their anti-immigrant demagoguery. Anti-immigrant racism is a time-worn method to divide the proletariat and deflect class struggle, but fundamentally the anti-immigrant campaign is driven not by "bad ideas" but by the workings of the capitalist economy and is enforced by bourgeois politicians from the left and the right. Large numbers of immigrants were brought into West Europe when their labour was needed, due in part to the low birthrate; now that Europe is in recession, the bourgeoisie does not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labour or even as a "reserve army of labour." It would be an embellishment of bourgeois democracy to believe that it would require fascism to have mass deportations of immigrants. Such in fact happened during the 1930s Great Depression in France, when the number of foreign workers was reduced by half a million through mass expulsions. And these workers were mainly European and Roman Catholic, much easier to assimilate than the forcibly segregated North Africans and black Africans. In the same period, there were mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the United States.

A decade ago the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution. This monumental defeat for the international proletariat and the ensuing bourgeois triumphalism and lie that "communism is dead" has thrown back the consciousness of the proletariat and the youth who misidentify the Stalinist sellouts with communism. Capitalist rule in Europe is not challenged by a revolutionary-minded and insurrectionary proletariat today, and correspondingly

Workers of the World Unite!



Above: Demonstration by asylum-seekers in Berlin, May 17. Below: North African workers in Seville, Spain stage sit-in demanding work permits.



the working class and the dark-skinned minorities and immigrant populations in Europe are repressed mainly through the "normal" workings of the whole capitalist system, from the cops in the ghettos to the capitalist courts, and the prisons which are vastly disproportionately filled with minorities and immigrants. In this context, parties that are by history,

outlook and intent fascist, from Haider's Freedom Party (FPÖ) to Le Pen's National Front, have mainly advanced as electoral phenomena and pressure groups on more mainstream bourgeois parties.

The "normal" ebbs and flows of the world capitalist economy, which produce such vast human misery, cannot be eliminated short of the replacement of capital-

ism through proletarian socialist revolution. Those, like the social-democratic leaders and their "left" tails, who accept the capitalist framework necessarily become complicit in implementing and even spearheading anti-immigrant racism. The machinery of state repression has been augmented since September 11, but most of the anti-immigrant and anti-"terrorist" laws and policies were enacted years earlier by the "left" governments. The now-ousted French Socialist Party, which ruled France in a popular-front coalition with the Communist Party and the Greens, burns with anger that the new right-wing government claims credit for the racist "security" campaign which was in fact masterminded by the "left"! In order to rule on behalf of capital, the historic parties of the French working class, the Communists and the Socialists and their analogues in the trade-union bureaucracies, poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. Thus the popular-front government paved the way for Le Pen's big score in the recent French presidential elections and the election of a more right-wing government.

The so-called "far left" bears large responsibility too. Groups like the United Secretariat's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) began the recent popular-front years with a vote for Jospin...and ended with a call to "bar the road to Le Pen"—i.e., vote Chirac! This is such a low, even for the LCR, which has long had the posture and backbone of a snake, that they feel compelled to publicly molt rather than defend their crime. The LCR were aggressive and energetic activists who channeled the massive youth demonstrations which shook France with justified outrage at the racism of Le Pen's National Front into reactionary "Republican unity" with Chirac. Similarly in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party directed opposition to the BNP fascists into a call to vote for "anyone else"—i.e., even bourgeois parties, but especially Blair's Labour Party. Each falsely proclaimed that there was an imminent danger of fascism, the better to corral support for Labour and even Chirac. Moreover, in situations where fascist gangs do pose an immediate threat, they cannot be stopped through parliamentarian means but only by mobilising the proletariat to crush them.

Defend Immigrants, Defend the Working Class!

In Italy, the new arsenal of repression includes roundups of immigrants for fingerprinting, as if being non-European makes one "criminal." With the Vatican railing against marriages between Christians and Muslims, the Italian police

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Stop the Deportations!

launched "Operation Just Married" to snoop into mixed marriages. Residency permits will be limited to the duration of a work contract, so that seasonal agricultural workers will become "illegal" the moment a crop has been harvested, and Italian employers will be compelled to pay the state in advance for the deportation of any immigrant who overstays the work contract! This is not even particularly rational from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, which needs a source of cheap agricultural labour. In a bald statement of the concerns of the ruling class, the Italian capitalist consortium negotiated exemptions from the government's absurdly stringent immigration quotas for three professions: nurses, maids...and soccer players!

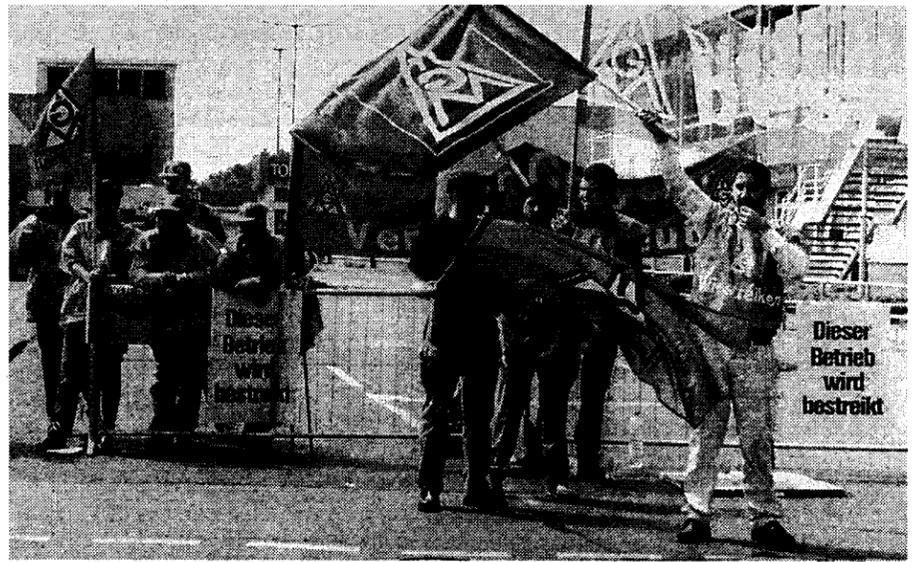
The right of asylum is under intensified attack everywhere: Blair's Britain promises immediate deportations without right of appeal for rejected asylum-seekers, while Denmark claims the right to revoke asylum for refugees when the new right-wing government decides that any given country an immigrant fled has become sufficiently "democratic."

Instilling racial hatred at an early age to inculcate patriotism and loyalty to the crown, rotting Britain threatens to forcibly segregate the children of asylum-seekers from other schoolchildren. In Germany, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party have been actively protesting against the computer-aided racist roundups of students. In this reactionary climate, immigrant workers and foreign students face not only persecution at the

imperialist war and political repression. Sangatte is filled with refugees from the bloody wars waged by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. Murderous nationalism, whipped up as the vehicle of capitalist counterrevolution to destroy the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, uprooted minority populations including the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" a decade ago. Another flood of refugees was triggered by the U.S./NATO ravaging of what was left of the former Yugoslavia in the 1999 Balkans War. Today the Sangatte camp is filled with Iraqis fleeing ten years of the starvation blockade imposed by the United Nations.

Thousands of Afghans fled the hell created by U.S. imperialism's support to the women-hating *mujahedin*. When Soviet forces entered Afghanistan in 1979 after repeated requests by the left-nationalist PDPA government, we of the ICL straightforwardly said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal in 1988-89 culminated in the victory of the Islamic fundamentalists and eventually the rule of the Taliban—truly a Frankenstein's monster created by the U.S. imperialists with the help of their Pakistani allies. Now the terror bombing of Afghanistan by Bush, Blair and Co. in the name of the "war on terror" has created new thousands of refugees.

Borrowing from Le Pen's campaign promise to close the Sangatte camp and deport the refugees, Chirac has announced



Auto workers man picket line in Berlin last May. Ethnic Germans joined with workers of Kurdish and Turkish descent in strike by IG Metall union.

police identity checks as "normal," to chill free speech and impede politically organising against the government and the ruling class. To this end, the whole spectrum of capitalist politicians from left to right is whipping up hysteria over immigrants as an alleged "enemy within." The model for police-state control of Arab, African, Turkish and Asian populations in West Europe is the French state's "Vigipirate." The large population of North African descent, particularly the youth, are systematically brutalised by the French police, subjected to identity checks even in the hallways of their own apartment buildings, and treated as a "criminal" and "surplus" population. Changes in the French nationality code, whereby children born in France of immigrant parents no longer automatically gain French citizenship, prepare the ground for possible mass deportation. Peel back the "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" facade and you'll find a history of mass deportations whenever politically or economically advantageous to France's capitalist rulers, from the Polish and Italian immigrants deported en masse between the two World Wars to the Jews stripped of French citizenship and deported to Nazi death camps under Vichy.

Capitalism needs a bogey man. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the "red menace" has been largely replaced with orchestrated hysteria against the "green menace" of Islamic fundamentalism. This has reached fever pitch since September 11 and a new word, "Islamophobia," has entered the lexicon to "explain" racist assaults on women in veils, men in turbans, and anyone suspected of being of Arab origin. The restrictions on civil liberties and the patriotic fervor have also been used to criminalise political dissent and outlaw parties and national liberation movements, from the Kurdish PKK and the Palestinian PFLP to the Turkish Guevarist DHKC and the Basque Batasuna organisation in Spain. Meanwhile, the biggest state terrorists rain bombs on Iraq and threaten invasion, continue to pound Afghanistan, and arm the Zionist state of Israel in its war against the Palestinian people. Now the leader of the "free world" has the gall to tell the Palestinian people who they can and can't elect to represent them in the Occupied Territories and "homeland" overrun by Zion-

ist stormtroopers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people!

Racial Oppression Is Intrinsic to Capitalism

The "maximum programme" of social-democratic reformism and the so-called "left" groups who function as its apologists is to restore the "welfare state" and paint a "human face" on capitalist austerities. Contrary to the myths of reformists such as Lutte Ouvrière, who campaign to "ban layoffs" and demand that the cops fight "real crime" instead of bashing immigrants, the truth is that under capitalism the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, and racial oppression is *intrinsic* to the workings of the whole rotten domestic and world system. Whether the government is dominated by social democrats or ultrarightists, the laws of capitalism work the same: the harder you work, the more wealth you produce for others, and the more precarious your existence becomes as you are at risk of being laid off. According to its economic needs, capitalism brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labour, principally immigrants from poorer countries who are deemed disposable in times of economic contraction. As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* (Volume I): "The degree of intensity of the competition among themselves [the workers] depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades' Unions, &c., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the 'eternal' and so to say 'sacred' law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the 'harmonious' action of this law."

That is why we in the ICL fight for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism. The struggle in defence of immigrant labour today is a vital task for the working class as a whole. We fight for: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Free the detainees! Organise the*

continued on page 12



Asylum-seekers from Sangatte refugee camp are rounded up by French cops after failed attempt to enter Britain through the Channel Tunnel.

hands of the capitalist state but also stepped-up racist violence on the streets. As our Irish comrades noted following the murder of a Chinese student, "Fundamental responsibility for Zhao's brutal murder lies with the Irish capitalist state whose anti-immigrant policies give a green light to race terrorists."

Everywhere, families are being ripped apart through restrictions on "family reunion." Women suffer the brunt of this. If they manage to join their husbands in Europe, they are often legally deprived of the right to work and so are forced into dangerous and low-wage black-market jobs. In France, apace with anti-immigrant laws, a veritable "marriage market" has spread like cancer in immigrant communities where an arranged marriage with a young woman possessing citizenship is now the last best hope of escaping poverty and political repression elsewhere. The slamming shut of doors to immigration and the segregation of oppressed communities tend to increase and help perpetuate arranged marriages, kidnappings, female genital mutilation, wife-beatings and "honour killings," all of which are on the rise in Europe. These facts show that even a minimal democratic demand, like full citizenship rights for everyone who has managed to make it to a European country, is literally a question of life or death, especially for women.

The squalid war between Blair's Britain and Chirac's France to close the Sangatte Red Cross refugee camp exposes the hoax of the "free world" and the direct link between capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe and the rise of economic misery,

plans to close the camp and in the meantime plans to build an enormous fence around the rail yard and install high-tech scanners to detect heartbeats in the tunnel. Not to be outdone, Tony Blair is mobilising the navy to turn back (read: fire on and sink) ships of refugees, and plans to cage asylum-seekers in militarised detention camps, and to bleach England through airlift deportations of dark-skinned immigrants and blatant racial exclusion of people trying to get into the country from airports elsewhere in Europe.

Meanwhile, anyone who does make it into Britain will be compelled to carry a national identity card. These police-state measures are intended to regiment and accustom the entire population to restrictions on democratic rights, to accept

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the ICL's Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

The Declaration of Principles has now been published in 13 languages including its publication in *Spartacist*.

