

Cointelpro-Style Spying and Provocation

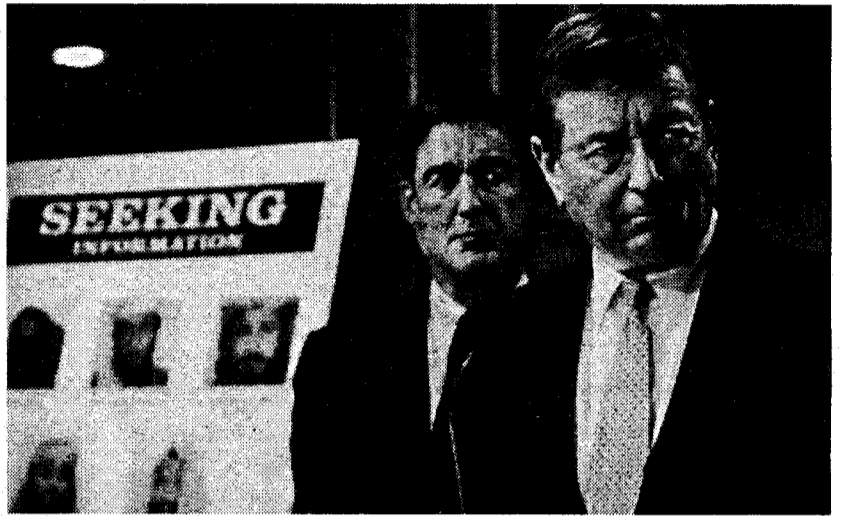
New FBI Rules: A Danger to All

On May 30, Attorney General John Ashcroft announced new "guidelines" for FBI operations to "combat terrorism." Each of the FBI's 50-plus field offices will now have full authority to infiltrate political and religious groups, conduct surreptitious break-ins of homes and offices and seize information, including on computers, without a scintilla of evidence of any criminal activity. The standards for conducting an investigation under the new guidelines are blatantly put as "substantially lower than probable cause." In fact, the basis for FBI investigations will be "thought crimes," i.e., political advocacy. Ashcroft's guidelines allow the FBI to initiate "a terrorism enterprise investigation" of organizations even if their statements or activities "would not warrant such a determination." And if the government labels you a "terrorist" it means you're an outlaw to whom they can do anything they want.

The FBI's Counterterrorism Division is shifted from "reactive orientation to proactive"—i.e., "prevention of terrorism" rather than criminal prosecution. The operational point is to provide justification and a mandate for massive and intrusive state surveillance, suspension of democratic rights and the use of extralegal force. Investigations for "prevention" provide the perfect open-ended situation for the government. Full-scale state intervention is justified; if there are no terrorist attacks, then the methods are "proven" successful; if there are terrorist attacks, this is justification for even further state surveillance. In short, the "new" guidelines are that *there are no guidelines*.

Ashcroft's announcement resurrects the notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). This operation was begun in the

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Geneta/Getty

In the name of "war on terrorism," FBI head Robert Mueller and Attorney General John Ashcroft shred democratic rights.

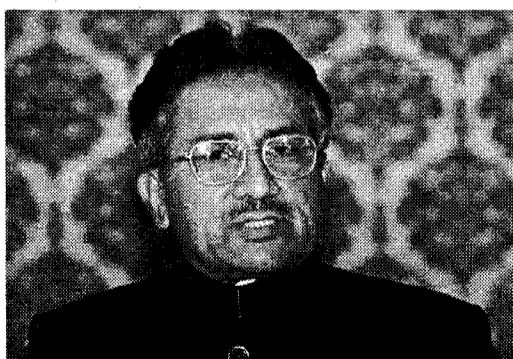
All Indian, Pakistani Troops Out!

Kashmir: Flash Point for War



AP

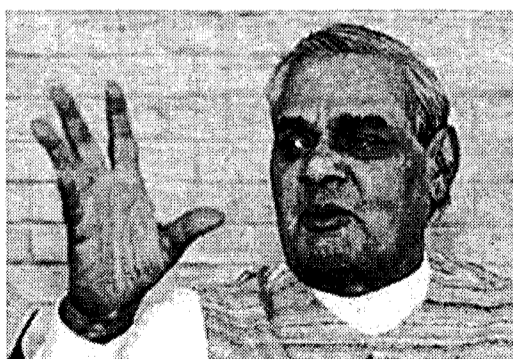
JUNE 11—The latest confrontation between India and Pakistan over the disputed territory of Kashmir brought the two regional powers to the brink of another full-scale war, potentially with nuclear weapons. Some one million troops still confront each other at the Line of Control dividing Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Intense artillery shelling in recent weeks has already killed hundreds of villagers on both sides, and tens of thousands more have been forced to flee their homes for



Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf and Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee threaten war over Kashmir.



Reuters



Reuters photos

safety. While both India and Pakistan seem to be backing down under pressure from U.S. imperialism, Kashmir remains a potential trip wire for war between the two countries. As in the three wars already fought between India and Pakistan, Marxists would advance the position of *revolutionary defeatism*, calling on the workers to turn their guns the other way. As the reactionary capitalist governments in New Delhi and Islamabad

threaten to plunge the subcontinent into a nuclear conflagration, it is all the more necessary for the workers of India and Pakistan to unite around their common class interests in opposition to the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisies.

The appeals for peace by the Bush administration and its junior partner, the British Labour government of Tony Blair, reek of imperialist arrogance and hypocrisy. It was British imperialism,

under an earlier Labour government, that implemented the 1947 partition of India along religious-communal lines, leading to the slaughter of up to a million people and paving the way for the subsequent decades of war and fratricide. As for the sanctimonious lectures by U.S. imperialism about the dangers of nuclear brinkmanship, these come from the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons; even now, as it prepares for an assault against semicolonial Iraq, Washington refuses to rule out the possibility of a nuclear strike against that non-nuclear state. All imperialist troops out of Central Asia and the Near East—U.S. hands off Iraq!

It is the U.S. that has stoked the flames of war on both sides, helping to bring

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Protest Police Killing of Santiago Villanueva!

New Jersey

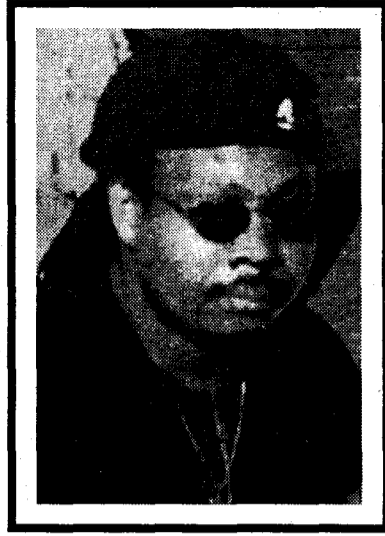
On April 16, when Dominican immigrant garment worker Santiago "Chago" Villanueva suffered a severe epileptic seizure, his co-workers dialed 911 for medical assistance. Instead of an ambulance, four white Bloomfield, New Jersey cops appeared on the scene. One of them took a look at the 35-year-old black man with dreadlocks writhing in convulsions and declared, "This man is on drugs." After slapping handcuffs on Villanueva, two of the cops put their knees on his back and another stepped on his head, while his horrified co-workers pleaded with them to stop. The cops repeatedly screamed at Villanueva, "Speak English!" This racist tirade may well have been the last words he heard. Within 30 minutes, he was dead. According to the medical examiner, the cause of death was "mechanical asphyxia following physical restraint." In layman's terms, Santiago Villanueva was strangled to death.

A month later, the Medical Examiner's

Office in Newark classified Villanueva's death as a homicide. But the killer cops remain on the job. The police brass have not even taken the usual step of placing them on desk duty pending what will no doubt be a whitewashing grand jury "investigation."

This racist killing sparked a series of protests, including in the Dominican community of Washington Heights in Manhattan where Villanueva lived for nine years. "Chago" was well known as a percussionist committed to preserving and extending Caribbean culture by performing with his band at Dominican festivals and volunteering to teach Afro-Dominican dance. A bodega on Audubon Avenue in the neighborhood hung a large banner reading "Verdad, Justicia y Paz Para Santiago Villanueva" (Truth, Justice and Peace for Santiago Villanueva).

In the aftermath of September 11, the bourgeois press and politicians, beating the drums for "national unity," have endlessly portrayed the cops as "heroes." This only emboldens the police in their terrorizing of black and Latino youth. Within the ghettos, the "national unity"



New York Times

fraud is perpetrated by black Democratic Party politicians. While many of these earlier sought to contain outrage against racist "profiling" by getting in front of protests against police killings, in New Jersey and New York the black politicians have been virtually silent on the brutal killing of Villanueva. At an April 26 press conference in Bloomfield, several black ministers placed a new twist on the tired demand for "sensitivity training" for the cops by calling for better medical training. But the cops who squeezed the life out of Santiago knew exactly what they were doing—Police Chief Jack McNiff told reporters that two of them had already been trained as emergency medical technicians!

At a May 23 protest outside the Bloomfield Law Enforcement Building, protesters chanted, "Por qué lo mataron?"

Porque era negro; porque era Latino!" (Why did they kill him? Because he was black; because he was Latino!) A speaker for the People's Organization for Progress called for an "independent" police review board. But such agencies are merely a way to make the system of racist capitalist repression more efficient and "credible" as the cops carry out their daily reign of terror against working people and minorities.

Prominent at a number of the protests has been the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose maximum call is to "Jail the Guilty Cops." It would certainly be appropriate for these racist thugs to spend the rest of their lives among their victims in living hells like Rahway prison. But behind the SWP's demand is the reformist notion that the capitalist state will dispense "justice" against its own agents of repression. Along with the cops, the courts and prisons are at the core of the capitalist state—the repressive apparatus protecting the property, profits and class rule of the tiny minority that owns the wealth of society and is intent on squeezing labor to maximize profits.

The cops cannot be "reformed" or "controlled by the community" because their job is to operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The racist brutality of the cops cannot be ended short of sweeping away the capitalist state through workers revolution. The necessary instrument to unite the working class in revolutionary struggle against the class enemy is a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed. ■



U.S. Imperialism: Greatest Enemy of World's Workers

Proclaiming itself the "world's only super-power" following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago, U.S. imperialism increasingly asserts its "right" to dominate the planet. Addressing a 1948 convention of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, after the U.S. had emerged from World War II as the hegemonic imperialist power, SWP leader James P. Cannon stressed that only proletarian



LENIN

revolution could end the capitalist system of exploitation and imperialist war. Today, when there is no significant class of small farmers in the U.S., we call for a workers government, not a workers and farmers government, as an expression of the proletarian class rule needed to expropriate the rapacious American bourgeoisie.

The Wall Street money-sharks, and the brass hats of Prussian mentality, are riding high in Washington these days. The masters of America, drunk with power, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—seeking to dominate and enslave them—striving to transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

Their program is a program of madness, and it is doomed to failure. The great majority of the peoples of the world do not want to be slaves of America. That is to their credit and we applaud them for it. The attempt to enslave them would be profitable only for the small group of monopolists—and the military caste, who dreams of careers as colonial administrators of conquered peoples....

All this is part and parcel of the development of capitalism—the system which puts profits above all other considerations. The capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness. Capitalism offers no future to the people but depressions, imperialist wars, fascism, universal violence and a final plunge into barbarism.

To avoid such a fate, the workers of the United States must go into politics on their own account, independent of all capitalist politics. They must take power, establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government, and reorganize the economy of the country on a socialist basis. Socialist economy in the United States, eliminating capitalist wars, profits and waste, will be so productive as to ensure a rich living for all who are willing and able to work, and provide security and ample means for the aged and infirm.