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U.S./Israel...

(continued from page 1)

significance is surrounded by military checkpoints, cement blocks, barbed wire or trenches—separating families, keeping children from school and their fathers from jobs and leaving the ill and elderly to die for lack of medical care. The ten-mile journey from Ramallah to Jerusalem is now a two-hour trek requiring three separate taxi rides. The Gaza Strip, roughly the size of the island of Manhattan, is partitioned by checkpoints into two or three parts. But the ultra-chauvinist “settlers” who serve as advance guards and armed auxiliaries of the Zionist occupation can zip wherever they like in minutes on fortified “bypass roads” barred to Palestinians.

The number of settlers has doubled since the 1993 Oslo accords. The year after the accords were signed, Brooklyn-born Hebron settler Baruch Goldstein massacred some 30 men, women and children who were praying in a Muslim holy site. The Israeli authorities responded by punishing the Arab population, shutting down all the shops in the Arab wholesale market in the city. Now the market area has been taken over by armed gangs of settlers! Today, Hebron's 120,000 Arab residents are effectively under lock and key in order to “protect” some 500 Zionist settlers, and even the muezzin's traditional calls to prayer have been banned because they “disturb the peace.”

As documented by the Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem in “Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank,” the settlers now control 42 percent of the West Bank, while another 20 percent is “state land” barred to Palestinians and a further 20 percent is under military control. It is not only land that has been grabbed. The West Bank supplied more than half of Israel's water, and Israelis get *five times* more water per per-

son than Palestinians. “This means settlers get their swimming pools topped up while Palestinian villages a few miles away run out of drinking water,” explained Jessica McCallin in a 21 May article in *Palestine Monitor* titled “Making the Blooms Desert.”

Now Israel has begun building a ghetto wall around the West Bank. This is the “unilateral separation” that the Zionist “peace camp,” represented by the likes of Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid, has clamored for. Meanwhile, Sarid's former allies of the bourgeois “Labor” Party are serving in the front ranks of Sharon's coalition government, with self-styled “dove” Shimon Peres as foreign minister and Benjamin Ben Eliezer as head of the military.

The barrier under construction has much in common with the U.S. government's enclosure of the remnants of the Native American population into desolate, impoverished reservations. Over the past four years, the number of Palestinians living below the official poverty line has climbed from fewer than one in four to nearly two out of three. The new wall will only deepen the humiliation and immiseration of the Palestinian people. **Down with the apartheid system of blockades, checkpoints and Jewish-only highways! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all of the Occupied Territories now!**

For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!

Capturing the cynicism of Bush's promise that the Palestinians will eventually be rewarded with some vague form of statehood if they “reform,” journalist Jonathan Freedland observed in the *London Guardian* (26 June): “George Bush is demanding that Palestine become Sweden before it can become Palestine: it must be stable, prosperous and boast constitutional arrangements which still elude Britain—our judiciary and legislature are not separate—let alone the Arab world before it can become even a state-in-waiting.”

But the right-wing Sharon government balks at even the notion of a Palestinian state. As Sharon has made amply evident, the Zionist state is not simply a pawn of U.S. imperialism. Israel is a sovereign

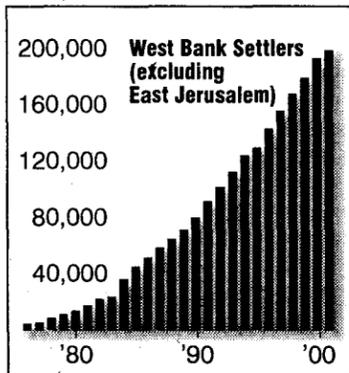
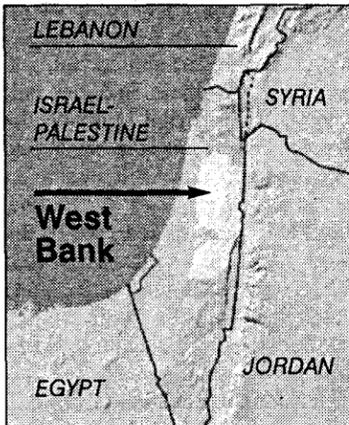


Ghetto wall around West Bank under construction near Palestinian town of Qalqilya.

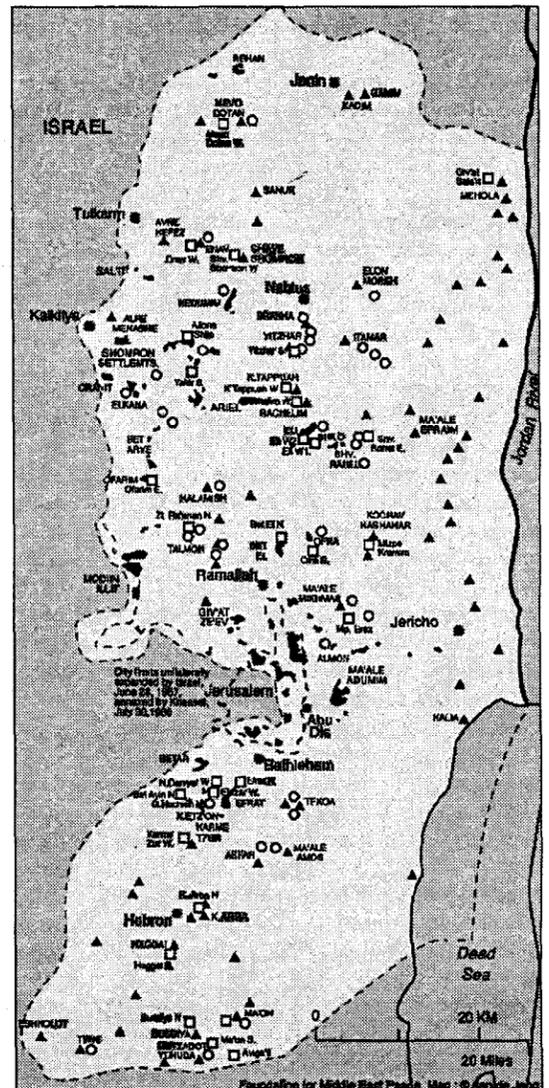
power, as defined by the only real index of sovereignty in today's world—possession of a nuclear arsenal. While the Zionist state supports American policies that do not conflict with vital Israeli interests, as a nuclear power it is a player internationally in its own right.

Zionist Settlement in West Bank

- ▲ ● Israeli Settlements/ Built-up Areas
- Settlement Outposts established 1996-February 2001
- Settlement Outposts established since February 2001



Source: New York Times



Bush's “drop dead” to Arafat is the end result of more than two decades of groveling appeals by the petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization to U.S. imperialism—either directly or through the agencies of the United Nations or the Arab bourgeois regimes—to grant “liberation” to the Palestinian people. To that end, the Palestinian national movement was literally disarmed, paving the way for repeated bloodbaths, like Sharon's slaughter of more than 2,000 refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon in 1982. Yet even now, Arafat and the Arab bourgeois leaders can do nothing other than lick the boots of the American imperialists. Inane denying that Bush called for his head, Arafat praised the June 24 tirade as “a serious effort to push the peace process forward.”

But in the Palestinian ghettos and on the streets of Arab capitals, Bush's latest pronouncement provoked outrage. A 24-year-old Egyptian woman doing graduate study in political science told the *New York Times* (27 June): “This statement fuels the hatred in the hearts of all the Arabs not only towards the Americans, but towards the Arab leaders as well. It was shocking to find all the Arab leaders including Arafat welcoming the speech of disgrace.”

That hatred must be channeled into the fight to forge revolutionary internationalist parties of the proletariat committed to the class unity of all the working people of the region—Arab, Hebrew, Persian and Kurd; Sunni and Shi'ite, etc. If it is not, it will only bolster the already formidable forces of Islamic reaction—from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Group in Egypt to Hamas and Islamic Jihad in Palestine—who posture as opponents of Zionism and imperialism but are in fact deadly enemies of all working people and especially women.

The growth of Hamas has had a sharp impact on the lives of Palestinian women, historically among the most cosmopolitan and educated in the Near East. This is further exacerbated by the effective closing of the schools as a result of the Israeli blitzkrieg, forcing many young women in particular out of higher education and back into traditional roles as mothers and housekeepers.

As Freedland's article on Bush's speech

concluded, “The only people celebrating yesterday were the Islamist extremists of Hamas and Jihad.” Indeed, every new provocation, every murderous outrage perpetrated against the Palestinians in the name of fighting “terrorism” only adds to the ranks of those desperate enough to strap explosives around their waists. But Palestinian suicide bombings against Israeli civilians serve only to drive the Hebrew-speaking proletariat further into the arms of the Israeli ruling class and to deepen the murderous chauvinism that permeates Israeli society.

Attacks on troops and settlers are at least directed against the enforcers of the oppressive Zionist occupation. But many of the recent suicide bombings—both by Islamists and secular nationalists like the Al Aksa Brigade—are simply criminal from the standpoint of the working class, aimed at killing people in shopping malls or night clubs just because they live in Israel, whether they are Jewish or Arab. The intense nationalism and anti-Semitism that drives such indiscriminate terror mirror the far more deadly anti-Arab chauvinism of the Zionist state. Embracing the racist calculus of the Nazi “master race” against the Jewish people, one Israeli parliamentarian ranted recently, “For every Jew who is buried as a result of an attack, we must make sure 1,000 Palestinians are killed.”

The Zionist state must and can only be destroyed from within through a socialist revolution uniting the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers around their common class interests against the Zionist rulers. To struggle for its own emancipation from capitalist exploitation, the Hebrew working class must be won to the defense of the national rights of the Palestinians.

If the working masses of the Near East are not broken from Zionism, Arab nationalism and all forms of religious fundamentalism, there will be no future for any of the peoples of the region. The struggle for emancipation and equality for people of all national, ethnic and religious backgrounds—including the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—can only be realized through workers revolutions that sweep away the bourgeois order throughout the region. **For a socialist federation of the Near East!**

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Young Spartacus

There's Nothing Wrong with a Little Bump N' Grind

The storm clouds of bourgeois state repression that have been looming for the last three years over popular black R&B singer R. Kelly finally broke. On June 5, the Cook County grand jury slammed Kelly with 21 counts of child pornography stemming from his alleged participation in and production of a "pornographic" videotape. The tape in question depicts a *consensual* sexual encounter between a man presumed to be Kelly and a young black woman who is allegedly 14 years old. Despite his agreement to surrender to authorities, Kelly was dragged from his Florida home in handcuffs and hit with an outrageous \$750,000 bond. Upon arrival in Chicago, he was met by Chicago cops and was made to post another \$750,000 bond. If convicted, Kelly could be sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined \$100,000.

After years of hounding Kelly and snooping into his private affairs, it is testimony to the flimsy case the state has against him that all they can come up with are charges based on the infamous videotape, which by all accounts has made the best sellers list on the streets. Stemming from Illinois child pornography laws that prohibit the videotaping of intercourse, oral sex, urination, masturbation, exhibition, fondling and other sexual contact, Kelly is currently facing seven counts of soliciting or enticing a minor to "engage in illicit acts" and seven counts *each* of directing and producing a "pornographic" videotape. Beware: the state is now poised to prosecute anyone in possession of the tape as well.

Significantly, the woman in question in the R. Kelly videotape is denying her involvement and is refusing to cooperate with the authorities in Kelly's prosecution. Further, Kelly denies that he was the man on the tape. The state's case may very well hang on whether or not they can get this woman to finger Kelly. This ominously harks back to the case of black then-Illinois Congressman Mel Reynolds in 1995, who was witchhunted and thrown into jail largely based on the coerced testimony of his alleged underage partner. She, too, refused to cooperate until she was locked up for 13 nights and suddenly changed her mind. Clearly, this is what the state has in mind as it guns for Kelly. The Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) also is targeting the parents of Kelly's alleged partner for presumably allowing their daughter to have sex with Kelly when she was 14.

We are opposed to the intrusion of the government into private life and demand an end to all laws against consensual "crimes without victims," such as drug use, prostitution or, in this case, pornography. As well, we are opposed to reactionary "age of consent" laws, which uniformly deem all those under an arbitrary

age incapable of consenting to sexual activity. The state has no business legislating people's consensual sexual activity, however "kinky" it is deemed to be. Even if Kelly committed the acts of which he is accused, *they are no crimes*. Drop the charges against R. Kelly! Government out of the bedroom!

As for "underage sex," how old is old enough? The bottom line here is effective consent. Sexual relations should be based on mutual agreement and understanding. Determining effective consent requires an assessment of the particular relationship, especially when young people are involved with older ones; but such relationships are not *prima facie* evidence of abuse or coercion. For tens of thousands of years, the onset of puberty signaled entry into adulthood. Sex among the young (often with the not so young) was the norm. We note with bitter irony that in this country teenagers are deemed incom-

petent to choose their sexual partners, yet fully competent to stand trial as adults and face the death penalty.

Intergenerational relationships are almost as American as apple pie. The "King" himself started dating Priscilla Beaulieu (soon to be Presley) when she was only 14. But what really drove the bigots crazy about Elvis was that white kids loved it when he shook his hips and belted out songs that drew heavily from black music. Screaming against "obscenity," white Southern racists saw rock music as representing "race mixing" and godless Communism. Today, the puritanical witchhunters are out to get R. Kelly, whose sexually explicit lyrics evoke the explosive mix of race and sex in racist capitalist America. In a nasty "exposé" (9 June), the Chicago *Sun-Times* branded Kelly a "sexual super freak" and "tormented individual" who can "barely read or do basic math," a description that conjures up the racist stereotype of the uneducated black man as sexual predator.

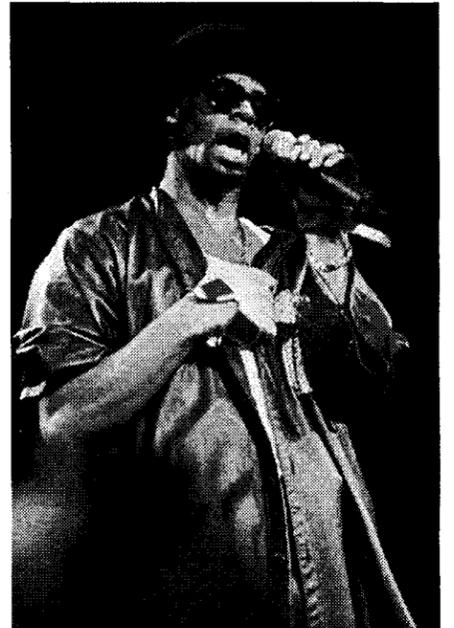
One can only imagine the level of hysteria that would ensue had Kelly's alleged partners been white—the ultimate sexual taboo in America, where the ruling class at every opportunity manipulates sexual fear in the service of racial oppression. Protecting "Southern white womanhood" historically was a major bloody rallying cry for the monstrous lynching of black males by white racist mobs, as exemplified by the hideous mutilation and murder of Emmett Till; a 14-year-old black youth, for "reckless eyeballing" of a white man's wife in 1955 Mississippi.

Taking her publisher's cue, black *Sun-Times* columnist Mary Mitchell has been leading the charge to string up Kelly, pressuring young women involved with him to come forward and press charges. In a particularly vile column of 9 June, she obscenely compares Kelly's case to a string of recent murders of young women at the hands of truly demented individuals. Her assumption that sex led to these hideous murders is simply a spin on the anti-porn feminists' assertion that rape (a

violent crime) and sex are on opposite ends of the same spectrum.

Meanwhile, many blacks in Chicago ("Segregation City") have expressed a degree of sympathy for Kelly, understanding the campaign as yet another attempt to bring down a successful, rich black man who has made it in racist America. Yet many people with whom we have spoken continue to buy into bourgeois morality, including the reactionary "age of consent" premise. Ever ready to alibi the great American "democracy," Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. and black intellectual (and Baptist minister) Michael Eric Dyson, equally convinced of his guilt, have taken the line of "Let the verdict hang Kelly." In other words, have the trial before the lynching, duly constituted by the forces determined to railroad Kelly into prison.

Sex in America is always a charged issue, especially when it falls outside of the narrow accepted confines of one man



CNN

them to the home, and of children. The family came into existence with the onset of property ownership and the need to transfer wealth through the male lineage. It also serves a critical role in instilling reactionary social mores and churning out the next generation of workers. Anything that threatens to tamper with its stability is thus labeled "taboo" or "unnatural," e.g., homosexuality. That young women are viewed as particularly vulnerable and generally seen as victims in need of protection is nothing but an extension of woman as property to be kept chaste for her future husband. Since the dawn of the family women have been denied their sexual freedom, hence the double standard applied to sexually active young men vs. sexually active young women. "Family values" is nothing but an ideological cover for social regimentation and repression.

As we noted in "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994):

"While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed 'norms'..."

"To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world. In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be nonexistent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, 'there is no other motive left except mutual inclination'." ■

Defend R. Kelly!

on top of one woman for life. Sexual activity in general is already bound by a host of idiotic and peculiar state laws (in some places, oral sex is illegal even with your own spouse) which reveal more about the sadistic and repressed character of capitalist government than anything else. Back in 1978, internationally acclaimed film director Roman Polanski was driven out of the country for his sexual tryst with a very willing 13-year-old. At the time we demanded: "Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" (WV No. 192, 10 February 1978). Today, R. Kelly's case strikes at the heart of stifling, puritanical bourgeois morality.

Many laws that define "sex crimes" in this country are nothing more than religion transcribed into legal code. The criminalization of sex (except marital sex) is fundamentally aimed at glorifying and propping up the "sacred" monogamous family—for centuries the main institution for the oppression of women, chaining

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NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.

Our next issue will be dated August 9.

Down With Witchhunt Against Pro-Palestinian Activists!

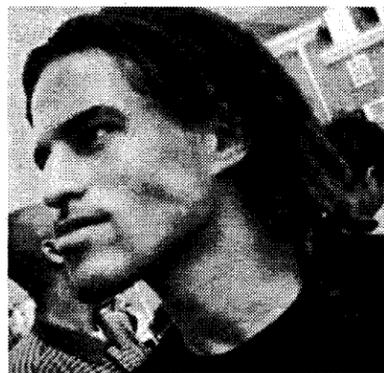
As the ruling class wages its "war on terror" abroad, the Bush administration with the Democratic Party in tow has decreed sweeping new powers of state repression at home. The racist, anti-immigrant dragnet following September 11 already has resulted in the detention of some 1,200 immigrants, primarily of Arab background, and the deportation of 500 of those detained. Some 100 still languish behind bars. Of late, secular pro-Palestinian activists of Arab descent, such as Faruk Abdel-Muhti, Ahmed Bensouda and Jaoudat Abouazza, have been singled out as targets of this dragnet.

Faruk Abdel-Muhti, a well-known Palestinian community activist and regular guest on the liberal WBAI radio station, was arrested by the INS and NYPD on April 26 in a Gestapo-style early morning raid at his Queens home. He is in detention at Middlesex County Jail in New Jersey and faces possible deportation. Deportation of Abdel-Muhti could result in his being handed over to the Israeli state, which would almost surely mean torture or worse. **Free Faruk Abdel-Muhti!**

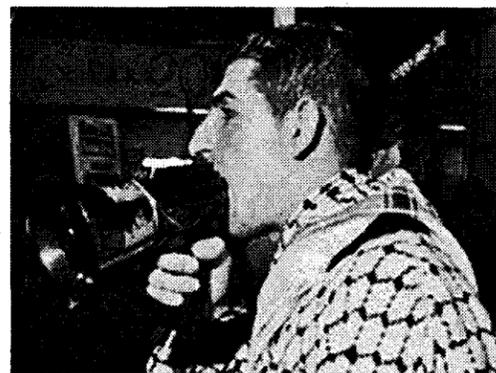
Ahmed Bensouda was arrested on May 30 at his home in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, for technical student visa violations. An Arab youth known for his Palestinian solidarity efforts and for organizing against the fascist Matthew Hale, Bensouda had been under government surveillance before his arrest. INS agents reportedly called Bensouda a "n-----r," asked him "Do you know Osama bin Laden?" and interrogated him about his political activities, including a leaflet they found in his apartment calling to "Smash the U.S. and Zionist Empire." At his first court hearing two weeks into his INS



Faruk Abdel-Muhti



Ahmed Bensouda



Jaoudat Abouazza

detention, the judge barred the public and press because the government claimed that it wanted to use "secret evidence" to keep him in detention. Bensouda has since been released on bond, but the INS is proceeding with plans for his deportation. **Drop all charges against Ahmed Bensouda! No deportations!**

We reprint below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, to the Boston District Office of the INS protesting the detention of Palestinian activist Jaoudat Abouazza. Since this letter was written, the presiding judge has ruled Abouazza can return "voluntarily" to Canada (where he is a citizen) rather than face forcible deportation. The U.S. government has declared its intention to appeal this ruling, and Abouazza could still face charges stemming from the minor traffic violation that was the basis for his arrest.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the INS detention of Palestinian

activist Jaoudat Abouazza who has been held without charges by the INS since shortly after his arrest on May 30. Well known as an organizer of local campaigns against the Israeli aggression in the Occupied Territories, Abouazza was arrested by Cambridge police after being stopped on the pretext of a minor traffic violation. Without being charged with a crime or read his rights by the arresting officers, he was handcuffed, brought to the Cambridge police station and interrogated by the FBI for suspicion of "terrorism." The only "evidence" was that he possessed flyers for the upcoming pro-Palestinian ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) coalition protest of "Israeli Independence Day" in Boston, which he was helping to organize.

This attack is nothing but a blatant effort to silence Abouazza and to intimidate all who would engage in political protest. This is a frontal attack on First Amendment rights of speech, assembly and political association. Since his arrest,

Abouazza has reportedly been subjected to increasing harassment and torture because of his politics. According to his defense committee, this has included punching, solitary confinement, threats and continuous epithets of "Taliban."

Seizing on the criminal World Trade Center attack as a pretext for expanding its domination of the globe and massively ratcheting up its repressive powers at home, the government has rounded up over 1,200 immigrants in the racist dragnet, hundreds of whom are still detained or have simply disappeared. The arrest and detention of Abouazza, along with the case of leftist student activist Ahmed Bensouda in Chicago, is a vivid illustration of how the government's "national unity" campaign threatens the rights of all immigrants, trade unionists, black people, leftists and all who the government perceives would dissent from its policies.

We demand: Free Jaoudat Abouazza! Free the detainees! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! ■

Cops, Feds Target Long Beach Anarchists

Since a cop riot against a youthful anarchist "Carnival Against Capitalism" in Long Beach, California, on May Day 2001 and the arrest at gunpoint of 95 protesters, state repression of area left-wing activists has escalated. A systematic campaign of repression by police from Long Beach, Los Angeles, La Habra and Fullerton and the Orange and Los Angeles County sheriff departments, with the likely involvement of the Feds, has included spying, harassment, frame-up prosecution and harsh sentences. Long Beach police spokesman David Marander made clear the purpose of this campaign—to silence political dissent: "Anarchist groups are typically surveilled by law-enforcement agencies across the United States, not only because of their goals, but particularly after September 11—people expect that now. We wouldn't be doing our jobs if we weren't investigating that type of group" (*L.A. Weekly*, 7 June).

On April 20, La Habra police and Long Beach gang-unit detectives pulled over 20-year-old Matthew Lamont, a well-known local activist. Lamont already was a target of the police for his involvement in protests against the cop killing of Marcela Byrd, a 57-year-old black woman. Searching his car and finding a one-gallon milk jug filled with gasoline, the cops arrested him for "possessing an explosive device." Police claim Lamont was headed to a "violent confrontation" with Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday. Lamont responded to the bogus charges by noting that he had "gasoline for a gas guzzling

Drop the Charges!



Long Beach police in riot gear charge into anarchist May Day 2001 protest without provocation or warning.

vehicle" and said, "That's not possession of explosives, that's possession of gasoline in an improper container" (*L.A. Weekly*, 7 June). He remains in custody on four felony counts with bail set at \$100,000.

Maxwell Lucas, a passenger in Lamont's car at the time, was hauled off to a juvenile detention center and charged

with felony possession of a destructive device. Later, at the end of Lamont's arraignment hearing on April 23, supporter Jeff Hendricks yelled out in solidarity with Lamont and was arrested on two misdemeanor charges. The court then outrageously charged Hendricks with violating the conditions of probation stemming from his May Day 2001 arrest, and

now he is facing up to two years in prison.

After September 11, most of the May Day protesters who had planned on fighting the various misdemeanor and felony charges brought against them accepted plea-bargains, fearing that the book would be thrown at them amid the government's "anti-terror" hysteria. Among these was Robert Middaugh (a/k/a Ruckus), who was sentenced to **three years** in state prison after a deal to plead guilty to felony assault on a police officer. This May 21, Sarah Roberts, one of the last of the May Day 2001 defendants, was convicted of "unlawful assembly and wearing a mask with the intent to commit a crime" and sentenced to six months in L.A. County jail. Last June, Javier Perez had been misled into pleading guilty in the belief that he would serve 30 days in jail and then be released. Instead, he found himself deported to Mexico.