We should also help the hungry people of the world to improve their standard of life. Socialist America will rapidly make that possible by helping them to secure their own freedom and develop their own economy. Eventually, the economy of the entire world will be united and planned on a socialist basis. This will bring universal peace—and undreamed of abundance for all people everywhere. The real upward march of humanity will begin.

—James P. Cannon, "The Two Americas" (July 1948), reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

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14 June 2002

Turkey Hands Off Ömer Asan!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter was sent to Turkish prime minister Bülent Ecevit on June 11.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the criminal proceedings that the Turkish government has brought against the writer Ömer Asan and his publisher and demands that the case against them be dropped immediately. Facing possible imprisonment, they have been ordered to appear in court without even being informed of the charges against them. We also protest the government's act of censorship against Asan's highly acclaimed book *Pontos Kültürü* (*The Culture of the Pontus*), which has been banned from sale.

The proceedings against Asan followed a campaign, spearheaded by the fascistic Grey Wolves of the Nationalist Action Party (part of the current governing coalition), in which Asan was accused of being a "traitor" to Turkey and a "friend of Greece" because of his study of the Pontian

minority, a community in the northeast of the country whose language and culture have Hellenic roots. The repressive apparatus of the state has now taken up the campaign against Asan, threatening legal repression for the "crime" of doing an academic study of the history and (almost extinct) language of his native region.

This is a threat to anyone who would even affirm the existence of non-Turkish peoples and cultures within the frontiers of the Turkish state. We intransigently defend the democratic rights of all peoples, whether they be Kurds, Armenians or others—including the Turks themselves. When thousands of Turks were expelled from Bulgaria in 1989 following a failed campaign of forced assimilation, we protested to the Bulgarian government demanding an end to the expulsions and brutal oppression of that country's Turkish population.

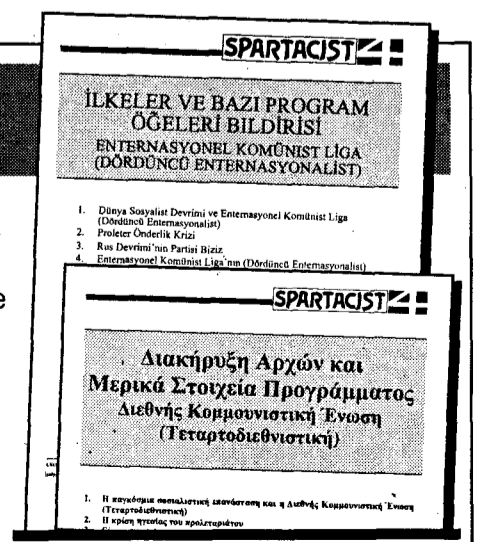
We repeat: **Drop the case against Ömer Asan!**

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British Columbia: Down With Racist Referendum!

Native People's Rights and Labor Struggle in Canada

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 133 (Summer 2002), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste, Canadian section of the International Communist League. The article was first published as a Spartacist Canada supplement for distribution at a May 25 labor demonstration in Vancouver, British Columbia against the austerity attacks of the B.C. provincial government under the right-wing Liberal Party. Some 40,000 trade unionists, youth, indigenous Native people, immigrants and other minorities joined the protest.



Gordon Campbell's Liberals came to office a year ago with three prongs to their reactionary program. They swore to step up the attacks on social programs already begun by the NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party], to savage the public sector unions, and to trample Native rights by means of a sham referendum on land claims. Working people who are determined to turn aside the first two, which are aimed straight at their lives and livelihoods, must also strenuously oppose the third.

The Liberals' treaty referendum, like their frontal assault on labor and the poor, was crafted to appeal to their middle-class base, especially outside the multi-ethnic Lower Mainland [Vancouver and surrounding area]. However, the referendum also seeks to chain key sectors of the working class tighter to their exploiters by manipulating widespread anti-Native racism. For nearly ten years, economic crises in Asia and elsewhere have hit British Columbia hard, reliant as the provincial economy is on exports of lumber, minerals and fish. As mines and mills shut down, throwing tens of thousands out of work, Native people struggling to assert some measure of control over their territories and the resources they contain are supposed to take the blame.

This is sucker bait, designed to blind workers to the real enemy, the capitalist class and its bloodsucking resource corporations. The referendum is the Liberals' offer of racist "unity" between workers and bosses against the poorest of the poor, and it is poison. As an integral part of its own struggles, **labor must defend Native rights.**

Capitalist Canada: Hell for Native People

The racist lie that land claims are lining the pockets of Native people while undermining the livelihoods of "ordinary British Columbians" is beyond grotesque. By every conceivable measure, Natives are the poorest and most marginalized people in B.C. and throughout Canada. Canadian capitalism was founded on the destruction of the pre-existing aboriginal societies, whose lands were expropriated through fraud and military conquest by the European colonialists. Today the majority of Native people live in urban centers where, forcibly isolated from any role in social production, they are targets for all-sided racism and police terror. Aboriginal people are disproportionately represented both among the homeless and in the prison population, and the massive welfare cuts now being imposed will strike them especially hard.

Nowhere is the nightmare of poverty, despair, disease and cop violence clearer than in Vancouver's heavily Native Down-



Native people's contingent leads May 25 march through downtown Vancouver to protest austerity attacks by right-wing British Columbia government.

town Eastside. In this, the poorest neighborhood in all of Canada, ravaged by AIDS and drug abuse, the disappearance of more than 50 prostitutes—the majority of them Native women—was ignored by the cops for years. Under intense pressure from relatives, the police are now investigating what may be the worst serial killing in Canadian history.

Hundreds of thousands of other Native people live on the squalid reserves established to formalize their dispossession, or in isolated communities where no treaties were ever signed, as in most of B.C. The working class must defend whatever political autonomy aboriginal peoples with a land base are able to wrest from the courts and government, including the right to govern their land and control their resources. But treaties in and of themselves—necessarily negotiated on wildly unequal terms—can fundamentally do little to relieve the misery of Native people in Canadian society. That requires a fight to uproot the entire brutal and racist capitalist system.

The referendum and other Liberal attacks in B.C. come in the context of the Canadian rulers' "war on terror": a program of stepped-up state repression which targets immigrants in the first instance, but which directly threatens the rights of the entire working class. Working people must clearly understand that an injury to one is an injury to all, that the oppressed must go forward together if they are not to be driven back separately.

Thanks to its central role in capitalist production, the working class, including its strategic component of foreign-born workers, uniquely has the social power to beat back the capitalists' onslaught on jobs, social programs and basic rights and open the road to a socialist future. In order to rally all the victims of capitalism for such a struggle, the proletariat must champion the cause of *all* the oppressed. Any concession to the bourgeois enemy's consciously fostered bigotry—anti-immigrant or anti-Native racism, anti-Quebec chauvinism, fear and hatred of gays—can only poison unity and derail class struggle.

Native Rights and the "Treaty Process"

The very first item on Campbell's ballot—"Private property should not be expropriated for treaty settlements"—cuts to the heart of the land claims issue,

the sanctity of the capitalists' property relations. Under the system of private ownership of the means to produce wealth—which lines the pockets of a handful of capitalist parasites while exploiting and immiserating the vast majority—there can be no lasting justice for aboriginal people, or working people either.

So cynical is the Liberals' referendum, with its blatantly rigged questions, that the government announced it would simply ignore the results if any of its reactionary-populist proposals were turned down! Aboriginal groups, joined by many others, have quite rightly called for a boycott of this in-your-face fraud.

Campbell's attempt to bury treaty negotiations is also opposed, for their own reasons, by important elements of the ruling class, who worry that it will only inflame relations with Native people determined to pursue their land claims. The absence of treaties in B.C. has increasingly made corporations "insecure" about doing business here: if companies like [pulp and paper giant] Weyerhaeuser are going to invest billions, they don't want unresolved land claims getting in the way of exploiting "their" resources. This was the explicit rationale behind the then NDP government's 1998 Nisga'a treaty. NDP premier Glen Clark boasted that this settlement would "send a strong signal to the world that our province is open for investment." Today, even [financial center] Bay Street's conservative mouthpiece, the [Toronto] *Globe and Mail* (14 March), sternly denounces "B.C.'s referendum folly."

The arrogant racism of Canada's rulers toward the Native population saturates the "treaty process." Of the nearly 50 [Native] bands engaged in the process, more than three-quarters have been mired in "Stage 4" (negotiating an "agreement in principle") for years, with no end in sight. In fact, the only agreement signed in the past hundred years—the Nisga'a treaty—was settled outside of the process, following three decades of legal battles.

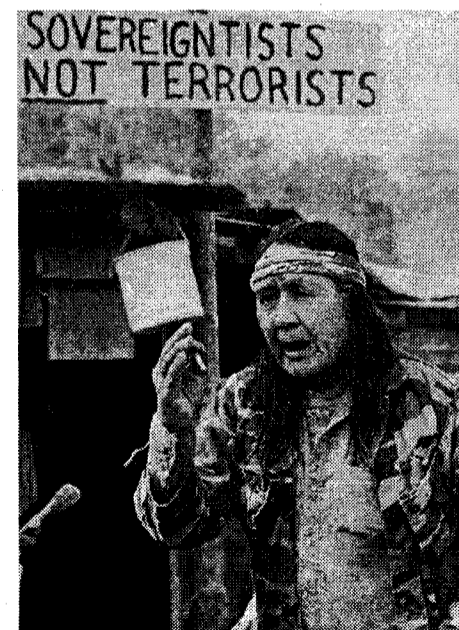
The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands (Haida Gwaii) are a classic case. Their treaty process claim stymied for almost a decade while corporations plundered their forests, the Haida are suing for title of an area containing an estimated ten billion barrels of oil. While Chief Reynold Russ (Iljawassa) maintains the Charlottes are theirs "lock, stock and barrel," they have also made

clear that they have no intention of interfering with other residents on the islands, which remain overwhelmingly undeveloped. Rather they seek to prevent their resources being pillaged by the oil companies. The Haida have lived on these islands for millennia, surviving the ravages of smallpox introduced by European visitors, the removal of their children to residential schools and more than two centuries of racist degradation. The Charlottes and their resources should belong to them, period.

A suit involving the Tsawwassen First Nation, a band of 200 living on a small reserve stuck in the middle of the Vancouver Port Authority (VPA), presents a different aspect of the fight for Native rights. The Tsawwassen are suing the VPA and government because the two mammoth causeways built in the 1960s (and, over the years, extended) for B.C. Ferries and the port have all but destroyed their fishing grounds. The port now resides on a 113-hectare island at the end of the causeway.

As the Tsawwassen have acidly noted, in 2000 the port shipped 22.5 million tonnes of coal and almost 700,000 containers, while the ferry terminal handles 7.8 million passengers each year—and the band gets nothing. Frustrated by the decades of expansion without their consent, their suit seeks an injunction to both restrict the port and ferry operations and require "the causeways to be removed or altered so as not to interfere with the water flows."

The Tsawwassen should be massively compensated for deprivation of their land and resources—they deserve every penny that can be squeezed from the government. However, after four decades of construction around and through the reserve, the removal of, or probably even significant alteration to, the terminals would likely mean permanently closing the port. We are not for dismantling ports or other



William "Wolverine" Ignace at Gustafsen Lake, 1995. Social-democratic NDP government sent army, Mounties to suppress Native protest.

facilities of broader utility to the population as a whole. Where land claims run up against socially useful developments like ports and railways, Native peoples should receive generous compensation for deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on their completely consensual agreement.

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Defend the Palestinian People!



Above left: Israeli troops terrorize Palestinians in Balata refugee camp, June 2. Right: Jenin in ruins after Zionist blitzkrieg in April.