On February 25, the home of 19-year-old Sherman Austin, another May Day arrestee and founder of a Los Angeles-based anarchist Web site, was raided by 25 heavily armed FBI, Secret Service and agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. His computer equipment and political literature were seized and his Web site was shut down. Later that month, Austin attended a protest against the World Economic Forum in New York City, where he was singled out for arrest. Following interrogation by the

continued on page 14

Hysteria over Pledge...

(continued from page 1)

school prayer. The current hullabaloo may seem to be over an issue of little significance. But the importance of the defense of church/state separation was highlighted the day after the decision when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cleveland school voucher program which provides parents with tax payers' cash to place their children in non-public schools. Ninety percent of those who opt for the vouchers put their kids in religious schools—largely Catholic and more segregated than the public school system. This decision is quite simply de jure approval for an all-out attack on free public education especially aimed at depriving black Americans in the inner cities of even the rudimentary education available in the rotting and desperately under-funded inner-city public schools.

While ghetto schools are little more than holding pens that serve as a one-way conveyor belt to prison, a recent New York State appellate court ruled that "a

forces are the liberal Democrats who were just a step behind the Republicans in the race to the Capitol steps to sing "God Bless America." From Carter to Clinton, the Democrats, no less than the Republican right, have led the campaign to whitewash the machinations of American imperialism and portray as virtuous its attempts to dominate the world. In virtual lockstep agreement with Bush's timeless war against "evil" and as co-promoters of the legislative attacks which target any who would oppose government policy, the Democrats' protests against the "injustices" which are inherent to capitalism have been reduced to whispers. Which-ever party is in power, decaying imperialism retains its fundamental nature—immiseration and oppression at home and imperialist expansion and war elsewhere in its unending quest for profits.

The history of the pledge, in a sense, marks the evolution of the American Empire. It was written in 1892 by the socialist journalist and preacher, Francis Bellamy, who was then concerned about widespread anti-immigrant prejudice, hence the phrase "liberty and justice for all." Bellamy later left the church in dismay because of the rampant and rising



Kirk Anderson

the wave of strikes that forged the industrial unions in the 1930s and continued in the immediate aftermath of WWII. It was the period between the wars against "communist expansion" in Korea and Vietnam, wars that claimed over six million Asian lives. It was the period when those who fought against segrega-

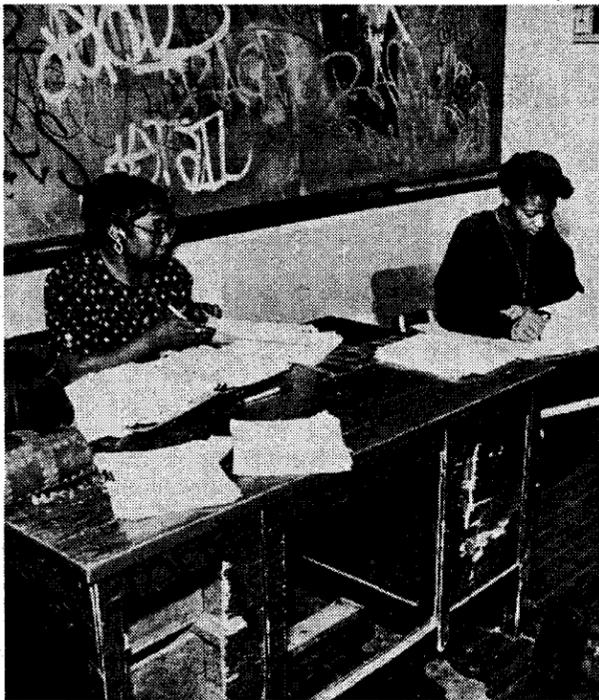
lution—the military might of American imperialism is, for the present, unchallenged. That overturn has had as its result the destruction of the social fabric of the societies in East Europe and what was once the Soviet Union. These societies, which were based on the expropriation of private property, were unique in their ability to offer all a job, education, access to basic health care and a place to live. More importantly, the hope for a socialist future which once animated workers throughout the world has been vitiated. In this context and with the recent economic boom at a screeching halt and most people worse off at its end, it is in a sense necessary for Bush Jr. to turn to the language of the Apocalypse and a Baptist revival meeting to justify his preposterous and deadly dangerous aspirations to dominate the world. Thus at a July 4 West Virginia rally he intoned, "No authority of government can ever prevent an American from pledging allegiance to this one nation under God." God's in charge. America the holy. Screw the Constitution.

As communists, we stand in the defense of the gains of the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries and of the gains of working-class struggle. We are for the complete separation of church and state and stand in defense of the Ninth Circuit Court decision. We fight against the attacks on public education and seek to nationalize all schools and provide free, quality education through the highest levels to all. But we have no illusions that we can end the indoctrination of the masses in the virtues of "God and Country" by their capitalist masters short of a revolutionary proletarian overturn of the imperialist order. When that is achieved, the price of progress will not be misery but the advancement of all mankind. And those who still feel the need for religious solace will be able to freely pray to and worship who or whatever appeals to them. With hunger, want and class injustice consigned to the trash heap of history, we have every confidence that the only faith that will survive will be in the collective abilities of humanity. ■



Sotomayor/NY Times

High school classroom in Chicago (right). For racist capitalist rulers who have turned inner-city schools into holding pens, black urban youth are not worth "wasting" money on to keep alive, much less educate.



Alcock/Chicago Sun-Times

sound basic education" could be achieved with schools that did little more than qualify students to flip Big Macs. As the ruling opined: "Society needs workers in all levels of jobs, the majority of which may well be low level." Overturning a previous ruling, which demanded that New York schools receive funding sufficient to prepare students for "competitive employment" opportunities, the appellate court judges declared that such a higher job standard for education was a challenge "to the capitalist system in general"! As the *Village Voice* (9 July) put it: "It was as if the very existence of a reliable, dishwashing underclass might be at stake."

Since the presidency of Democrat Jimmy Carter it has been the policy of U.S. imperialism's rulers to erase the opposition to their wars and domestic repression that arose during the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles of the 1950s and '60s by playing to right-wing religious fundamentalism. From then to now everything that makes life enjoyable or tolerable—from sex and drugs to welfare, day-care centers and a good job—has come under attack, replaced by the twin madnesses of the "born again" and the "recovered." Black people are jailed, jobless and deprived of even token access to a way out. Yesterday's ghettos seem almost benign in contrast to the hellholes of today.

"God and Country" has always been the rallying cry of political reactionaries. In a country where the mass of the working class has never achieved even elementary political class consciousness, the only perceived "opposition" to these

racism among the godly, a reflection of the Jim Crow segregation of black people that accompanied the rise of American imperialism. Initially used to celebrate the 400-year anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of America, it was resurrected by Congress in 1942 to further cement the patriotic fervor that accompanied the U.S. entry into WWII, a war that ended with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The phrase "under God" was inserted in 1954 at the height of the McCarthy era following the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg the year before. This was the period during which the trade unions were purged of the militants and socialists who had led and participated in

tion were characterized as anti-American miscegenationists. Then any that spoke out against racism or injustice were viewed as pariahs. Characterized as "pinkos," they stood in danger of losing their jobs—their children submitted to daily harassment and physical attack at school. American schoolchildren engaged in another daily ritual at that time—the atomic bomb drill. Every day you were on your knees facing the wall, hands clasped over your head, butt in the air, hoping/joking you wouldn't have to kiss it goodbye. God does indeed move in strange and mysterious ways.

With the overturn of the 1917 October Revolution in the USSR in 1991-92—the, to date, only successful proletarian revo-

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

Enlightenment Rationalism AND THE ORIGINS OF MARXISM

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Iran 1979

Proletarian Revolution or Islamic Reaction

We print below a translation of an article from *Le Bolchévik* No. 158 (Winter 2001-2002), newspaper of our comrades of the *Liguë Trotskyste de France*, based on a presentation for the LTF's Paris branch.

LE BOLCHEVIK

In our international Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998), we wrote the following:

"The 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world, a development which contributed to and was powerfully reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Khomeini's seizure and consolidation of power in Iran was a defeat akin to Hitler's crushing of the German proletariat in 1933, albeit on a narrower, regional scale. The international Spartacist tendency's slogan 'Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!' and our focus on the woman question ('No to the veil!') stood in sharp opposition to the rest of the left's capitulation to mullah-led reaction."

I think this is important in two respects, and I would like you to take each sentence at its true value. First of all we compare the defeat of the proletariat in Iran, albeit on a more limited scale, to the defeat of the German proletariat. This is a very strong comparison, comrades, because the German proletariat was smashed by fascism, by Nazism. We also say that it not only reinforced Islam as a political force, but also contributed to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. It set in gear the "new world disorder"—what is happening today. Dialectically it was reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. So it goes both ways. We were indeed literally the only ones, and we are proud of it, who fought against the mullahs and against the Shah, and for socialist revolution in Iran, with our slogans "Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!" and "No to the veil!", underlining the central importance of the woman question.

We translated a number of articles into Farsi, which were sold or distributed in the thousands—no exaggeration—by our sections. Through various channels they also went to Iran, were read in Iran, and



Teheran, March 1979: Thousands demonstrate for women's rights following ouster of Shah of Iran's brutal U.S.-backed regime by Khomeini's reactionary Islamic forces.

we even got feedback from them. There are two specific points on which we had a lot of confrontations. Over the question of democratic rights for women, i.e., "No to the veil!", and also on gay rights. And I think it opened up a lot of "debate," because it led to a lot of horrible stuff from the Iranian left, who said that the veil is a "symbol of anti-imperialism," that homosexuality is a "problem" in Iran. We were physically harassed. A comrade was knifed in Germany by Turkish Maoists. We were thrown out of demonstrations as "CIA agents," and later, after we hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, as "KGB agents," etc. We are proud that we told the truth to the proletariat, even if this truth is very hard to hear and to see.

The Defeat in Iran and the Soviet Entry into Afghanistan

I would like you to look carefully at this map. The title is "Iran and its perception of internal security." The "internal enemies" of the Persians, who are the dominant people, are the national minorities. You see: Arabs, Baluchis, Kurds, Azeris, etc. But I would also like you to see how the country is strategically important in the region, as you had the Republics of Soviet Central Asia to the

north of the country, with the same peoples on both sides of the borders, and right beside, you have Afghanistan.

In February 1979 the mullahs seized power in Iran. It took some time for them to consolidate their power. But a few months later, at Christmas 1979, the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in order to defend their southern border, because weapons from the imperialists were going through Iran to arm the Afghan *mujahedin*, who had started to cut the throats of teachers who tried to teach young girls to read and write. This was nothing other than the beginning of the second Cold War, with near-daily provocations against the Soviet Union. In 1988, with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it was the beginning of the end for the Soviet Union. As we said then: "Better to defend the Soviet Union in Kabul than in Moscow!" But the Stalinist bureaucracy's appeasement of the imperialists, and their refusal to fight in the interests of the proletariat, accelerated capitalist counterrevolution which swept away the deformed workers states of East Europe and the October Revolution itself.

So this presentation has the limited scope of showing two things: firstly, the confirmation in the negative of our Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and the necessity of the revolutionary party. Secondly, to show that this defeat was not at all inevitable. A proletarian revolution would have changed the situation, and it was possible. In that case we would not be speaking today of the horror of the war in Afghanistan, and maybe we would not be talking of the "new world disorder." So the presentation will necessarily be limited and it must be complemented by comrades' readings, and there is a lot of stuff to read. I want to insist above all on the reading I recommended to comrades, "Iran and Permanent Revolution," which was published in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 33 (Spring 1982), which tells you how the proletariat in Iran could have seized power at least twice in its history, if it had not been led by traitors.

In several respects the Shah's Iran resembled Russia before the 1917 Revolution: a prison house of peoples, as Lenin characterized tsarist Russia. In Iran the Persians dominated and still do, polit-

ically, various nationalities: Kurds, Azeris, Arabs, Baluchis, to mention only these nationalities. This domination is exerted through armed force and through a chauvinist policy. The other analogy with tsarist Russia is that there was a poor, numerous and very backward peasantry. So we face a country of uneven and combined development, as Trotsky explains in *The Permanent Revolution*, where you have the latest word in technology based on the most backward social relations, in a country where there was no bourgeois revolution in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. (However, one crucial difference with tsarist Russia is that the Russian Orthodox religious hierarchy was a bastion of the tsar until the end, while the Iranian Shiite clergy opposed the Shah's regime in 1979.)

The country is also characterized by a very concentrated and powerful proletariat, socially speaking, in the oil workers. When I showed the map earlier to a comrade, she told me, "I

didn't know that the oil fields were there." I want you to have a closer look at the southern part of Iran. That was the case, but after the war between Iran and Iraq the oil fields of those two cities, Abadan and Khorramshahr, were completely destroyed and the oil industry was dispersed. The refinery which was there, which I think was among the biggest in the world, was dispersed completely to the center of the country. So that means that the proletariat was dispersed, of course. At that time it was a very important concentration of the working class, socially but also politically very important. The Iranian proletariat twice had the possibility of seizing power, which was given away by Tudeh (the pro-Moscow Stalinist party) to bourgeois nationalists and even to the Shah himself.