AP

Economist

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

We publish below an edited version of a presentation by WV editor Len Meyers at an April 25 Spartacist League forum in New York City.

The Zionists have an expression, "creating facts." Creating facts means that if the Palestinians claim Arab East Jerusalem as their own, you kick out all the Arabs who live there; destroy their housing and replace it by Jewish-only housing and there's no longer an Arab East Jerusalem. Creating facts means that you tear up 100-year-old olive groves to make sure there are no longer any Palestinian farmers in the West Bank. Creating facts means that you build settlements which are in fact fortified bastions manned by fascistic Israeli fanatics who walk around with Uzi machine guns and expropriate the land that Palestinians formerly lived on. And then for good measure you build Jewish-only highways that divide the whole of the Occupied Territories into a couple of hundred tiny ghettos.

What we've been seeing in the last three weeks is an example of "creating facts." You want to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority? There is no Palestinian Authority. They've even destroyed the Department of Education and the curriculum records. You want to build a Palestinian state? Try building it out of a pile of rubble. What we've seen is massive and deliberate devastation and destruction of the kind that has not happened since Israel occupied those territories in 1967.

Coincidentally, 59 years ago tonight the uprising of the Jewish fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazi occupation forces was in its fifth day. The scenes from Jenin evoke scenes from the Warsaw Ghetto. The fighters in the alleyways, the burning buildings, the rubble all around them. Now, of course, it's not the same situation—the Israeli Army did not go in there to cart people off to an extermination camp like Auschwitz. Interestingly enough, one of the Israeli soldiers in

Jenin compared the refugee camp to Vietnam. And there certainly is some truth to that. Vietnam was carpet bombed and napalmed so there was hardly anything left standing.

There have been huge demonstrations all around the world in outrage and horror at what has been going on in the Occupied Territories in recent weeks—demonstrations in virtually every Arab capital, extending all through the mainly Islamic countries all the way to Indonesia, and also in West Europe and even in the

United States. And that is all very good, because if there were no demonstrations of outrage it would've been worse. But then one must ask the question, what are these demonstrations for? Most of these demonstrations have either openly or implicitly issued appeals for one or another imperialist agency to intervene on behalf of the Palestinians as either "peacekeepers" or through economic sanctions against Israel.

This is a very dangerous call, and it is particularly dangerous right now when

American imperialism is, in fact, planning a military intervention in the Near East in the form of an attack on Iraq. Just as we defend the Palestinian people against Zionist terror and call for Israel out of the Occupied Territories, we call for military defense of Iraq against American imperialism in the event of an attack.

What we have argued for and what we think would be a lot more powerful is mobilizations of the working class in the Near East, in West Europe and in the United States in solidarity with the Palestinians. I'll give you an example, because to a lot of people, especially given that there hasn't been a lot of class struggle in this country recently, that may seem far-fetched. I happened to be in Detroit in the early 1970s. At that time, the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) had purchased a large amount of Israeli bonds. In other words, it was basically financing the Israeli state. The auto companies in the years just before had imported a lot of workers from Arab countries, especially Yemen. The reason is interesting—because they wanted to quell black militancy in the auto plants. They thought with their usual divide-and-rule strategy that bringing in Arabs would have that effect.

But, in fact, it worked the other way because the Arab workers became militant. So one day all of a sudden the assembly lines stopped running. When assembly lines stop running, cars stop being produced and the company stops making profit. The reason they stopped running is that the Arab auto workers staged a protest strike against the purchase of Israeli bonds by the pro-Zionist UAW bureaucracy. Now, if you can imagine something like that happening today in Detroit, which still has a lot of Arab auto workers, and then repeated in another city and another and another, it would have a pretty powerful effect. For example, our comrades in France have made the point that one protest

Mass demonstrations in Lebanon (below) and Morocco (right) in April protesting Zionist rampage against Palestinians.



AP photos



**All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!
All U.S./UN Forces Out of the Near East!**

strike against "Vigipirate," which is the campaign of police terror against youth of North African and African descent in France, would do a lot more for the Palestinians than all the appeals for intervention.

The recent Israeli onslaught is unprecedented in terms of the Occupied Territories. Unfortunately, it is far from the first atrocity committed against the Palestinian people and probably far from the last, and not just at the hands of the Zionists, but also at the hands of the various Arab capitalist governments. So the real question is not simply what do we do today, but what do we do in the future. It is necessary for Palestinian and other Arab activists, for leftists throughout the world who defend the Palestinian people to learn the lessons of previous defeats and why things have developed to where they are now.

British Imperialism Sponsors Zionist State

Let me start with one of my favorite passages from V.I. Lenin, who dedicated his life to building a party that could lead the working class to power and succeeded in doing so. In 1913, in an article entitled "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin wrote: "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism. Be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism." We believe that this principle is the starting point for any struggle for national liberation and equality.

Ironically, those whom Lenin was polemicizing against in this instance were Jewish nationalists—though the Jewish people were not a nationality—and that is why he talked about the "purest, most just" nationalism, because the Jewish people in the Russian tsarist empire were oppressed, downtrodden and impoverished. In fact, in many ways, and this observation has been made by plenty of



AP
Above: UN imperialist "peacekeepers" in Lebanon. UN's disarming of PLO fighters in 1982 set up massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila.



UPI

old Turkish Ottoman Empire (an ally of Germany in the First World War). The British wanted to use the usual divide-and-rule strategy, setting Jews against Arabs, Arabs against Kurds, and so on.

The other argument that Herzl used with the British ruling circles was that if they came out for a Zionist state this would dissuade the Jewish people of East Europe from supporting the Bolsheviks. Here I should point out that when I said that in 1913 Lenin was polemicizing against Jewish nationalists, these were not Zionists. They were Jewish socialists who basically had a nationalist outlook. At that point, the Zionists were so small, so unimportant, particularly in the Jewish working class, that Lenin didn't consider it worth polemicizing against them. The overwhelming mass of the Jewish working people of East Europe were socialist and internationalist in outlook.

In 1916, Britain and France signed the Sykes-Picot Treaty, an agreement to carve up the Near East which they intended to take over from Ottoman Turkey after the

That's one of the main themes of this talk. You cannot look at things simply within a nationalist framework.

As a result of the influx of several hundred thousand refugees from Nazi Germany and the concentration camps—who by the way were not allowed into other countries like Britain and the U.S.—what had previously been a small colony of Zionist settlers in Palestine was transformed into a nation. Every time the Israeli bourgeoisie carries out an atrocity and gets criticized, it waves the flag of the Holocaust; like now, they're saying that any criticism of the massacre in Jenin is a "blood libel." A "blood libel" is when anti-Semites accused Jews of killing Christian babies in order to justify carrying out anti-Jewish pogroms. Interestingly, given that the Zionists hide behind the Holocaust, David Ben Gurion, the founding father of the Israeli state, called the victims of the Holocaust "human dust." He thought they were beneath him, because they were Jews in the Diaspora. "Human dust." Sounds just like the Nazis.

The *Times Literary Supplement* (1 March) has a review of a new book by an Israeli on the *sabras*, the name for native-born Israelis, really for the native-born Israeli elite. So here's what the author says in this article: "The sabra was not a racist, except perhaps in his attitude to his fellow Jews. He did not hate the Arab, but was not seriously interested in him, viewing him either as noble savage or primitive ingrate." Basically, this is the outlook that the Palestinian is an *untermensch*, a subhuman in the Hitlerian lexicon, and that is the way they are treated.

"Pax Americana" Means Palestinian Blood

Let's move along a few more years. In 1956, Britain and France joined Israel in an attack on Egypt after it nationalized the Suez Canal. The United States then moved in to call off the attack. Now this would seem to make the United States a "friend" of the Arab people and the Palestinians. We know better. It was a statement that Britain and France had had their day. The U.S. was now ruling the roost, and that included the Near East. And that's what we've seen ever since—what we call, particularly in recent years, an attempt at a Pax Americana in the Near East, at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Then you get to Lebanon, 1982, where



Survivors of 1970 Black September massacre of Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein.

people, the Palestinians today are like the Jews of East Europe before the two world wars—generally educated, cosmopolitan and because of their experience in diaspora not wedded to one or another bourgeois state.

Four years after writing that article, Lenin and his Bolshevik Party led the multinational working class of Russia to victory in the first successful workers revolution in history. This was the greatest victory for the working class internationally that has ever happened. It was also the greatest victory for the Jewish people. But it was not a victory for the Zionists because what they wanted was their own capitalist state. And in order to create their own capitalist state they needed imperialist sponsorship.

The same year the Russian Revolution happened, Theodore Herzl, the founding father of Zionism, went to the British imperialist rulers and begged them for a declaration in favor of a so-called "Jewish homeland." The British ruling class, anti-Semitic to the core, agreed and you got as a result something called the Balfour Declaration. The reason they decided to go along with the Zionists in creating a "Jewish homeland" was twofold. One was because they intended to conquer the Near East which at that point did not even belong to Britain. It was still part of the

war. And they did carve it up in such a way that almost every border in the Near East, especially east of Suez in Egypt, is totally artificial. They picked two sons of a Saudi Bedouin emir and installed one as king of Jordan and one as king of Iraq.

Proceeding on the time line a few decades later, you get to the 1947 partition of Palestine between what was called the "Jewish state" and what was supposed to be a Palestinian state. The Palestinians call this the Catastrophe, *al-Nakba*. Palestinians were uprooted from their homeland and driven into exile through a series of massacres; hundreds of thousands fled in fear of their lives. One of the purposes of pogroms is not simply to kill people, but to terrify everybody else.

The creation of the Zionist state came on the heels of the greatest catastrophe ever suffered by the Jewish people and one of the greatest atrocities ever inflicted on humanity—the Nazi Holocaust. If not for that, there would have been no Zionist state. Our theoretical journal *Spartacist* (No. 56, Spring 2001) has a very interesting article on a failed proletarian revolution in Germany in 1923 and a critique of why it failed. I would point out that if a communist-led revolution in Germany in 1923 had succeeded, there would have been no Zionist state because there would have been no Nazi Holocaust.

Yasir Arafat was headquartered and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters were concentrated. The reason they were in Lebanon was because they were formerly in Jordan but in 1970 the Jordanian king, a "friend" of the Palestinian people, slaughtered 10,000 of them and drove them into Lebanon. In Lebanon, the Palestinians were being slaughtered again by the invading Israeli army, commanded by Ariel Sharon, and its Lebanese allies. Arafat called for an "international protection force," which is, by the way, the demand being raised by many so-called revolutionary leftists in Europe today, including a French group called the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire*, which even occasionally claims to be Trotskyist. American and French "peacekeepers" did move into Beirut and disarmed the Palestinian fighters, shipping them off to Tunisia. With the Palestinian people left defenseless, Sharon called in his dogs of war and carried out a massacre of some 2,000 refugees in a couple of camps called Sabra and Shatila.

One more event on the time line: 1993 on the White House lawn. Arafat shakes hands with the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin. The man in the middle is President Clinton. This is after the first *Intifada*, an uprising that began in late 1987, and also, pointedly, after a capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, which had been one of the PLO's main international sponsors. The result was the "peace" accord, an autonomy deal that was hailed by the Palestinian nationalists, by almost every liberal and by many left groups.

We did not hail it. In fact, we denounced it for what it was: an attack on the Palestinian people. Far from leading to independence, we said it would mean—and this is what it has meant—more misery, more unemployment, more poverty, more fascist settlers, and the orgy of death and destruction we have recently seen. The punchline is you cannot fight for national liberation or any other kind of liberation with a nationalist strategy, and imperialist governments are not the friends of the oppressed, least of all the Palestinian people.

The Campus Divestment Campaign

Many liberal and leftist student activists are now campaigning for their universities to divest their investments from companies that do business with Israel. The UC Berkeley Students for Justice in Palestine, which is led by a supporter of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), has been playing a prominent part in promoting this demand on the campus, for example. Here we should point out that they're calling upon the same university administrators who have been handing over the names of Arab and Muslim students to the FBI as part of the "war on terror." It's understandable that many of those involved want to do something. You're a student; you don't have a lot of power; you don't have a lot of influence; here's one concrete thing that you can do—you can agitate for the administration on your campus to divest.

But the people who organize these campaigns are not so naive. And a lot of them point to the divestment campaign against the South African apartheid

continued on page 9



1993: Israeli prime minister Rabin and PLO leader Arafat seal phony "peace" agreement brokered by Clinton White House.

FBI...

(continued from page 1)

1950s McCarthyite witchhunt, initially directed at the Communist Party, and then shifted into high gear during the 1960s. Its purpose was to intimidate, incarcerate and even kill those who dared lead opposition to racist American imperialism. None were spared its attentions, from avowed socialists to liberal pacifists like Martin Luther King and even dissenting bourgeois politicians, but its savagery was directed at those who were perceived as challenging the mainstays of the American imperialist order.

In 1968 FBI director J. Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." He was deadly serious. The cop/FBI killings of 38 Black Panthers and the arrests of hundreds more were a message to those who would challenge the bedrock of American capitalism, the racial segregation of black people. Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was imprisoned for almost three decades with full government knowledge of his innocence. Mumia Abu-Jamal was first targeted by COINTELPRO as a spokesman for the Philadelphia branch of the Panthers at the age of 15. After more than a decade of constant surveillance and cop harassment and failed attempts to railroad him, he was



Steven Rubin

INS detainees in Baltimore. Since September 11, Feds have rounded up over 1,200 immigrants, deporting 500 and holding 100 others indefinitely.

for the Bush administration to issue its marching orders.

In our statement issued the day after the attack on the World Trade Center, we warned:

"The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle 'one nation indivisible' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward

SWP's national office. In short order the government's political police massively expanded COINTELPRO to go after civil rights protesters, antiwar activists, feminists, supporters of gay rights, environmentalists, Indian rights activists, tenants' organizations, and virtually anyone critical of government policies. In 1975 the FBI was conducting surveillance of 1,100 organizations.

In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal in the mid 1970s, the government's secret police were nominally reined in. Revelations that the Nixon administration was carrying out "black bag jobs" even against the Democratic Party were cause for concern among significant sections of the American bourgeoisie over such "excesses." At the same time, exposure of the FBI's massive spying on civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activists elicited public outrage. Shortly after Watergate COINTELPRO was officially ended.

But even then, all restrictions on FBI activities were putatively self-imposed. They could still do whatever they wanted without violating any known laws. Take the case of the "L.A. Eight"—seven Palestinians and a Kenyan who have been fighting deportation orders for the last 15 years for political advocacy on behalf of the Palestinian people. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (4 June), their lawyer, David Cole, painted a stark picture of what it means to have an FBI agent at your meetings:

"For three years agents attended public demonstrations and meetings, seized literature and had it translated, and reported on the 'anti-Reagan' slogans chanted at rallies.... In 1986, agents attended a public community dinner the students held to celebrate Palestinian culture and politics. Although none of the agents could speak or understand Arabic, they reported afterward that by observing posters of people with assault rifles, the 'tone' of the speeches, and 'the music and entire mood' of the gathering, they had divined that it was a fund-raising event for terrorism."

Though the FBI "found no evidence that anyone in this group had engaged in anything criminal, much less terrorist," the Feds nonetheless moved to deport them.

Fight the FBI's "Anti-Terror" Witchhunt!

In 1983, the FBI adopted the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. We responded with a lawsuit, as a result of which the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. This was a modest but genuine blow to the government's efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But as we wrote at the time (WV No. 368, 7 December 1984):

"We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work

against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule."

The U.S. rulers have used the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to assert their "right" to chart the political and military agenda on the planet to suit their own particular imperialist appetites. Thousands have been killed in wretchedly backward Afghanistan; subsequent mopping-up operations have entailed the seemingly random killings of various tribesmen, by the administration's own admission, to no particular benefit. One direct result has been the destabilization of the area and the possibility of a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan. Another has been to give Israel a free hand in its unending attacks on Palestinian towns and mass roundups of "suspects" (any young Palestinian male) in service of its own "war against terror," i.e., its "right" to dominate and, if necessary, expel the Palestinian population. These unforeseen offshoots of the U.S. invasion now threaten to stymie stage two of the "war against terrorism"—Bush's plans to invade Iraq sometime next year.

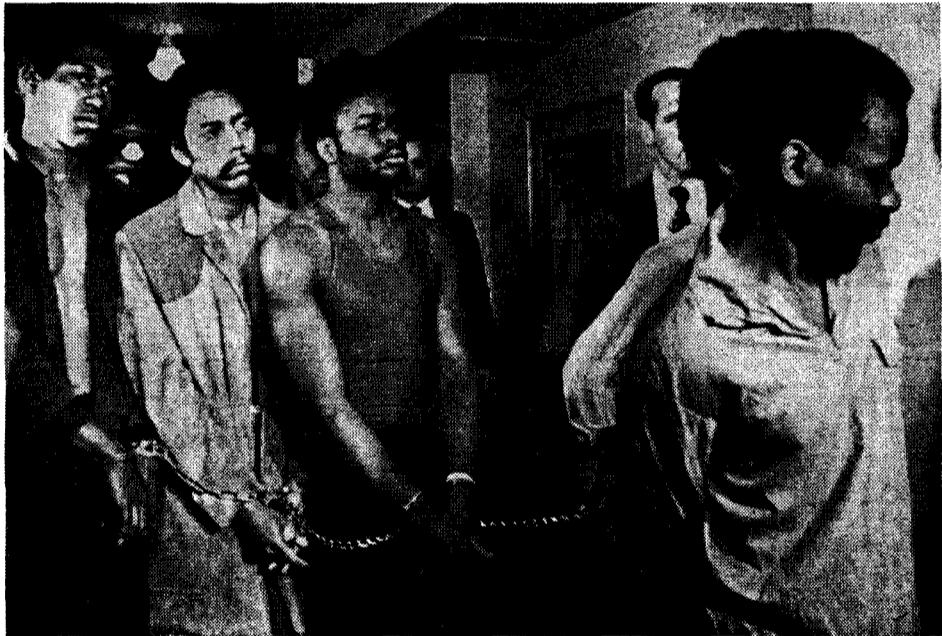
American imperialism's aspirations to dominate the world unimpeded are both insane and dangerous to the world's masses. The U.S. bourgeoisie wields the September 11 attacks to promote "national unity" patriotism and peddle the lie that they are defending the population against terrorism. Such calls to patriotism against the "foreign threat" are always used to attempt to quash working-class militancy and social protest. Following the post-World War I strike wave, the 1919-20 Palmer raids expelled thousands of radical immigrants thought to be agents of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The giant strike wave in this country that followed World War II was met by the bourgeoisie's Cold War drive against the USSR that had as its first target the trade-union militants and socialists who had built the unions in the class struggles of the 1930s. This purge, with its underlying themes of anti-Semitism and anti-black racism, put the unions under the firm control of the "America First" trade-union bureaucrats who dominate the union movement to this day and who are responsible for the decline of union strength. In the 1960s, those who protested against U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants were painted as traitors while the government unleashed its secret police against fighters for black rights at home.

With recession-generated joblessness stalking the land today, America's rulers, having gorged themselves on the fabulous and ephemeral profits of the 1990s and reeking with corruption, seek to stamp out even the thought of resistance, opposition or social struggle. The American populace is *ordered* to now accept repression of their rights as the norm for a "war" that the rulers proclaim will last a lifetime.

"National unity" patriotism is a noose around the necks of all working people. As the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized in the call for the February 9 Oakland labor-centered mobilization of trade unionists, Asians, blacks, students and others in defense of immigrant rights against the government's new repressive laws:

"Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft—that apologist for the Confederate slavery—have taken first aim at people of Near Eastern descent who were rounded up and thrown in jail where hundreds still remain. They've created the spectre of an 'enemy within' in order to strengthen the powers of their own consummately violent state. But what America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. We must fight *now* to defend our rights and jobs, and the rights and jobs of our immigrant brothers and sisters."

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. ■



UPI

Black Panther militants in chains after their headquarters were shot up in SWAT team attack, Los Angeles, 1969.

finally convicted in a 1982 frame-up trial and sentenced to death on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The FBI continued to spy on him even as he sat on death row.

Today, no less an authority than William Safire, a former speechwriter for Richard Nixon in the heyday of COINTELPRO, argues:

"Ashcroft claims he is merely allowing the feds to attend public events, or to surf the Internet, which 'even a 12-year-old can do.' That's a masterful deceit....

"Consider the new reach of federal power: the income-tax return you provided your mortgage lender; your academic scores and personnel ratings, credit card purchases and E-ZPass movements; your political and charitable contributions, charge account at your pharmacist and insurance records; your subscription to non-mainstream publications like *The Nation* or *Human Events*, every visit to every Web site and comment to every chat room, and every book or movie you bought or even considered on Amazon.com—all newly combined with the tickets, arrests, press clips, full field investigations and raw allegations of angry neighbors or rejected lovers that flow into the F.B.I."

Safire continues: "Some sunshine libertarians are willing to suffer this loss of personal freedom in the hope that the Ashcroft-Mueller rules of intrusion may prevent a terror attack. They won't because they're a fraud." Indeed, while Ashcroft's plans were long in the works, it was the Democrats' efforts to make political hay out of pre-9/11 "intelligence failures" by the FBI that set the stage

an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

Immigrants of Arab or South Asian descent continue to languish in the jails in which they were confined in the immediate aftermath of September 11 without any legal recourse. The arrests of Muslim immigrants continue, as do the attacks on Islamic religious charitable organizations, all without an atom of evidence of any connection to terrorism. The rapidity with which Bush, Ashcroft & Co. rammed through their repressive measures has been made possible by the illusion that only a specific small and vulnerable sector of the population—immigrants from Muslim countries—would be denied legal recourse. But now American citizens John Walker Lindh and Yasser Esam Hamdi, both accused of fighting on the side of the Taliban, find their right to examine prosecution witnesses and, in the case of the latter, even to meet with an attorney challenged by the government. And with Ashcroft's announcement, the government's intent is clear: we're all potentially *the enemy*.

If you want an idea of what this means, look at the extensive reach of the government's original COINTELPRO. In 1956, the FBI had over 900 active informants in the Communist Party. In 1961 COINTELPRO was extended to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and over the next five years the FBI conducted at least 90 burglaries ("black bag jobs") of the

Young Spartacus

Defend Pro-Palestinian Protesters!

Bay Area

As Israel continues its bloody offensive in the West Bank, terrorizing Palestinian towns and demolishing the compound of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah, a sinister campaign is gaining steam in the U.S. to smear as "anti-Semites" and persecute students and others who defend the Palestinian people. In tandem with the "war on terror," local police and prosecutors and campus administrations, abetted by the virulently Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL), are seeking to set up such students for state surveillance and repression.