I would like to make a few points on the Russian Revolution of 1917, which is our international compass. As you have seen in *Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution* (Trotsky, August 1939), the 1905 Revolution was a dress rehearsal for 1917. But there are in addition two very important points. The first one concerns the character of the Russian Revolution, because Russia was also one of those countries where there had been no bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie was weak. There was a concentrated, powerful working class but also a very numerous and extremely backward peasantry. And the second point was the question of the necessity of a party. This is the lesson that Lenin later drew from 1905.

I want mostly to talk about the *Three Concepts*. Because if you think about it, when these three conceptions existed the Russian Revolution had not taken place, so it was the first time that the revolution was going to happen, and in a backward country. So there were three perspectives: the Mensheviks', which of course was later adopted by Stalin regarding China; that you absolutely need a democratic stage where you put the bourgeoisie in power, and later you can talk about a socialist revolution, proletarian revolution. For the Mensheviks, the Russian bourgeois revolution could only be conceivable under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie, and must give power to it. The Mensheviks were leading the pro-



Strike by Iranian oil workers in October 1978 paralyzed the country and led to fall of Shah. Oil workers were betrayed by Stalinist Tudeh party, which supported mullahs.

letariat down an entirely wrong path.

Lenin's position was clear that the belated bourgeoisie of Russia was incapable of achieving its own revolution. Lenin put forward a formulation for "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" in order to purge the country of medieval remnants, carry out agrarian reform and open the possibility of the fight for socialism. Lenin's conception represented a tremendous step forward inasmuch as it indicated the only realistic combination of social forces to carry out the revolution. But its weakness lay in the conception of a dictatorship of two classes. Lenin himself openly characterized this "dictatorship" as "bourgeois." By this he meant that, for the sake of maintaining unity with the peasantry, the proletariat would be obliged to forego posing socialist tasks directly during the impending revolution. Trotsky explains that "the insufficiency in the perspective of Bolshevism did not become apparent in 1905 only because the revolution itself did not undergo further development. But then at the beginning of 1917 Lenin was obliged to alter his perspective, in direct conflict with the old cadres of his party."

The Trotskyist position of permanent revolution is summed up in *Three Concepts*:

"The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."

The Left and the Mullahs

The hated regime of the Shah was based on suppressing the left and the working class through the SAVAK, the very bloodthirsty political police, and you also had through this the oppression of national minorities and women. After the working class had the possibility of seizing power and the Tudeh party betrayed it, there was a massacre of the leaders of Tudeh. So the left was very small, and of course it was underground.

In 1977 protests started in the slums around the capital city and they were followed by student demonstrations which managed to get significant popular support. Of course the army answered by shooting at the demonstrators, and in response demonstrations spread to nearly the whole country. In this framework one Khomeini appears. Who was Khomeini? A mullah, a Muslim priest, necessarily reactionary of course, and part of the powerful, landholding clergy. I think it is important to note that he was a landlord. The clergy has a lot of land in Iran. The first political act of Khomeini was in the '60s, when he opposed in a very reactionary way the Shah's "white revolution." What was the "white revolution"? It was like a safety valve against a mass explosion which consisted in seeking to share



Illustrated London News

Tudeh sold out revolutionary opportunity in 1951-53 as mass protests and strikes erupted throughout country under nationalist Mossadeq regime, which was overthrown by U.S.-engineered coup in 1953.

some land among the peasantry and give voting rights to women. This was too much for Khomeini, and he mobilized the bourgeoisie from the bazaar, which by the way was his base, to foment a super-reactionary upheaval especially against these two points, i.e. voting rights for women and land distribution.

He was exiled to Iraq at that time, and as if by coincidence he got political asylum in France in 1978. He was somewhere in a Paris suburb, a little town called Neauphle-le-Château. And Khomeini started to lead the mass demonstrations from here. How was this possible? Think about it, after 18 years in exile, he comes here and from France he is leading...you wonder how. Of course there was a very important base of the traditional bourgeoisie of the bazaar which always supported the clergy; the traditional merchant class whose foundations were threatened by the modernization of the country. This traditional social class is doomed by economic progress, and has a natural tendency to adhere to a reactionary ideology and its political expressions.

But above all there was the role of the left organizations and their influence, albeit limited, over the proletariat. These organizations tied the hands of the working class to its mortal class enemy, i.e., the Shiite clergy representing the bourgeoisie. And some of these organizations supported Khomeini and the Shiite clergy to the death. That is, even when Khomeini started to massacre leftists they still supported the mullahs. They denounced their own comrades to this regime. While they had members in prison, the leaders of the Tudeh party went on TV to say that they were wrong if they had said anything bad about the regime of the ayatollahs. There was the guerrillaist group the Fedayeen, which, faced with this support to Khomeini and the ayatollahs, split. One part, called the majority, at bottom had the same position as Tudeh: that you must support the ayatollahs. The other part, called the minority, could not be as rotten as that, but never broke with the Stalinist policy of revolution by stages, that is of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie as a first stage and the promise of socialist revolution as a second stage. But you never get to the second stage because, as history shows (China 1927, Indonesia 1965, Iran 1979), the political subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie always ends with a bloody massacre of workers and the left by the bourgeoisie.

You also had the Pabloites in Iran (the HKS, sister section of Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) and in a way they were the most disgusting. The Pabloites supported this regime to the end. They split, with one part continuing to support the regime while the other part made some criticisms without ceasing their enthusiasm for the "mass movement." If there had been barricades, their two organizations would have been

shooting at each other, while at the same time they were sitting at the same table in their international discussions. You see, this is the "United Secretariat." There were 14 Pabloite militants who were arrested at the beginning of the Islamic revolution. They wrote an open letter to Khomeini calling him "great leader of the revolution, ayatollah so-and-so, we haven't done anything, let us go, etc." The Pabloites did not wage any campaign to free their own comrades. We waged a campaign.

Some years later I saw one of these former Pabloites who had been in prison and who got out. We talked and I asked him, "But how could you have written a letter like that?" I said to him, "I have a program which shows you that integrity exists." He said to me, "Integrity doesn't exist." I think that this is really sad. He was a youth. This is, in my view, a significant example of a layer of potential militants who were crushed—crushed,



Execution of Kurds by Iranian mullah regime, which carried out massacres of leftists, trade unionists and minorities after coming to power.

demoralized, finished off by a treacherous policy of revolution by stages.

We fought against arguments like: this is the first stage of the revolution which has begun. We had Workers Power saying, "It's an anti-imperialist united front." There were organizations who were saying, "Khomeini will take power and people will know how bad he is. They will overthrow him and after that, there will be us," that it was a mass movement "even if Khomeini is here it's not so bad, we'll be right behind," etc., etc. You even had leaders of different organizations who claimed to be for Trotskyism and the working class, but who were going into the demonstrations and chanting "Allah Akbar" (god is great). Leftist women were putting the veil on their heads to go into the demonstrations in order to not break the unity with Khomeini.

As for Lutte Ouvrière, at the time they were writing polemics against the abject tailism of the Pabloites vis-à-vis the mullahs. But there was no way they wanted

to break the unity with Khomeini either. They wrote in *Lutte de Classe* (8 January 1979), in connection with the arming of the proletariat: "Even while remaining within the framework and on the current political basis of the movement, this would be for them [the workers] a priority and an imperative task. Because it would not necessarily be a question of a head-on collision straight away with the current leadership at the level of slogans and immediate objectives." These people recognized the reactionary and anti-woman character of Khomeini, they talked of arming the proletariat, but in no way must the unity with these reactionaries ever be broken. Not surprising that a year later they denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

A whole layer of militants were massacred, executed, raped, finished. There were a lot of splits, but the splits never went all the way, that is they never found the revolutionary program. And when you look around the world where there are leftist Iranians from this generation, it's over: they are corrupt cynics, hopeless, or else they are dead. A lot of them put Marxism into question instead of examining their own rotten program. Yet there were key moments when it was possible to change the course of history and to win the working class.

The Revolutionary Intervention of the Spartacist Tendency

Our reformist and centrist opponents pretend that our slogan "Down with the Shah! No to the veil!" signified political abstentionism. Of course, for the opportunists political activism is always synonymous with tailing a mass movement. On the contrary, we developed an active and interventionist political line at each step of the Iranian crisis. In opposing ourselves in a principled manner to participation in Khomeinist demonstrations, we did not opt for political silence. In accordance with its resources and the concrete military situation, a Trotskyist organization would have used the opening created by the appearance of a mass Islamic

In Farsi

From Mossadeq's National Front
to Khomeini's Reaction

**Iran and
Permanent Revolution**

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Immigrants...

(continued from page 5)

unorganised! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions! For labour/immigrant mobilisations against fascist attacks! Jobs for all—For a sliding scale of hours at no loss in pay! Expropriate the bourgeoisie—For a planned, socialist economy organised internationally! In every country where we exist, the ICL has fought to expose the lie of “national unity” between workers and bosses and to rally the proletariat in class solidarity with immigrants and minorities. As an example of this perspective, on 9 February in the San Francisco Bay Area our American comrades mobilised a labour-based united-front rally around the slogans: “Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labour—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!”

There are important developments in Europe that point the way to a class-struggle road to unite the proletariat in defence of its own interests against attacks by capital. From Turkish/Kurdish metal workers in Germany to black and Asian transport workers in London, immigrants and their children are a key component of strategic, unionised sectors of the proletariat. In Italy and Germany, there have been important breaks with the narrow economism and national chauvinism pushed by the trade-union bureaucrats in their role as “labour lieutenants of capital.” Thus in Italy, the CGIL trade-union federation and COBAS have called general strikes by labour and immigrants against the Bossi/Fini anti-immigrant law and also against the Berlusconi government’s attempt to make the labour market “flexible” for increased exploitation by shredding union gains won through several decades of hard-fought battles! In response to popular outrage, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) is now obliged to call protests calling for closing down the detention centres which RC itself had earlier voted for setting up. In Berlin’s Potsdamer Platz on 20 June, a mass picket of German construction workers spiked an attempt to manipulate Portuguese immigrants as strikebreakers, by appealing to them to fight alongside the union in struggling for the rights of all labour, including foreign workers. As the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to cross the picket line, the strikers yelled, “Long

live international solidarity!” This shows, as our comrades in Germany said in their leaflet to these strikers, “German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately.”

Advancement along this class-struggle road is obstructed by reformists and trade-union misleaders who deploy strikes not to combat capitalist rule but as pressure tactics on capitalist politicians to whom they are ultimately beholden. Thus the IG Metall strike, which united German, Turkish and Kurdish workers in struggle in May, was called off by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] union tops as soon as SPD party leader Schröder warned that a long strike would cost the German capi-

bringing them back to the helm of capitalism” (*Spartaco* No. 60, May 2002).

For a Socialist Fight for a Workers Europe!

The rise of racist demagoguery, government attacks on immigrants and the threat of fascist terror bands can only be eradicated through a victorious struggle against the capitalist system. This perspective is the fundamental point of departure separating the ICL from all of our competitors in the workers movement. The anarchist milieu, while often admirably audacious in militant protests against the powers that be, lacks a programme to effectively combat much less replace the rule of capital. At bottom,



London, March 13: British Spartacus Youth Group initiated protest at School of Oriental and African Studies against Labour’s “anti-terrorist” laws and anti-immigrant witchhunt.

talists money (isn’t that the point of strikes, to hit the bosses in their pocket-books?) and so threaten the SPD’s standing in upcoming parliamentary elections. Similarly, Italy’s Rifondazione Comunista leader, Bertinotti, supports strike action against the Berlusconi government explicitly to put a centre-left coalition back in power to better manage capitalist rule. RC’s left wing, the “Proposta” group, now admits that RC shares responsibility for anti-immigrant laws during its support to the Prodi government, but their role is to keep leftist militants within the fold of RC reformism. As our Italian comrades have noted of Proposta, “Their perspective is not to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the workers to power, but a ‘left pole’ that puts pressure on the reformist leaders and contributes to

their worldview is that of streetfighting liberals: pressure politics expressing justified outrage outside meetings of the capitalist rulers, rather than loathsome suit-and-tie parliamentary reformism. It’s not enough to protest, it’s necessary to have a perspective to fight to transform society, to topple the rapacious imperialist system and create a workers state as the necessary first step on the road to a global classless society. The former Stalinist parties and the social democrats long ago made their peace with capitalist rule; indeed, across Europe they administered it and augmented the attacks on the working class and immigrants. Our pseudo-Trotskyist competitors peddle their wares in the shadow of the social democracy because their aim is not to forge an authentic Leninist party by split-

Iran 1979...