This crusade has reached a fever pitch at San Francisco State University (SFSU), where the administration is pushing for "hate crime" charges to be brought against protesters at a May 7 pro-Palestinian demonstration for such activities as allegedly stomping on an Israeli flag and engaging in "hate speech." Railing against "pro-Palestinian groups fueled by hatred of Israel and Jews," the ADL claims that the SFSU protesters "verbally assaulted and threatened" pro-Israel Hillel students, who were staging their own demonstration at the same time. The story was picked up as far away as Israel, where the right-wing *Jerusalem Post* (16 May) headlined on its front page: "Anti-Semitic Riot at San Francisco State University."

Goaded by the head of the Jewish studies program, SFSU president Robert Corrigan issued a statement soon after the protest which declared the anti-Zionist students guilty as charged. Corrigan subsequently singled out two pro-Palestinian students and one pro-Zionist student for university discipline and also called on the San Francisco district attorney's office to prosecute the three students on criminal charges.

This incident is far from the only case of victimization of those who sympathize with the plight of the Palestinians. On May 25, Sophia Ibrahim, an eleven-year-old girl, and 30 others were arrested at a protest demanding an end to U.S. aid to Israel at the Golden Gate Bridge. California Highway Patrolmen in riot gear blocked the march back across the bridge and physically assaulted the protesters, including with pepper spray. For yelling at and allegedly hitting the cops, Sophia was thrown to the ground, handcuffed and left face down for several minutes. She was charged with felony assault of a police officer. When her brother Mousa went to pick her up from police custody, he was arrested for felony endangerment of a minor—because he had driven Sophia to the protest! **Drop the charges against all the protesters!**

Around the same time, two courageous University of California students studying in Cairo, Robert O'Neill of UC Berkeley and Nauman Zaidi of UC Riverside, were subjected to university discipline for having put their lives on the line in defense of the Palestinians. Their "crime" was to answer the call of the International Solidarity Movement and enter Bethlehem's besieged Church of the Nativity on May 2 to bring food and water to those seeking refuge from the rampaging Israeli army. After being confined for more than two weeks in an Israeli jail at the conclusion of the siege

on May 10, both were deported from Israel and subsequently dropped from UC's Education Abroad Program, ostensibly for violating a rule against endangering themselves while abroad. **No reprisals against O'Neill and Zaidi!**

At UC Berkeley itself, 41 students still face up to a year's suspension from school for supposedly violating the "core mission" of the university by allegedly disrupting a handful of classes on April 9.



SF Indymedia photos

Above: Pro-Palestinian UC Berkeley students stage sit-in protest in classroom building on April 9. **Left:** Cops arrest eleven-year-old Sophia Ibrahim at May 25 protest near Golden Gate Bridge.

More than a thousand students took part in a protest that day against the Zionist massacres in the Occupied Territories. This protest, organized by Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), culminated in the occupation of a campus building for a couple of hours. Cops assaulted the protesters, arresting 79. Since then, criminal charges have been dropped, although the protesters were required to pay nominal fines. The administration suspended the SJP as a student organization but recently backed down in the face of opposition (including by the SYC) to this suppression of political dissent. **No administration reprisals against the Berkeley protesters!**

ADL: Zionist Fingermen

The ADL has worked as an unofficial adjunct to the FBI and other state agencies for more than 50 years in a variety of anti-Communist and other reactionary causes. On May 30, the ADL issued a statement hailing the overhaul of the FBI and lamenting, "For too long, the FBI has been hamstrung in its efforts to combat extremism and has taken a too timid approach to initiating investigations against potential terrorists." The ADL recently hosted a daylong meeting of the "Committee on Terrorism" with the FBI and has formed a partnership with various state and federal law enforcement agencies to help wage the domestic "war on terror." One ADL spokesman in L.A.

gloated: "We have extensive resources available to law enforcement, including current and archival information, analysis and programs."

We're sure the ADL has plenty of "current and archival information" after decades of spying on not only Arab activists but also leftists, black leaders, unions, gay organizations—and, only incidentally, fascist and anti-Semitic groups. The ADL provided extensive information

hurling racist, anti-Arab epithets at the counterdemonstrators but did *not* show the pro-Palestinian activists using anti-Semitic slurs as the ADL claimed. Only after the press conference did Corrigan scramble to present a more "balanced" approach to the persecution, adding a pro-Israel student to the list of those facing disciplinary action. One student was suspended. We say: **No reprisals against any of the SFSU protesters!**

Racist slurs are vile, but stomping on an Israeli flag is an expression of political opposition to the Zionist state. We don't know who shouted what or how much of all this is a Zionist fabrication. But neither the bourgeois state nor the university administration has any business passing judgment on what students yell at each other, even if what is said is racist or otherwise offensive. Both GUPS and Hillel have been working with the D.A.'s office to better enable it to launch "hate speech" charges against each other's supporters. As we said in the *WV* No. 533 (30 August 1991) article "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," when "politically correct" academics and anti-racist students pushed for such laws, "Ninety-nine out of a hundred times, speech codes will be used against the left and anti-racists.... The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed 'neutrality' of the racist university administrations and the cops." As the ADL's wielding of "hate speech" laws demonstrates, such legislation has little to do with fighting racism and everything to do with ratcheting up the repressive power of the state and its university auxiliaries, allowing them to dictate what is "acceptable" political activity.

There have in fact been vile expressions of anti-Semitism on the SFSU campus, most notably on April 4 when grotesque flyers were posted for a Muslim Student Association (MSA) event. The flyer featured a bloodied Palestinian baby with the caption: "Palestinian Children Meat—Slaughtered According to Jewish Rites Under American License." MSA later issued an apology for the flyer, and GUPS, which co-signed it, denied responsibility and subsequently declared its opposition to anti-Semitism and racism. This flyer was a gift to the Zionists in their crusade to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism and was a pretext for the Zionist rally on May 7.

The crackdown on protests sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians illustrates that the university administration is far from neutral. Soon after September 11, more than 200 universities, including SFSU, handed over the records of Near Eastern students to the Feds. A December 12 united-front demonstration at SFSU initiated by the SYC and endorsed by GUPS, among others, demanded: "Down with SFSU collaboration with FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights!"

American imperialist aggression abroad and that of its regional allies like Israel are necessarily reflected in domestic repression against the supporters of the oppressed Palestinian people. It is necessary to translate this support into struggle against the American imperialist behemoth, drawing in particular upon the power of the multiracial working class. **Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! U.S.IUN out of the Near East!** ■

Down With Anti-Sex Censorship!

France

Earlier this spring, the headmaster of the Henry IV high school in Paris banned the student publication *Ravaillac* after it ran nude photos of high school youth on its cover. The magazine, named for the assassin of the school's royal namesake, has featured articles on homosexuality, pornography, sex and prostitution. The attack on the pro-sex publication takes place in the context of a major rightward shift in French bourgeois politics, exemplified by the second-round presidential election in May that pitted the racist right-wing incumbent, Jacques Chirac, against outright fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen. The anti-immigrant, anti-labor policies of the Socialist Party-led "left" coalition government paved the way for this shift. We publish below the translation of the 26 May statement by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS), a legal and social defense organization in

political solidarity with the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of the ICL, protesting this anti-sex censorship and the intrusion of the state into private life.

* * *

Why has the headmaster of Henry IV secondary school suspended the magazine *Ravaillac*? Very simply because it talks about sex! The students at the prestigious Parisian high school Henry IV published the second issue of their journal *Ravaillac* with the title: "Some Ass, Some Ass, Some Ass." On the cover of this issue, men and women pose nude. In fact, these youth are part of the editorial board of the journal. Immediately after the appearance of this issue, the headmaster suspended the publication in the name of the "protection of youth." What hypocrisy! The truth is that in Catholic France, sex can't be read about or discussed! We demand the *immediate lifting of the ban on Ravaillac! Down with the witchhunt against the students!*

The editors of *Ravaillac* are not only

Students display controversial *Ravaillac* cover.



AP

under attack by the administration of the school and risk expulsion, they are also facing physical aggression at the hands of the fascists of French Action! These youth must be defended against this royalist rabble!

As Marxists, we oppose attempts by the bourgeois state and its institutions to interfere in all aspects of life. We say: *Down with censorship!* We oppose the school administration deciding what youth can publish and discuss! Cops, priests, headmasters: Out of the bedrooms and the classrooms!

The repression against *Ravaillac* shows the total hypocrisy of bourgeois "morality," where students are repressed because of some innocent nudes in a photo; go to the nearby kiosk and there

you'll find some *hard* stuff; and if you want some really bloody nakedness go to see the portraits of Jesus in the church at the corner. Meanwhile, the capitalists present as the height of "democracy" the "choice" between a crook and a fascist! They talk about the "protection of youth" while with their racist security campaign, from both the right and the "left," they jail more and more youth, mainly of Maghreb (North African) origin, in prisons where everyone knows that what rules is rape.

We fight for a socialist society which will be free from exploitation and oppression, and free of this kind of regimentation of youth and the grotesque interference by the state into the private lives of individuals. ■

SYC Says: Free Pedro Colón!

Pedro Colón Almenas, a student militant at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) and a member of the Unión de Juventudes Socialista (UJS—Union of Socialist Youth), was arrested at home by eight FBI agents on 3 July 2001. Colón had taken part in an anti-ROTC protest on UPR's Rio Piedras campus in April of that year, and the UJS had been active in protesting the military's presence at the university for almost two years. Colón was arrested for supposedly attacking an ROTC major during the UPR demonstration. This was a frame-up! Colón acted as a mediator in a fistfight that broke out during the protest, not as a combatant. The Feds targeted Colón because of his political activism and opposition to the U.S. military. We say: *Free Pedro Colón!*

Colón is currently serving a one-year prison sentence plus three years of probation. The Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club read a statement in support of Colón at its anti-ROTC demonstration at UC Berkeley on April 20, linking the struggle against the colonial occupation of Puerto Rico with our overall struggle against the U.S. imperialist behemoth. We reprint below a letter by the Bay Area SYC sent to Colón this April.

* * *

As we rally against the ROTC recruiters here in the belly of the imperialist beast, we in the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club extend our solidarity to you and all those fighting against the American imperialist military in Puerto Rico. Your incarceration for protesting the

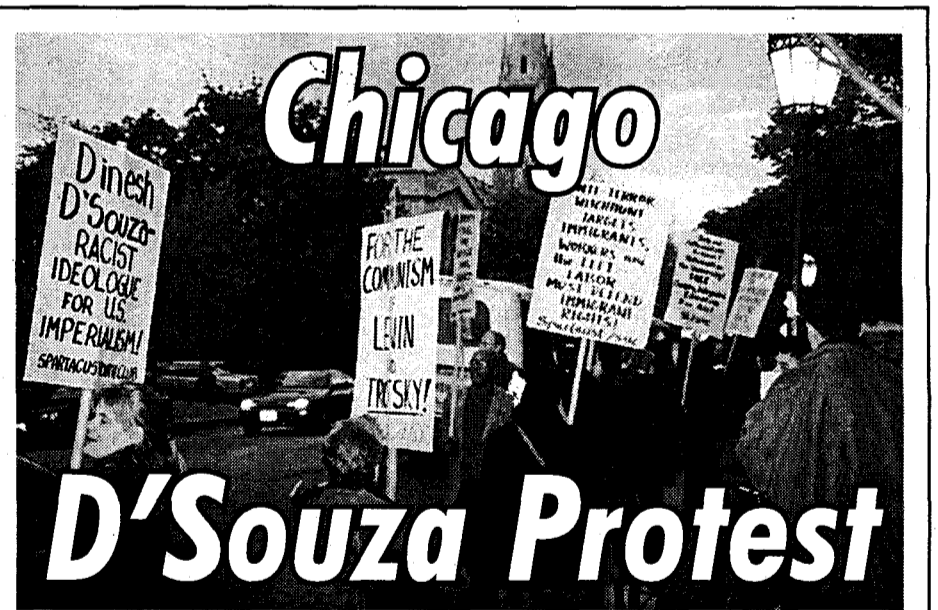
presence of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps on the University of Puerto Rico campus is an outrage! We stand in solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico against the oppression of the American colonial occupying forces. Puerto Rico has been used as a training ground for imperialist incursions from Serbia to Iraq, and as a reminder to the peoples of Latin America of the American rulers' criminal intentions. As revolutionary internationalists who oppose all the colonialist machinations of our "own" capitalist rulers, we say: For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Vieques and all of Puerto Rico! For the revolutionary unity of the working masses of Puerto Rico and the mainland in the struggle against colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation!

We oppose the presence of ROTC recruiters on campuses. We understand that ROTC's role is to recruit the next generation of men and women to direct mass slaughter for the rapacious American imperialists. In Puerto Rico ROTC carries the added weight of an occupying force, and its return to the island's campuses is especially ominous. The military arsenal of death from the huge American military installations in Puerto Rico is directed against the Cuban deformed workers state above all. But as powerful as the imperialists' weapons are, they are no match against the working class, who alone has the power to stop production and bring the capitalist rulers to their knees. That is why the struggle against the imperialists cannot be confined to Puerto Rico but must be spread to the rest of the Americas, in particular the powerful American proletariat. It has to be centered on a class understanding that imperialism and capitalist exploitation must be smashed through workers revolution, by means of united class struggles against the capitalist rulers, in the United States as well as in Puerto Rico, Mexico and every other capitalist country. As you have witnessed yourself, there can be no justice under capitalism!

As you wage the fight for your imme-

diated freedom, rest assured that your ordeal is not going unnoticed. Today, April 20, here at the University of California in Berkeley, we protested ROTC, and raised the demand: Free Pedro Colón Almenas! We demand the release of all class-war prisoners, like Mumia Abu-Jamal, from the claws of the American bourgeois rulers. We will continue to

oppose American imperialism at home and abroad—U.S. imperialists, hands off Vieques, Iraq, Afghanistan, the whole world! And we will continue the fight to build a workers party that fights for the rights of all the oppressed, for an end to capitalism, for a socialist future. ROTC off campus now! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico! ■



Young Spartacus

On May 14, the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club organized a picket-line protest against pro-imperialist ideologue Dinesh D'Souza at the University of Chicago. D'Souza, a former editor of the arch-conservative *Dartmouth Review* and a longtime braintruster for the Republican Party, was on campus to whitewash the manifold crimes of American capitalism, including chattel slavery. D'Souza's presence on campus was a provocation aimed at minorities, immigrants, leftists and all opponents of the U.S. government's "war on terror." A Spartacist League/SYC spokesman noted, "[D'Souza] and other conservative ideologues like David Horowitz are trying to lead a campaign to make college campuses like they were in the 1950s and to get rid of leftists."

While a few right-wing yahoos made childish attempts at disrupting the anti-D'Souza protest, the SYC-led action refuted and exposed the racist pig D'Souza and his reactionary agenda. Solidarizing with the anti-D'Souza protesters from across the street, black campus workers pumped their fists to our chants, which included, "Dinesh D'Souza is a dog of war! A workers party is what we're for!" Earlier in the year, SYCs mobilized protests against D'Souza and Horowitz at UCLA, Columbia and Harvard to champion on campus the cause of black freedom, which ultimately can only be achieved through socialist revolution.

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Palestine...

(continued from page 5)

regime some 15 years ago as an example of a great victory. So, let's deal with that. First of all, apartheid South Africa was not Israel. In South Africa you had a thin layer of white exploiters living off an overwhelmingly black majority country and black working class. In Israel you have an entire Hebrew-speaking population, an entire nation, and then you have an entire other nation, the Palestinian people.

Moreover, it is simply not true that divestment led to the victory over apartheid. What led to the end of legal apartheid was the rise of a powerful black workers movement in the late 1970s and '80s, culminating in the formation of the COSATU trade-union federation. It was the struggle of these black workers that created fear of instability—and indeed fear of revolution—in South Africa in the minds of the American, British and other European imperialists. And that's when they started thinking that maybe they should have a different policy—maybe put some pressure on the apartheid regime to change its ways a little bit because otherwise there might not be any investments left at all. By and large the divestment that did take place was mainly a matter of big American and European corporations signing over their "control" to South African subsidiaries or junior partners.



Daniel/Media

Israeli rubber workers protest layoffs in Tel Aviv, 1989. Zionist garrison state must be destroyed from within through Arab-Hebrew workers revolution.

gets people out and it brings attention to the question." Well, we have a saying in our movement. It's better to fight for what you want and not get it than to fight for what you don't want and get it.

A "Democratic, Secular" Palestine?

Interestingly enough, there has in fact been some divestment from Israel recently. And for much the same reason it was taking place in South Africa. The constant fighting is bad for business. Tourism is massively down to the tune of something like \$5 billion. The high-tech industry exports are down by \$10

it has intermediate classes. The Israeli population is not just some seamless, unitary, reactionary mass. And this is very important in terms of the differences we have with most left groups. It means that there is a *working class in Israel whose class interests are objectively counterposed to those of the Zionist rulers*. That is the force that can be mobilized, under a revolutionary leadership, to fight for a socialist revolution to oust the Zionist rulers. And that is very good news indeed, because otherwise there will be no Palestinian liberation.

Most of our opponents on the left call for a "democratic, secular" Palestine, which on the face of it sounds quite good. Unfortunately, you are not going to have a democratic secular anything in Israel-Palestine as long as private property continues to exist. There is simply no way. Because what you have there is a situation where two nations are laying claim to the same land. We call this interpenetrated peoples. Now, the right to self-determination, the right to form your own state, is a democratic question. In other words, it's a question that can be resolved normally in some democratic way under capitalism, at least on a formal level.

But when you have a clash between the right of self-determination for one people and another people in the same territory, that cannot be resolved democratically to the benefit of both as long as capitalist relations prevail. The whole logic of capitalism is basically dog-eat-dog. One capitalist against another, one nation against another. One will be on top, and the other will be on the bottom. Every "solution" to the Palestinian national question under capitalism either perpetuates the oppres-

sion of the Palestinian Arab people or envisions a reversal of the terms of oppression, denying the legitimate national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people.

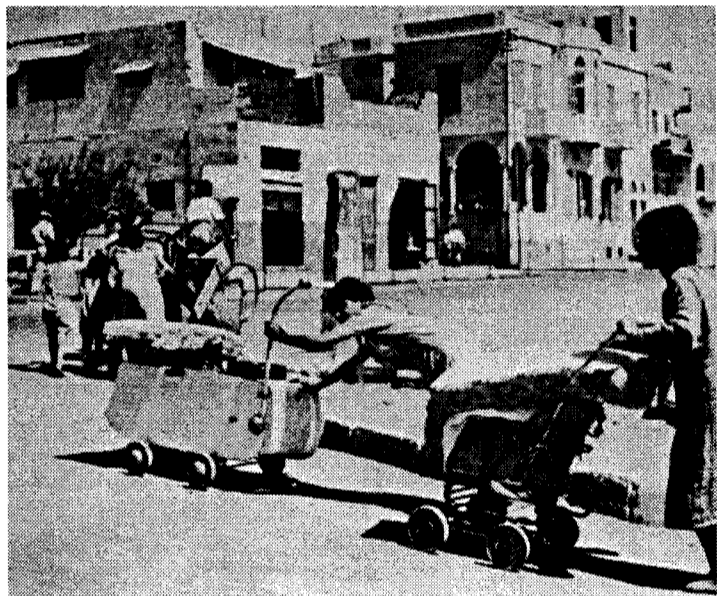
One of the founders of the Zionist movement noted in 1940: "Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country.... We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River), without Arabs" (quoted in Arie Bober, ed., *The Other Israel*). In his own way, he understood that you can't have self-determination for both peoples in this little country, at least not under capitalism. Note also the reference to "Western Palestine." Now, of course, the more extreme Zionists don't simply want to take over the West Bank and Gaza. East of "Western Palestine" is a country called Jordan, and beyond that there are other countries. In fact, a historic Zionist slogan for a "greater Israel" is "from the Euphrates to the Nile." The Euphrates is all the way in Iraq. The Nile is in Egypt. That's a big chunk of territory for a greater Israel.

This bears on another point about what is wrong with the idea of a democratic, secular Palestine. It cannot lead to real self-determination for the Palestinian population, which extends beyond the confines of Israel or the Occupied Territories. Palestinians are and have always been the majority of the people in Jordan, for example. So in order to get Palestinian self-determination, you have to sweep away the capitalist governments of Israel and Jordan. And there are a good half-million Palestinians in Lebanon as well. Lebanon's patron is Syria. The only real solution is a socialist federation of the Near East.

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

The question of interpenetrated peoples is one the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia itself encountered in regions (like the Caucasus) where different nationalities intermingled in the same territory. At the Communist International's Second Congress in 1920, there was an amendment to a motion which made the point that "Republican [bourgeois] democracy, forced by its struggle against the proletariat to substitute national war for the class struggle, quickly became permeated with xenophobia. It easily converts to its own use the experiences of the old masters

continued on page 10



Institute for Palestine Studies

Palestinian women and children flee Jaffa during 1947-48 Zionist terror campaign that gave birth to Israeli state.

An interesting thing is that in 1989 there were two strikes against divestment by the very black workers in South Africa in whose name the divestment campaign had been carried out. Because what divestment meant was that the mines and factories sold to local South African capitalists were subjected to even more union-busting and wage-cutting. We wrote in an article at the time: "It's obscene to imagine that racist American imperialism—which put its own citizens in concentration camps while A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which carpet bombed Indochina, and props up every 'moderately authoritarian' butcher dictator on earth—can be pressured into pressuring their South African allies to dismantle apartheid" (WV No. 486, 29 September 1989). Very much the same applies to the U.S. and its Israeli ally today.

The final point is that even though legal apartheid was ended, the superexploitation of the black working people of South Africa continues, except in this case the government has black faces. We call the governing ANC (African National Congress) black front men for white capitalist rule. Yes, blacks now have the right to vote, which is no minor matter, and they are not humiliatingly segregated into different compartments on trains and the like. But the economic and social conditions of the black toilers have not improved one iota. And they won't until there's a workers revolution in South Africa.

In discussions that some of our comrades have had with people from the ISO, they will say, "Oh yeah, we know that divestment won't work, but at least it

billions, and these are two main money earners besides the direct American aid that Israel gets. There has also been simple capital outflow—\$500 million just in the first quarter of 2002. In other words, even Israeli capitalists are taking their money out of the country.

There's an article in *Business Week* (19 April) dealing with this which quotes some Israeli capitalists. "The danger for Israel," in their view, "is that its economy could slip back to what amounts to a charity project sustained by donations of the U.S. and world Jewry." We used to call Israel a "shnorrer state"—"shnorrer" is a Yiddish word for beggar, freeloader.

There are two points coming out of this. The first is that Sharon's policy is not the only policy that the Israeli bourgeoisie could pursue vis-à-vis the Palestinian people. They could have pursued the Oslo "peace" accords. You know, set up some phony autonomy situation where the Palestinians are firmly under their thumb, but everything looks quiet. And that was what the Israeli capitalists hoped for because they wanted to branch out to markets in the Arab countries. In fact, there is an alternative policy to Sharon's being proposed. It's called "unilateral separation." It means that you just build fences throughout the West Bank the way they did around Gaza: Israel on one side, Palestinians on the other—they stay there, we stay here, except they have no economy, no jobs, and are surrounded by Israeli fortresses, so they can't "step out of line."