(continued from page 11)

minister, to tell the working class; go on strike if you want, but for the exterior, not for the interior. The workers responded, “We didn’t go on strike for Khomeini and we are not going to stop for Khomeini now.” This was the moment to intersect the working class with the Bolshevik program of political independence of the proletariat and to win the vanguard of workers to revolutionary consciousness. Khomeini sent Bazargan to Iran a second time and then those who were leading the working class broke the strike. They said that it was necessary to be united with Khomeini.

The second very important moment was when Khomeini arrived in Teheran in February 1979 and there were some leaders of SAVAK who were going to be executed. This was the moment to have people’s tribunals, revolutionary tribunals, to judge these torturers. So what happened? They executed two or three obviously hated, well-known bigwigs and afterward they put the SAVAK back in place with the same structure under the name of SAVAMMA. It’s the same thing, just a little name change. And that’s where the mullahs consolidated their power.

And the third key moment was in March 1979, when there was a mass demonstration of women against the veil, with a security squad of Fedayeen. There were two days of demonstrations. The first day

there was a physical attack by the mullahs against the demonstration. There was real resistance. The second day, the Fedayeen broke up the demonstration, because they wouldn’t break the unity with Khomeini. We fought to break this reactionary unity and to win the proletariat to a line of class independence.

So it was only with the support of the left that the mullahs could consolidate power. And immediately afterward, the mass killings began. And when I say mass killings, I weigh my words. Literally thousands of leftist militants were

executed. In the prisons thousands and thousands of national minorities, especially Kurds, were massacred. Thousands of homosexuals, of women, were tortured and assassinated.

Khomeini consolidated his power through something else: the war with Iraq. There too we have a number of articles that we wrote, then translated into Farsi, and we worked with a number of Iranian groups. On this subject, we said “both sides are reactionary,” we said to the workers, “Turn your guns against your own bourgeoisie,” “Down with the

ting the proletarian base of the reformist parties from their pro-capitalist tops but to pressure these misleaders.

On the question of immigration, groups like Workers Power promote the call to “open the borders.” It’s a catchy slogan, but what it would mean for “Third World” countries is an open door for imperialist investors. More generally, it is a utopian and reactionary demand for an egalitarian world within the framework of capitalism. It is retrograde to promote the notion that somehow capitalism can be made rational or humane. Unlike groups such as Workers Power, which spout rhetoric against racism and slogans like “open the borders” but politically support the chauvinist social democrats, we seek urgently to mobilise the working class to take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all who manage to cross the borders and to drive home the understanding that the source of exploitation of all labour is the capitalist system of production, which is defended to the bitter end by *the capitalist state*. Until we achieve an internationally planned, socialist economy based on collectivised property, it will not be possible to abolish the state or national borders. The nation-state is the basis of the organisation of the capitalist economy, and to deny that is to capitulate to muddle-headed bourgeois “democrats.” As Lenin said in his April 1917 speech on the national question, “What does ‘Down with frontiers’ mean? It is the beginning of anarchy.... Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, and not a method, will the slogan ‘Down with frontiers’ be a correct slogan.”

Against capitalist Fortress Europe, our perspective is the fight for *the socialist United States of Europe* as a vital step in the world socialist revolution. The necessary instruments to bring the working class to power are Leninist parties, politically guided with a programme that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We fight to reforge the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Despite the regression in political consciousness today and the huge gulf between our purpose and present means, it is evident that there is no shortage of combativity and desire on the part of the working people, oppressed minorities and youth to fight. For their struggles to be successful and not derailed into the trap of reformist pressure politics, it is urgent to construct a revolutionary leadership. This is what the sections of the ICL fight for, nothing other and nothing less. ■

19 FALL 1979

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Committee of the Spartacist League

Down With Islamic Reaction!

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

SPECIAL ISSUE ON IRAN

Women and Revolution
No. 19, Fall 1979, \$5.00 (16 pages)

From Mossadegh's National Front to Khomeini's Reaction

Iran and Permanent Revolution

SPARTACIST

The Monthly Organ of the Spartacist League

No. 33, Spring 1982, \$5.00 (24 pages)

Spartacist (English edition)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

A second generation of potential militants was wiped out in this war. Imagine the force, the potential power of this smashed working class. When we now see that the defeat of the proletariat in Iran was a basis for reinforcing the possibility of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, and that this paved the way for the war in Afghanistan today and the hell for women there for 20 years under the *mujahedin* supported by imperialism, imagine the contrary. Imagine for a minute that if the revolution in Iran had been a proletarian revolution, what this would have meant for Afghanistan, what this would have meant for Soviet Central Asia, what this would have meant for the ex-Soviet Union as such. It is for you to see, I hope that it was clear, that defeats are not inevitable. When we fight it is possible to win. But it is necessary to have the capacity to swim against the stream and to be true to the program which can bring the working class to power. ■

Striking German Construction Workers Say:

“Long Live International Solidarity!”

In a country where strikes have been a pretty rare occurrence, German workers have carried out two major strikes in less than two months. In May, hundreds of thousands of metal workers in the IG Metall union—ethnic Germans along with workers of Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Yugoslav descent—staged a series of rolling strikes that vividly demonstrated the power of that integrated workforce (see “Germany: Metal Workers Strikes Rattle Government,” WV No. 782, 31 May). Late last month, construction workers in the IG Bau industrial union staged the first nationwide strike in that industry since World War II. The week-long strike, which ended on June 25, forced the building trades bosses to grant a 3.2 percent pay hike with a further 2.4 percent increase effective next spring.

Particularly significant was that the union actively reached out to foreign-born workers and sought to organize them into the union. This is all the more notable in the context of the racist anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the Social Democrats (SPD), who govern the country in coalition with the bourgeois Greens. SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder is competing with right-wing Christian Democratic (CDU) candidate Edmund Stoiber over who is hardest on “public safety,” a code word for racist cop terror against immigrants and their families.

The following is a translation of a 24 June leaflet distributed by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).

SPARTAKIST

Equal pay at union rates for all workers, east or west, foreign, immigrant or German!

Organize the unorganized!

Police out of the DGB!

Stop the fascists through worker/immigrant mobilizations!

Racist state terror of SPD/PDS/Greens paves the way for Stoiber/Schill/Möllemann!

No vote to SPD or PDS!

For a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

Berlin, Potsdamer Platz, June 20: Over 200 striking building workers had formed an effective picket line in front of the Beisheim Center construction site when private cops in dark suits tried to bring a group of Portuguese workers onto the struck building site. There was an appeal to the workers over the megaphone, in German and Portuguese, not to let themselves be misused as scabs. An IG Bau representative called out that this strike is for all workers, including for better pay for foreign workers. After he called for support to the strike, the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to go onto the building site. The striking building workers cheered and called out, “Long live international solidarity!” This shows that what’s at stake here is a lot more than 4.5 percent: German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately.

At the same time, 30 workers were arrested during the general strike in Spain while European Union (EU) government heads were meeting in Seville. The German capitalist government, led by SPD chancellor Schröder, was in the front line there beefing up “Fortress Europe” against immigrants. We Spartakists said from the start that the EU is an imperialist trade bloc which exists to better repre-

sent the interests of the exploiters against the working class and oppressed. We stand for a United Socialist States of Europe. Now SPD president Rau has signed the so-called “immigration law,” whose racist regulations include preventing 12-year-old children [from non-EU countries] from living with their parents. Against this, we Spartakists fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here.

In the building strike, the foreign workers have been subjected to enormous

geous nuclear family is the main instrument for the oppression of women. It is precisely the women and children of ethnic minorities and women in the poorer east [Germany] who are most affected by these cuts. For free, quality childcare around the clock!

Many workers say to us that the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] moved “to the right” when it entered the Berlin Senate. However, the PDS has always made clear that its goal is to be allowed to help run capitalism—only “more

that a long strike could cost his government a victory in the Bundestag elections in September. The servile politics of the union bureaucracy encourage the capitalists to launch further attacks—against the building workers union and other unions or, as now, against the unemployed.

The coming election campaign promises to be viciously racist and nationalist. The SPD is competing with the CDU and FDP [the capitalist Free Democratic Party] in this. And the PDS, which carries out police terror and deportations in the states where it is in the government, has now helped the SPD/Green government push through the immigration law. While the slogan of many pseudo-left groups, like Linksruck or Gruppe Arbeitermacht (Workers Power—GAM), during the 1997 building workers strike was “Kohl must go” in order to persuade the working class to again vote for the SPD or PDS as a “lesser evil,” today they’re calling to “Stop Stoiber” or “Stop Schill” [the ultrarightist top cop in Hamburg]. But it is the racist politics of the SPD and PDS that pave the way for the right. What we need is a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

On May 31, amid the loud applause of 20,000 demonstrators, IG Bau president Wiesehegel proclaimed the slogan: “Foreign co-workers welcome! Attack dumping companies [that pay sub-minimum wages]!” It’s good that the leadership of the IG Bau is saying today that the dumping wages are illegal and not the workers, but in 1997 the IG Bau leadership was still organizing racist raids on building sites, together with the cops. The fatal policies of the bureaucracy, aimed at collaboration with the capitalist class, haven’t changed, and that was demonstrated again at a rally of some 2,000 building workers in Hamburg on June 24. When a representative of the building industry bosses came onto the stage at the invitation of the union, he launched a vicious tirade against “illegal” workers—until the assembled workers shut him up with loud booing and shouts of “Liar!” And it’s only recently that the IG Bau, under pressure from union members, threw out the FDP industrialist Möllemann, an anti-Semitic demagogue. The fact that in the east the union needs to fight for its very survival right now is due to the 1997 sell-out, with settlements imposing wage cuts for east and west and “company-by-company agreements.” And while at the moment the IG Bau union wants to organize foreign workers, their president Wiesehegel is an SPD Bundestag member and votes for the laws which are directed against these workers and thus against all building workers: *Rasterfahndung* [computerized “racial profiling”], the immigration law, deployment of the Bundeswehr [army], etc.

The fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and against deportations is a fight against the politics of the SPD and PDS. So it’s not surprising that organizations like the GAM, which is intervening into this strike with its “Mobile Solidarity Committee,” doesn’t mention the question of the fight against racism and against divisions in the working class—the *central questions of this strike*. That is because of their support to the SPD and PDS. By contrast, the Spartakist Workers Party fights to break the proletarian base of the SPD and PDS from the pro-capitalist leadership of these parties and to win them to the communist program. We are fighting to build an international revolutionary workers party to sweep away once and for all the capitalist system of exploitation, racism and war. ■



Left: IG Bau strike pickets in Munich. Below: Union demonstrates in Berlin in lead-up to strike.



Plambeck/HCP

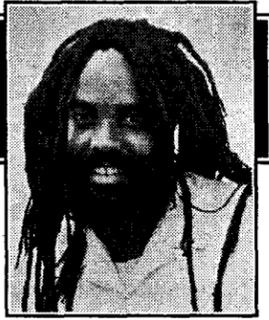
pressure. The threat of having work permits taken away or of being deported is a loaded weapon of the capitalist state, affecting foreign and immigrant workers in the first instance but directed against all workers. If it is to defend itself, the whole working class must defend its most vulnerable elements. At all the building sites, the cops are in place to protect strikebreakers. They are not “fellow workers,” as the IG Bau leadership preaches, but the armed fist of the bourgeois state, which exists to protect the private property of the capitalist class and the system of exploitation. We demand: Police out of the DGB [trade-union federation]! The IG Bau is being threatened by the bourgeois courts with a fine of 250,000 euros if they “impede” scabs. To be beaten back, this attack by the state against the building workers union requires the solidarity of all unions. Down with all laws against unions and against the right to strike!

The striking building workers received solidarity greetings from the workers organized in ver.di [public employees union], who shut down day-care centers in a four-hour strike on June 20. They are fighting against the SPD/PDS Berlin Senate [municipal government], which is trying to “clean up” the bankrupt city for the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and oppressed. The privatization of day care that they’re railroad-ing through means closures and fee increases, driving working women out of jobs and back to the kitchen. The bour-

socially.” But the capitalist economic system functions to maximize profit. The working class only gets what it struggles for. We Spartakists fight for the smashing of the capitalist system through workers revolution, so that those who produce the wealth also rule. For an international planned economy! Because of its planned economy, we defended the DDR [East Germany] against capitalist counterrevolution in 1989-90 and fought for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy. The PDS, formed from the collapsing Stalinist bureaucracy, led the pro-communist workers of the DDR into the counterrevolution. Since then, the capitalist class—not least in the building industry—has been trying to play off the workers of the east against the workers of the west. And workers from the East European countries which have been devastated by counterrevolution are exploited for starvation wages. This strike can be a powerful blow against this attempt to divide the working class.