The second point is that Israel is a capitalist class society like any other. It has a capitalist class, it has a working class and

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Palestine...

(continued from page 9)

of national oppression and applies them ardently." And it concluded that "no 'democratic' forms within a republican-democratic order...can ensure protection of the rights and cultural interest of the minority nationalities in areas with a mixed population." By democratic forms, it meant capitalist democratic forms.

If you look at Israel, you can see what it means to use the experience of the old masters. The Zionists aped the Nazi tormentors of the Jewish people. It was reported in Israeli newspapers last month that a senior army commander said, if and when troops go into refugee camps like Jenin, they should learn the lessons of the Germans who went into the Warsaw Ghetto. On the other side, when Arafat set up his own forces to police the Palestinian people, they aped the Zionist torturers who had earlier tormented them.

That's the logic of all nationalism, which ultimately means genocide of one people by another. Given the current political/military balance of forces in the Near East, it is the Palestinian Arabs who

with a minority of the vote and now is able to carry out the most draconian attacks on civil liberties we've seen since the 1950s with an 80 percent popularity rating.

What we fight for in the Near East is Arab-Hebrew workers revolution as the only just solution to this question of interpenetrated peoples. Looking at the situation today, this prospect may seem pretty way out. But there are historical precedents.

Let me give you an example. If you look at the former Yugoslavia, today there's Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo; the number of countries multiplies. This is where the expression "Balkanization" came from. You've seen for the last ten years intercommunal massacres, the driving out of entire villages and towns. But it wasn't always that way. From 1945 to the early 1990s, you had a situation for much of that time where the various nationalities—the Croats, the Serbs, the Bosnian Muslims, the Albanian Kosovars—lived in relative harmony and national equality.

But before 1945, it was pretty much the way it is now. Then something intervened to radically change things. The Yugoslav



New York Times

Mass demonstration in Baghdad, July 1958. Revolutionary upsurge under Iraqi CP leadership brought powerful proletariat to the brink of power.

Yugoslavia. As a result, when Tito's Communist Partisans were victorious over the Nazi occupation they were also victorious over what was left of a bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia.

What came out of that is what we call a deformed workers state—a state where capitalism had been overthrown but under the political rule of a bureaucracy like what existed in the Soviet Union under Stalin and his successors prior to the downfall of the USSR in 1991-92. But even with that deformation, you had a situation where there were no longer bourgeois-nationalist forces carrying out massacres against each other. You had development of the most impoverished regions and relative equality on the basis of a collectivized economy. Then in the early '90s you had a counterrevolution, and now you see what you get from that.

For Communist Parties in the Near East!

If you look around today, it seems like in almost every Arab country what's on the rise is Islamic fundamentalism. And in most countries you have either dictatorial regimes or some democratic facade



Mémoires Vives Productions

Henri Curiel, an Egyptian Jew, helped found Communist movement in that country in 1940s.

for military rule. But if you go back to the 1940s and '50s, you had large Communist parties in many of these countries. Most of these Communist parties were either formed by or included or were based heavily on the minorities in those countries. The various Egyptian Communist formations were all formed by Egyptian Jews. The Iraqi Communist Party had in its leadership Kurds and Jews. Kurds are an oppressed minority in Iraq. For a period of time the chief leader of the Iraqi Communist Party was a Jewish man.

In 1958, the king of Iraq, I believe the son of the man that the British installed, was overthrown. This opened up a revolutionary situation. The Iraqi Communist Party had the overwhelming support of the multinational Iraqi working class. It also had broad support among other layers of the population, including within the army and even some sections of the officer corps. It could have taken power. There could have been a socialist revolution in Iraq. In fact the American government was sufficiently worried that U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower sent the

Marines into Lebanon just to have them there in case they had to invade Iraq. The Kremlin, the Moscow Stalinists, sold out that revolution in the interests of maintaining "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. They knew the U.S. wouldn't like it if one of the major countries in the major oil producing region of the world went Communist. And the Iraqi Communist Party, being a Stalinist party, went along with that.

The Stalinists have a program called "two-stage revolution" which means first we block with the bourgeois nationalists—like the predecessors of Saddam Hussein—and only later will we fight for socialism. Of course, the later never comes because in between comes a massacre of the working class, which is what happened in Iraq. This led to Saddam Hussein, who at the time was supported by the United States because he was killing workers and Communists, which is something the United States government always likes.

Let's take another example a decade later. I referred to the massacre of Palestinians (Black September) in Jordan in 1970. That did not have to happen. In fact, Jordan was on the verge of a civil war. But none of the Palestinian nationalists—not simply Arafat, but even the most left-wing Palestinian nationalists—sought to organize the Jordanian and Palestinian masses against King Hussein. These groups included the Democratic Front and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which claimed to be either Marxist-Leninist or Marxist and which are seen that way by much of the left today. Instead of appealing to the population to rise up against the king, they left themselves disarmed and 10,000 Palestinian fighters were slaughtered.

A few years later, in 1975, a civil war broke out in Lebanon. This started basically as a civil war between the poor and the rich, although the rich were largely the Christian Maronites. But it was turned into a war between Muslims and Christians as the PLO and Lebanese Stalinists threw their forces in with one or another of the Lebanese Muslim groups who were simply communalists. So a potentially revolutionary civil war turned into an intercommunalist slaughter that went on for years and led to the deaths of tens upon tens of thousands of people.

So revolutionary opportunities do arise, but when they arise—and they don't happen every day, obviously—what has to be in place is the kind of party that Lenin painstakingly built in Russia through education and struggle to take advantage of that opportunity. It's got to be a party based on the understanding of proletarian class independence from the bourgeoisie as against the idea of

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 12.



Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Yugoslav Communist Party under Marshal Tito (fourth from left) forged multinational Partisan force that defeated Nazi occupiers in WWII, leading to creation of deformed workers state.

now face the possibility of massacres on a truly genocidal scale.

However, one also sees suicide terror attacks carried out by Palestinians against innocent Israeli civilians. It is one thing to carry out an attack against Israeli troops or settlers who are basically fascist auxiliaries of the Israeli Army. They are enforcers of the military occupation of the Palestinians. It is another thing to attack a bunch of teenage kids at a disco on a Friday night date in Tel Aviv or some people out doing their shopping in a shopping mall in Jerusalem or Haifa. Such indiscriminate terror is criminal from the standpoint of the working class. Behind it lies the nationalist ideology that equates the whole population with the rulers. Far from advancing the struggle for Palestinian liberation, it actually sets it back. What it says to the working people of Israel is: "Our government must be right; the Arabs hate us all."

In this sense it's comparable to the attack on the World Trade Center last September, which was also a criminal attack from the standpoint of the working class. Look what it did for the Bush administration which came into office

Communist Party under Tito in World War II led a partisan resistance against the Nazi German occupation. The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party was multinational. It was the only pan-Yugoslav party in the country. There were Jewish people in the leadership; there were Croats; there were Serbs. Tito himself was half Croatian and half Slovenian. Now, this was a Stalinist party. It did not have a program for socialist revolution and it tried to form alliances with various bourgeois formations at that time.

However, one of these bourgeois-nationalist formations from the Croatian side—the Ustasha—was pro-Nazi and was running a puppet government for the German occupation forces. The Titoists couldn't exactly ally with them. On the other side were Serbian royalists—the Chetniks—who for a time were allied with the Titoist Partisans against the Germans and their Croatian puppets. But then the Chetniks started attacking the Yugoslav Communist forces, so it was sort of hard to maintain an alliance with them too. In the upshot the anti-Nazi Partisan war turned into a civil war against all the bourgeois-nationalist forces in

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"two-stage revolution." What we fight for in backward neocolonial countries like those of the Arab East is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which means that only when the working class takes power can you break the stranglehold of imperialism and put an end to national oppression. Communist parties in Third World countries must also be based on the understanding that the working class in the United States and West Europe must be mobilized for proletarian revolution as well, because as long as imperialism remains no revolution in a small country will long survive.

We have a perspective of building Leninist-Trotskyist parties not only in Arab countries but also in Israel. Israel is not, as I said before, simply a seamless society where nothing can ever change. You might have read about the reservists in the military who refuse to do service in the Occupied Territories. There are all sorts of fault lines in Israeli society, including secular opposition to Jewish fundamentalism and theocracy. There's a large Israeli Arab population, which is actually a part of the Palestinian nation that remained within Israel's borders. They are subject to intense segregation, enormous poverty, basically restricted to Arab-only villages, and economically marginal. But Israeli Arabs certainly have no great love for the Zionist state and could obviously be a haven for socialist revolution in Israel.

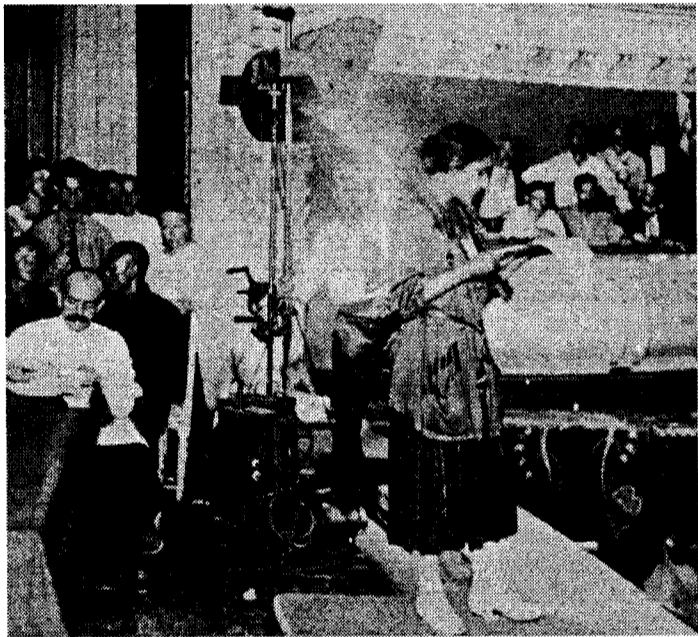
Then there are class and other divisions

which radicalized a whole generation around the world. So again, the point is that if you have a narrow, nationalist framework and look only at your little piece of territory and what's going on there and what you can do about it, you will never succeed.

The Struggle for Revolutionary Consciousness

There's a little group on the left called the Internationalist Group. If anybody here has ever seen their material, you may think that much of their stuff sounds the same as ours. They call for Arab-Hebrew workers revolution, for example. I was looking at a 30 March leaflet they put out and it says, "Defeat Israel's Genocidal Blitzkrieg! Drive Zionist Army/Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" It's like "macho man Marxism"—"defeat 'em," "drive 'em out," "smash 'em!" Who's going to do the driving? The lightly armed Palestinian resistance against Israeli tanks, F-16s, armored helicopters?

Then I remembered something they wrote a year ago: "The settlers should be driven out by militant action of the oppressed Palestinian population. This could gain considerable support from Hebrew working people in Israel" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). I remember while reading that at the time, I just started laughing. We do look to mobilize the Hebrew working people for revolution, but to think that right now, with the level of intense chauvinism infecting the



Humbert-Díaz Archives

Turkish delegate to 1920 Soviet Baku Congress addresses struggle for women's emancipation in Muslim East.

within the Jewish population. The majority are what is called Sephardic or Near Eastern Jews, who are overwhelmingly treated as second-class citizens. They are very poor by and large compared to the European-derived Jews, and mainly live in what are called "development towns," which are basically glorified slums in desert areas. Today the Sephardic population is largely under the sway of right-wing and religious parties. But such things can change very quickly, and I'll give you an example. I happened to be in Israel for a brief visit in the early 1970s. There was a group there called the Black Panther Party. I'm sure you're all familiar with the Black Panther Party which originated in Oakland, California. This was not them. This was a group of several hundred Sephardic Jewish militants who were fighting against the discrimination against their people, but in fact they did get their name from the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

There was likewise at that time a fairly sizable New Left movement in Israel of young Israelis, many of whom were openly anti-Zionist. And I could speak to them because in some ways we had both been influenced by the same events: the struggle for black equality in the United States, which had international repercussions, and, of course, the Vietnam War,

Israeli proletariat, that they're just going to cheer on Palestinians as they drive out Jewish settlers from the Occupied Territories is demented.