In the Bundestag [parliamentary] elections in 1998, we Spartakists said: No vote for SPD or PDS! With the slogan “We are willing,” the SPD promised the capitalists that it would go after the unions and immigrants and that it would make war. Everything we warned about has happened. Even so, the bureaucracy that runs the unions is for the SPD. For instance, in May the IG Metall leadership obediently ended its strike action after two weeks when Schröder made it clear

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Now into the Twilight Zone

With the seizure of the person (one can't say "arrest," for the government has announced it has no intention of prosecuting) of the American citizen alleged to have been planning "dirty bomb" strikes against U.S. targets, Abdullah Al-Muhajir (ne Jose Padilla), the government goes down a dark and long road, the destination of which can only be—the Twilight Zone (with apologies to the late Rod Serling).

A charge, under Anglo-American jurisprudence, is only a charge, and remains so only until a duly-constituted selection and decision of one's peers—a jury, decides otherwise.

This is the boast that Americans have used for over two centuries, to hold their noses higher than the rest of the allegedly uncivilized world, as an expression of their trust in the wisdom, and insight of the average American citizen, to decide the fate of their fellows.

Under the present Bush regime, however, there is a marked perception that the American people, and more importantly, the institutions erected in their name, are not to be trusted.

This view was apparently one of long standing.

Let us go back, back—way back to the days of the 2000 elections for the (electoral college's) choice of who would be President of the United States of America. Do you remember when the Republican lawyers appealed the decision of the Florida Supreme Court? It was not merely that the Bush-Cheney government-in-exile mistrusted the machinations of the Florida Supreme Court. The Court's second recount order did

more than order a selective recount in certain counties—yes. Florida's Supremes ordered its lower circuit and county judiciary—essentially trial judges—to do much of the counting! Therefore, the reversal of the order of the Florida Supreme Court did far more than slap the faces of the Supremes—it, at least implicitly, suggested that the circuit court judges in the affected counties were not to be trusted!

Ever since the promulgation of the military tribunals, which had no tie-in with the civil, state or federal judiciary, there has been the sense that the Administration has little or no trust in the nation's judicial apparatus, that somehow they were unable or perhaps unwilling to come out with the results that the Bush Regime would approve of.

No civil courts, no judges, and no juries—what does this say about how much the Administration trusts, not only people in other branches of government, but average Americans themselves?

Not much, it seems.

If these same types of things were happening in, say, Peru, or North Korea, or Zimbabwe, so-called human rights activists would be baying to the moon about "shadow government," "secret, unreviewable tribunals," and the big one—"the lack of democracy."

But, the silence is deafening.

The right has so cowed what passes for the "left" in America that they bite their tongues bloody, to prove they are "proud Americans" while a de facto coup takes shape right before their very eyes.

Secret Tribunals. Unlimited detention. Military courts. No right to counsel (such as it is!). Incommunicado. Is this Fujimori's Peru? Is this Botha's South Africa?

Is this government by the people, or government by fiat?

This, then, is the real consequences of the sham democracy that is America at the beginning of the 21st Century. Where legislators are but bagmen for industry, and when the press is but a wholly-owned subsidiary of yet another big business conglomerate.

Fujimori had his boogiemens—the Sendero Luminoso (aka "Shining Path") to whip the bourgeoisie into lockstep with the neo-fascist narco-kleptocracy.

Botha had his boogiemens—the African National Congress (and the PAC, and Biko, and AZAPO, etc.) to whip the white bourgeoisie into lockstep with the Herrenvolk, white-supremacist, racist-fascist military dictatorship.

Bush has Al-Qaeda—a plastic, ever-changing, shapeless boogiemans, which is being used to whip the nation's bourgeoisie into an unconstitutional frenzy of spycraft, skullduggery, and unprecedented federal intrusion into the lives, opinions, and beliefs of millions of Americans.

Is such-and-such a thing true? Who knows? The government said it, so...?

We are watching the very erection of Papa Bush's New World Order, and it ain't pretty.

What are you going to do about it?

12 June 2002

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Korea...

(continued from page 2)

remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Washington demands that North Korea abandon development of long-range missiles and rails against its supposed plans to build nuclear weapons. The U.S., meanwhile, is proceeding with a "theater missile defense system" whose targets include North Korea and particularly China. The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, there would have been no Cuban Revolution, no Vietnamese Revolution, and China and Korea would be irradiated rubble.

Seizing on the supposed threat posed by China and North Korea, Japanese government spokesmen have raised the spectre of developing a nuclear arsenal. This has provoked a predictable uproar both from Japan's East Asian neighbors and within its own population, whose ingrained hostility to nuclear weapons is rooted in still-living memories of the 1945 incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American A-bombs. In pursuit of its imperialist ambitions in Asia, the Japanese government has been rearming apace in recent years, and right-wing prime minister Junichiro Koizumi came to office last year on a program of open Japanese militarism. In a powerful act of proletarian opposition to this renewed militarism, dock workers in the port of Sasebo last fall refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghanistan (see "Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," WV No. 770, 7 December 2001).

Imperialist belligerence toward the North has all but capsized the "Sunshine Policy" of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, whose attempts at "engaging" Pyongyang were aimed at undermining

the deformed workers state through capitalist economic penetration. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il responded to Seoul's overtures by further opening up limited areas for capitalist investment. But especially following June 29, opposition parties in the South are echoing the Bush administration's tirades against the North. Whatever the tactical differences between Kim Dae Jung and his imperialist masters in Washington, both are guided by the goal of capitalist counter-revolution in North Korea.

The cultist, nepotistic Stalinist regime of Kim Jong Il, who succeeded his father Kim Il Sung, undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state. The bureaucracy's autarkic notion of *juche* (self-reliance) is rooted in the Stalinist lie that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one country, or even half of one. This nationalist dogma is counterposed to a perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to any struggle for workers revolution against the South Korean bourgeoisie. The North Korean Stalinists have long called for "peaceful reunification" with the South—a recipe for capitalist reunification and annexation of the North by the Seoul bourgeoisie.

What is crucially needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for the *revolutionary reunification of Korea—for socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats!* The fate of the Korean workers North and South is tied up with that of the working class in the imperialist centers, particularly Japan and the U.S. The creation of a revolutionary, unified Korea would have an enormous impact on the proletariat of Japan, not least its oppressed Korean minority. In turn, socialist revolution in Japan would put the enormous productive resources of that country at the disposal of the working class throughout East Asia, laying the basis for a socialist Asia. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for prole-

tarian revolution in Japan. For our part, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party—part of a reformed Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away rapacious U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet. ■

Long Beach Anarchists...

(continued from page 8)

FBI and Secret Service, he was released only to be rearrested minutes later by the Feds under the sinister Patriot Act. Branded a "terrorist" in the courtroom, Austin was denied bail as the judge deemed him a "threat to the community." After 15 days in New York and Oklahoma prisons, Austin was released and all charges were dropped due to lack of evidence.

The threats and harassment are not limited to those who participated in the May Day protest. The Long Beach Infoshoppe, a bookstore and community center in part set up by Lamont and Sherman, has been under surveillance since its opening in November. Police linger outside looking to hound these activists, following them, ticketing one for jaywalking and another for riding a bicycle without the proper license and issuing a citation for spitting on the sidewalk.

This systematic campaign of harassment and repression occurs in the context of the new FBI rules, which allow the agency to infiltrate political and religious groups, conduct surreptitious break-ins of homes and offices and seize information without a shred of evidence of *any* criminal activity. This "anti-terror" campaign is reminiscent of the "Red Scare" repression following the 1917 Russian Revolution, which found resonance in the Long Beach/San Pedro port area. In 1922, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) members in Los Angeles were rounded up by police under the "criminal syndicalism law." This repression intensified after

IWW-led efforts to organize longshore and maritime workers culminated in the 1923 "Great San Pedro Strike." Police began throwing 50 men at a time in to a single jail cell without ventilation, beating many. Those who protested the arrests or attempted to distribute political literature were rounded up. This bloody police repression, along with the hiring of thousands of scabs, overwhelmed the strikers and drove the IWW out of the Los Angeles area. At the time, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote, "The challenge to ordered government has been given, and it must be met...stockades and forced labor are a good remedy for IWW terrorism."

Today, the Long Beach ports are worked by thousands of members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). It is key that Long Beach activists understand that in order to fight state repression, the social power of the working class must be mobilized. If the ILWU workers, who are under the gun of the same capitalist state, had a victorious strike in their current contract battle, it would help enormously in staying the hand of the state.

On February 9 in Oakland, the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee organized a labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights and against the government's new repressive laws. At the core of the protest was a contingent of longshoremen. As we wrote in WV No. 783 (14 June), "We had better fight for more and larger such mobilizations in defense of our rights against a government whose equation of political advocacy with a criminal terrorist enterprise is a license to kill." Political differences notwithstanding, we uphold the time-honored IWW principle that an injury to one is an injury to all and defend the Long Beach activists against capitalist state repression. **Drop all charges against Matt Lamont, Maxwell Lucas and Jeff Hendricks! Free the May Day protesters! Hands off Sherman Austin!**

Send donations for legal defense to the Long Beach Anarchist Defense Committee at: LBADC, Box 146, 5710 E. 7th St., Long Beach, CA 90803. ■

Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics

Assisting the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) in going after the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), the bourgeois media rarely fails to mention, in duly inflated figures, current longshore wages. *Pacific Business News* (1 July) put starting yearly wages "in the \$80,000" range and on June 27 the Associated Press, citing the maritime association, gave a figure of \$107,000 for a full-time worker.

The inclusion of these figures is meant to portray longshoremen as overpaid and thus not worthy of the support of other workers, while downplaying the greed factor of the cabal of import/export concerns, shipping line magnates and cargo bosses on the docks. (Just by way of comparison, take CSX Corp., the intermodal shipping and transportation concern, whose CEO raked in \$18,085,060 for 2001.)

We like the way Wobbly leader "Big Bill" Haywood put it: "Nothing is too good for the proletariat!" Particularly for black workers in the San Francisco Bay Area, longshore jobs represent the only real chance many have of escaping poverty. But we feel compelled to expose the truth behind this sleight of hand by the capitalist media. To begin with, \$80K a year hardly qualifies as luxurious, especially if you're trying to feed and house a family in L.A. or San Francisco.

Moreover, the number who receive

anywhere near these figures is pretty small. In its 2001 annual report, the PMA shows the average earnings paid to an A-man as \$82,895 (down over \$1,000 from the year before). Those registered workers with an A rating have at least 2000 hours of work logged, which includes only 55 percent of all longshoremen. A-men get first chance for a job, and consequently work the skilled jobs and shifts that pay a premium. A typical registered worker with a B rating, which in the San Francisco area at the moment means approximately three years' seniority, gets \$20.94 an hour—about what a high seniority professional secretary makes, and significantly less than a skilled craft worker. Paid hours for longshore casuals, non-registered workers who get last pick, dropped 30 percent from 2000 to 2001. We've known casual workers who were forced to live *in their cars* in the union's parking lot. A crucial demand in this regard is for equalizing the pay for equal work at the highest level, and for a sliding scale of wages and hours to spread the available work at no loss in pay.

Then there's the fact that the annual wages banded about by the press aren't based on a 40-hour week. At a base rate of \$27.68, paid to the highest seniority workers, the yearly salary would be \$55,360. In order to make the money they do, A-men often work 10-hour days, six days a week (sometimes double shifts),

typically at night and on the weekends, to get the shift differential and overtime pay. A privileged minority of skilled equipment operators work as "steady men," reporting exclusively to a single stevedoring company and earning significantly more than longshoremen working out of the dispatch hall. But even they are often forced to double back for extra shifts out of the hall in order to make house payments and send their children to college. For most A-men an income even approaching six figures comes at considerable physical risk, undertaken in the desperate hope of being able to accumulate enough money to keep oneself and one's family going after age and injuries make it impossible to do this work at all.

And it is the injury rate that tells the real story here. Hard class struggle in the 1930s won workers on the West Coast waterfront a modicum of control over job conditions which made their work qualitatively safer, but those gains have been under attack by the companies ever since. Injuries and accidents increased significantly with containerization in the early '60s, which subsequently pushed the six-hour shift to eight while simultaneously speeding up the loading and unloading process, moving much heavier equipment and cargo much faster around the docks.

The PMA indicates that 414 lashers,

377 semi-tractor drivers, 239 holdmen and 227 ILWU mechanics (to name just the most dangerous job categories) were injured during 2001—nearly one in eight longshoremen. There were over 24,000 lost-time injuries in longshore and harbor work nationally in 2000. For that year, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures give the median number of days away from work due to injury in all occupations as six, while for stevedores it was 29, giving an indication of the seriousness of the injuries. Seventeen died from work handling marine cargo.

These statistics on job-related casualties the capitalists and their media mouthpieces don't mention. But when it comes to the cops, the armed thugs of the bosses' state, we're positively bombarded with everything from facts and figures on injuries "in the line of duty" to the text of mayoral speeches and pictures of grieving widows at police funerals. The truth of the matter is that it is a lot riskier to hold down an industrial job than to terrorize the ghetto poor. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for 15 selected occupations for 1997 ranked cops next to the bottom in fatal injuries per capita on the job (*Compensation and Working Conditions*, Summer 1999). A total of 151 cops were killed on the job in 2000; compare that with 523 truckers. You're ten times more likely to die if you're a timber cutter than if you're a cop!

Our answer to all this? A socialist society in which managers don't earn 218 times as much as laborers, production is run safely for the needs of all, and power lies in the hands of those who work.

Longshore...

(continued from page 16)

Socialist Organization and Workers World Party enthused over how inspiring the more-patriotic-than-thou Oakland rally was. Some from the *News & Letters* group piped up only to question the presence of Bustamante. Unlike these groups which pander to the "progressive" image of the ILWU bureaucracy, we in the Spartacist League reject the "national unity" patriotism which targets immigrants as the first victims of capitalist exploitation and oppression, and is now being used against the organized workers movement itself. As we have written in our press and argued for in discussions with longshoremen, the ILWU must take up the fight for union rights and union-scale wages for port truckers, and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

On February 9, the Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered united-front protest in downtown Oakland that broke through the post-September 11 "national unity" straitjacket. With longshoremen at its core, the rally was directed against the anti-immigrant witchhunt, opposing both the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act. The protest gave a taste of labor's power when organized under its own banners, independent of the capitalist state and its political parties.

Bureaucratic Chauvinism vs. International Class Struggle

In order to fight, you must understand who are your friends and who are your enemies. Workers and capitalists do not have common national interests; to the contrary, their interests are *irreconcilably counterposed*. The state does not float above all class conflicts as some neutral arbiter. Rather, it acts as the executive committee of the capitalists, wielding armed force—police, courts, prisons, army—to maintain their class rule and increase their profits.

The Democrats no less than the Republicans have used the horrible attack on the World Trade Center in order to pursue

U.S. imperialist aims abroad and crack down on the working class at home. At the end of June, Ted Kennedy and seven other Democratic Senators wrote Bush asking him not to intervene in the ongoing port negotiations. Forty-five House Democrats wrote both the PMA and ILWU urging them to bargain in "good faith." While this is portrayed as a signal of their support for labor, these capitalist politicians intervene only to *head off* the union from exercising its social power against the bosses. In his remarks to a strike support meeting in San Francisco on July 2, ILWU Local 10 president Richard Mead inadvertently captured the danger to the ranks of the bureaucracy's fealty to the Democratic Party: the fact that the Democrats had signed on to oppose government intervention in the negotiations, Mead said, meant that the union "couldn't just raise hell" in order to retain their support.

Partaking of the outlook of the capitalists, the union bureaucracy with its chauvinism projects an alliance with the enemies of the working class in the U.S. against class brothers and sisters abroad. Thus the union tops indulged in an orgy of anti-Asian bigotry and "buy American" protectionism at the June 27 rallies. At the Los Angeles rally, Ponce de Leon hailed, "Red White and Blue, ILWU!" A leaflet issued by Local 13 on June 26 and handed out at the rally ranted:

"Due to a global market, foreign capital is what dictates the course of the PMA employer group against American workers. True and loyal Americans must wonder where the profits go from these companies. Are the American tax dollars spent on increasing profits for third world countries...?"

In Oakland, Teamsters head Jimmy Hoffa Jr. likewise referred to the bureaucrats' anti-Chinese mobilization at the 1999 Seattle anti-WTO protests and denounced "shipping jobs out of America" to China and the "Third World."

This national chauvinism stands directly in the way of organizing together with the superexploited workers of the "Third World" against the U.S. capitalists who go offshore to increase *their* profits. Longshore workers' natural allies are their fellow workers of every ethnic group and nationality—from immigrant

port truckers to the workers everywhere in the world who make the goods the ILWU handles. It is in the direct interest of U.S. workers to support the workers of Asia and elsewhere by using their union power independently of Wall Street and Washington. The labor movement should be mobilizing to defend the Chinese workers state from capitalist restoration. Despite its bureaucratic deformities, China embodies the gains of the 1949 Revolution which ripped the country away from the imperialist powers and the Chinese warlords and capitalists.

There is nowhere that the common interests of the international working class are clearer than on the docks, the portals into the world capitalist market. Dock workers internationally are all facing similar attacks. An International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) circular dated 17 June details European Commission plans for a "liberalisation" package, paralleling attacks in the U.S., that will bypass local dock workers altogether, introducing "self handling" of all cargo by the low-wage, non-union seamen on the ships. The ITF circular describes the powerful electronic freight-tracking technology in rapidly increasing use around the world which is at the heart of the PMA's demands for concessions by the ILWU. Moreover, specially trained U.S. customs agents are to be stationed in 20 international ports with the freedom to perform pre-emptive checks on the manifests of containers before they leave port; agents are already on their way to three major ports in Europe.

On June 14, 10,000 port workers took part in protests across Europe against the European Union's planned port deregulation law. In Hamburg, our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany mobilized youth to support the dock workers and argue for our program of class-struggle mobilization. Dock workers applauded our contingent and enthusiastically entered into discussions on our perspective for workers revolution.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party—Fight for a Workers Government!

Everyone knows that the highly developed electronic freight-tracking technol-

ogy being introduced today in ports around the world can eliminate enormous amounts of work. But as long as it is in the hands of the capitalist shippers, shipping lines and terminal and port operators, they will use it to increase their profits at the expense of the workers, because the capitalist system of production for profit dictates that they do so. It is the same in other areas of transport, in manufacturing and distribution.

If the capitalists are incapable of running a high-tech economy without creating mass misery and gaping social inequity, let the workers take over the ownership of the whole of industry and run it for the benefit of the whole working population under proletarian democracy. The ports are engaged in interlocking international trade in a market that has virtually penetrated every corner of the globe since the middle of the 19th century. It will take rational international planning to clean up the mess that capitalism has made of the planet. That is the perspective we fight for, to rebuild society on the principles of international socialism.

To do this, it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a new, class-struggle leadership. Even the most "progressive" union leadership limited to a consciousness based on trade-union struggle cannot go beyond the fight to improve the condition of the workers *within* capitalist society. What is needed is to do away with the entire rotting system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. For this, labor needs a party of its own, one that is firmly based on the program of international workers revolution with a membership that is imbued with communist consciousness. Like the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the 1917 Russian Revolution to victory, it must be built by the fusion of the most politically conscious militants in the unions with intellectuals who have struggled to carry forward that program. The Spartacist League has set for itself the task of building that party to secure the interests of the working class as a whole through new Octobers. We urge thoughtful workers seeking the path forward for the working class to read and discuss with us. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Government Uses "National Security" to Threaten Longshoremen

ILWU: Union Gains Under the Gun

National Chauvinism: Poison to Class Struggle

SAN FRANCISCO, July 7—Workers internationally are watching the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), whose contract expired on July 1. The 10,500 West Coast longshoremen have the power to beat back the threatened attacks by the terminal operators and cargo distributors represented by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Faced with the prospect of a strike which would bring an immediate halt to the movement of cargo worth \$260 billion a year, the Bush administration went into high gear on behalf of the employers. The White House announced it was monitoring contract talks, "encouraging the parties to reach an agreement," with the implicit threat of presidential intervention to stop any strike action.

Far more menacing is the unprecedented involvement of Tom Ridge, presiding over the broad attacks on democratic rights dubbed "Homeland Security," who called ILWU International president Jim Spinoza as early as mid June, "warning him that a strike could threaten national security" (*ABC News*, 27 June). Since then both Ridge and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld have been on the phone to Spinoza regularly.

These efforts to strong-arm the ILWU bureaucracy come just weeks after the House passed an even more draconian version of the Senate's maritime security bill that is intended to purge the waterfront workforce. The House bill includes the vast expansion of the Coast Guard and criminal background checks of all port workers.

Under the watchword of defending the "national interest," these sinister moves are aimed straight at the heart of the working class. This was aptly summed up by Alexander Cockburn writing online on June 27, "As so often throughout the twentieth century, national security is being used to justify strike-breaking,



June 27: As West Coast shipping bosses take aim at ILWU union hiring hall, longshore workers rally in Oakland.

invocation of the Taft-Hartley Act and declarations of national emergency to shut down labor activism and if necessary throw labor organizers in jail." The "national interest" is the class interest of the bourgeoisie, not the workers!

Union Tops Salute "National Security" and the Democrats

It could not be clearer that longshoremen must be mobilized in action to beat back these attacks. Instead the ILWU leadership has mobilized the rank and file to salute the flag, abjectly reassuring the capitalist rulers that the last thing they want is class struggle. Looking to the capitalist Democratic Party to pressure the White House and spewing protectionist poison, the union tops have adopted a policy that chains labor to its class enemies and prevents the union from bringing its enormous social power to bear.

The union misleaders are giving up the union's chief weapon, the power to strike, emboldening the capitalists and ultimately demoralizing the workers. Steve Stallone, ILWU communications director, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (28 June), "It would take weeks to authorize

a strike, and no one has even made a move in that direction.... No strike is being planned." The union agreed to extend the current contract on a day-to-day basis, which keeps the no-strike provision in effect and gives the PMA "more leverage to respond to possible job actions by dock workers," as the *Journal of Commerce* (2 July) was quick to note.

Spinoza & Co. closed ranks behind the "war on terror" last fall, when they endorsed the call for increased security on the waterfront and proposed that longshoremen be its guardians. The ILWU International has offered up the overwhelmingly immigrant port truckers, vituperating that "unknown truck drivers are being allowed free access to our work environment" (see "Bosses Target Dock Workers," WV No. 769, 23 November 2001). Much has been made of the tripartite alliance between the ILWU, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Teamsters, which claims that it is organizing 50,000 port truckers. But port truckers in California report little evidence of an organizing drive, and the *People's Weekly World* (22 June) reports that the ILWU and ILA

"claim jurisdiction" over trucking within and between port terminals—which sounds a lot like kicking the current non-union drivers out of their jobs. Using port truckers as a scapegoat, the bureaucracy is playing on ethnic divisions among waterfront workers and effectively diverting the ranks' anger away from its own refusal to defend the membership.

In the Bay Area, ILWU Local 10 members are rightly proud that the old Wobbly slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" is emblazoned on their union banner. But these words fly in the face of the national chauvinist outlook and actions of the longshore tops. Rallies called up and down the coast on June 27 were saturated with "America first" chauvinism. In L.A./Long Beach, Local 13 president Ramon Ponce de Leon Jr., flanked by the American and California flags, opened the rally with the Pledge of Allegiance. The couple of thousand unionists there split on the issue, some joining in and some remaining silent.

In Oakland, the ILWU put Democratic lieutenant governor Cruz Bustamante forward to lead the heavily black and traditionally militant union ranks in the Pledge of Allegiance. Black workers remember all too well that in February last year, in a speech for Black History Month, Bustamante referred to the "National N---r American Labor Council" (only one of the vile public slurs—against homosexuals, Mexican immigrants, Asians—he has made). His remarks provoked a quarter of those at the annual awards dinner of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists to walk out. This entirely fitting representative of the Democratic Party, which is dedicated to preserving racist capitalist rule, is hailed by the union tops as a "friend of labor." Providing a platform for this racist, anti-immigrant capitalist politician is precisely the opposite of what is needed: a class-struggle fight to defend black and immigrant rights, which go hand in hand.

At a July 2 meeting of the "ILWU Strike Support Committee" in the San Francisco area, members of the International

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Police Terror U.S.A.

A big part of the bosses' "national unity" crusade has been to paint the racist, strikebreaking cops as "heroes." The videotaped police torture of 16-year-old Donovan Jackson in Inglewood, California on July 6 is a brutal reminder to any who needed it how big a lie that is. Returning to his car after paying a gas station bill, the black youth was jumped by two cops who were questioning his father about expired license plates. One of the cops dragged Jackson, who has learning and speech difficulties, by his necklace, slammed his head against the police car and punched him in the face. Jackson's "only crime," his lawyer said

later, "was paying for gas at the wrong time on the wrong day."

Drawn by the screams of horrified onlookers, a nearby motel resident started filming the attack. This tape, like the one of the 1991 LAPD beating of black motorist Rondey King, shows what happens all the time in the country's ghettos and barrios. One black woman told TV reporters, "It's an atrocity. It's bad enough that we have to be afraid of terrorists in other countries, let alone have this kind of reaction in our own country." It is the cops who are the "state-sponsored terrorists" black, Latino and working people have to fear most.