For the Internationalist Group, revolution is something quick and easy. You don't have to have that hard struggle to change people's minds, to affect consciousness, to build a party. The Palestinians are just going to engage in militant struggle, and the Israeli working class is going to cheer them on. If life were only so easy!

The real punchline of this attitude is that you cut corners. But history doesn't have pop-up menus for shortcuts, so when you start looking for shortcuts what you do is tone down this bit of your program and tailor that bit in order to appeal to lower consciousness. The Internationalist Group claims to agree with our line on the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan against the CIA's Islamic reactionaries in the 1980s. Especially in defense of women's rights, we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" And the Internationalist Group says: we stand by that.

But then they organized a demonstration a few months ago at Hunter College in New York City against the post-September 11 government attacks on immigrants from Islamic countries. And the one thing that never came out of their mouth was "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan." And this was shortly after the U.S. had launched its attacks on Afghanistan. Why? Because that might have annoyed the Arab nationalists who were there, the Islamic women wearing veils who were there, or groups like the International



Espartaco

April 4: Trotskyists hold speakout at Mexico City's UNAM university. Signs include: "Down With the Zionist Terror Machine! For Arab-Israeli Workers Revolution!" and "No to the Veil! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Socialist Organization, who are virulently anti-Communist, who were there. See, you don't say things that are going to upset the apple cart. But on that basis you're never going to build a party that can make a revolution.

Another thing that they've attacked us for is that we declare ourselves to be the vanguard against Islamic reaction. Yes, we are. We are in the vanguard against Islamic reaction, against Jewish reaction, and particularly in this country, against Christian reaction.

Fundamentally, if you are not against all forms of religious reaction then all talk of socialist revolution and permanent revolution is a lie. It means nothing because you are not fighting against the backwardness that keeps the oppressed and the working class in those societies in chains. And central to that, and to the whole perspective of permanent revolution, is women's liberation against which religious reaction is the greatest enemy.

The Palestinian people, as I said earlier, as compared to virtually every other Arab population in the Near East—and as compared to the Israeli Jewish population as well—were decidedly more cosmopolitan. But by 1990-91, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism had become so severe that women who had participated in the first Intifada said they were afraid to go out in the streets of Gaza without a veil, and by the mid 1990s this had spread to the West Bank as well. If you don't see yourself as a vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism, how are you going to defend those women and win them to the banner of communism?

And it's not just religious reaction that is opposed to women's liberation; it is nationalism as well. In Algeria in the late 1950s-early 1960s a radical-nationalist movement waged a successful struggle

against French colonialism. As soon as they took power, they started putting women "in their place"—the very same women who had been vanguard fighters in the struggle against French imperialism were now told to shut up and get in the kitchen. The Algerian nationalist regime implemented laws based on traditional Islamic law.

So unlike such people as the Internationalist Group who peddle daydreams and illusions, we don't think socialist revolution is an easy road. However, it is the only road if you are for liberation of the oppressed; if you are for the emancipation of women; if you are for an end to poverty, an end to imperialist war and an end to exploitation of the working people in this country, in Israel, in Arab countries, in every country. We don't claim to have the power currently to drive the Zionists out of the Occupied Territories. We do have a very powerful set of ideas, however. And those ideas, if implanted among the working masses as happened in Russia in the years leading up to and during 1917, have the power to change the world.

The last 100 years, the 20th century, have probably been the bloodiest period in the history of humanity. It's not just Palestine. There's been two world wars and the Nazi Holocaust. The American imperialist war in Korea cost something like 3 million lives, and the one in Vietnam even more. To put an end to all of these atrocities once and for all requires putting the working class in power internationally. If you're interested in defeating oppression and in driving out the oppressors, you should join us in building the kind of internationalist, revolutionary party that it's going to take to turn this world into a world commonwealth of socialism. ■

NYC NOTICE

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Waterfront...

(continued from page 16)

Los Angeles Business Journal (27 May) warned: "A 10-day work stoppage would create a \$19.4 billion loss to the national economy."

On the East and Gulf Coasts, shipping interests are also attacking the closed shop organized by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The shipping companies' efforts are now assisted by the Feds, who are moving to intervene in the ILA in the name of prosecuting "mob elements" in the New York/New Jersey port area. Government, courts out of the unions!

These attacks underline the need for one national longshore union that can carry out a national struggle. Especially if the ILWU were to forge a fighting alliance with rail, trucking and airport workers, longshore workers could deal a devastating blow against the anti-union attacks not just on the waterfront but throughout the country. This would resonate internationally, most directly but not only with dock workers.

"Mechanization and Modernization" Revisited

An article titled "Let the Games Begin" in the *Journal of Commerce* (18-24 February) states, "The PMA is seeking a contract patterned after the historic Mechanization and Modernization Agreement of 1960, which freed employers to automate but ensured that longshoremen would be compensated for lost jobs." What the employers now want, they continue, is "broad language giving them flexibility to use equipment, information technology and manpower to maximize productivity."

The infamous Mechanization and Modernization (M&M) Agreement gave the PMA a virtual free hand to eliminate jobs with the introduction of powerful labor-saving container shipping technology. Almost overnight, the amount of cargo moved on and off ships skyrocketed; for some loads containerization reduced man-hour requirements by a factor of 13, and dropped turnaround time from five and a half days to 40 hours. In exchange for the M&M Agreement, historic ILWU leader Harry Bridges negotiated the "Pay Guarantee Plan" (PGP), under which those workers lucky enough to still be on the books were guaranteed

The productivity increases from containerization have now been pushed as far as they can go on existing technology. Shipping employers now want to attack union work rules in order to reduce the costs of delays involved in getting the containers into and out of the harbor area.

The *Los Angeles Times* (5 May) reports, "The Pacific Maritime Assn. says the union must accept new equipment and work rules that will make the ports more efficient," quoting PMA head Joe Miniacce saying, "The only thing we are interested in is introducing technology with [the union's] support." In fact the only thing the PMA is really interested in is a huge increase in profits. The same article indicates that the PMA is "pushing for greater flexibility in technology and work rules" in order to save the maritime industry an estimated \$1 billion annually. These new technologies are already being used in ports like Singapore, Hong Kong and Rotterdam. In Hong Kong, docks handle over 15,000 containers per acre; the West Coast average is 3,000. In Singapore, a single crane operator using computers transfers containers onto waiting trucks; on the West Coast, each crane has a crew of four. The first ILWU members to be targeted by the PMA's intention to introduce computerized cargo tracking are ILWU clerks who currently work closely with the crane crew to keep track of containers and manifests. The PMA estimates that the new technology would eliminate 50 percent of the ILWU clerks, or about 1,000 jobs.

The PMA's modernization plans also would eliminate an estimated 10,000 future longshore jobs. The *Washington Post* (5 January) reports, "The PMA acknowledges that without the new technology, West Coast longshoremen jobs would probably grow to 20,000 over the next 20 years," i.e., the same period in which Pacific Rim trade is expected to double. The PMA says "work opportunity" will be guaranteed only to "currently registered workers." This sounds like a freeze on new registration and a slow death by attrition.

Union Tops Sign On to Government "Security" Witchhunt

Despite the powerful bargaining leverage ILWU longshoremen have by virtue of being able to control all trade coming into West Coast ports, the ILWU bureaucracy headed by International president



Acme



San Francisco Archives

Strike by longshoremen and seamen (left) in 1934 led to San Francisco general strike. Top: On "Bloody Thursday," cops killed two striking longshoremen.

more computerized." Intra-port trucking (or drayage) is the trucking of containers within the port between berths and between rail lines and berths. Shipping companies have contracts with trucking companies who in turn hire owner-operators, many of whom are Latino, Asian and Arab immigrants, at a fraction of the cost of union drivers. These port truckers are paid strictly on a per-trip basis, have no benefits, and no guarantee of work. Truckers have told *WV* salesmen that the trucking companies will fire them on the spot if they even mention the word "union."

The overwhelmingly Latino L.A. port truckers have waged a series of militant strikes since the late 1980s to demand union recognition, including an unsuccessful 1993 bid for Teamsters representation that paralyzed the port for eleven days. Last December the Teamsters, the ILWU and the ILA announced an alliance to make all U.S. ports "100 percent union." At the time this was seen by many port truckers as opening up the possibility that they would be organized by the Teamsters. Now, it has been reported that, in a very unusual move, Teamsters president James Hoffa will be sitting in on the negotiations between the ILWU and the PMA. What the ILWU tops are aiming for is to drive unorganized Latino, Asian and Arab truckers out of the intra-port trucking jobs they now have and replace them with registered longshoremen.

This policy is directly counterposed to what's needed: union organization of the port truckers. This is a basic requirement for working-class unity. It would open the road to uniting all dock workers into one industrial union and beating back the capitalists' divide-and-conquer strategy. But such a perspective would require mobilizing the union's power in defense of the port truckers against anti-immigrant racism. The unions should be fighting for **full citizenship rights for all immigrants.**

Instead, the union tops have signed on to the government's "security" witchhunt, which is directed in the first instance against immigrants. Writing in response to the proposed Maritime Security Act, Spinoso vituperated in the union's September 2001 *Dispatcher*: "Why are hard-working, productive longshore workers being targeted for extensive security clearances while unknown truck drivers are being allowed free access to our work environment?" In response to this poison we wrote, "Such chauvinism plays right into the capitalists' divide-and-rule schemes aimed at pitting white against black and American-born against foreign-born workers. This undermines union power and strikes back against all the oppressed" ("Bosses Target Dock

Workers," *WV* No. 769, 23 November 2001).

Indeed, the MSA would lead to the victimization of not only immigrant workers but of many U.S.-born black and Latino ILWU members. The MSA mandates background checks under which waterfront workers could be fired on the basis of any conviction in the past seven years on any of 20 different felony offenses. Systematic cop harassment of ghetto and barrio youth means that many black and Latino men have a rap sheet and could be screened off the waterfront. Spinoso's column in the *Dispatcher* amounted to a call on ILWU members to fink on their fellow workers, just as McCarthyite witchhunters fingered radicals and other union militants in the 1950s. Since his column appeared, port truckers in the L.A./Long Beach and Oakland/Bay Area ports have complained bitterly to *WV* salesmen that longshoremen have become increasingly abusive toward them.

Labor Lieutenants of Capital

Bridges' justification for the 1960 M&M deal was that mechanization was inevitable and his job was to get the best deal he could in exchange for helping implement it. But the devastation it has wrought on waterfront jobs demonstrates that defense of the workers' interests invariably comes up against the constraints of the capitalist property system. The introduction of new technology should benefit the whole of society. But under capitalism, it is used to eliminate jobs, throwing ever more workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

In a workers state, where the means of production have been taken away from the capitalists and made the collective property of the working class, labor-saving technology would mean less time spent at work and a vast improvement in conditions of life for the population as a whole. Moreover, technological progress would be greatly accelerated under a centralized planned economy and an international division of labor. This would lead to an enormous expansion of production, and the elimination of scarcity, laying the basis for the abolition of class society with all its barbaric inequality, racism and war.

Particularly now, as the boom-bust cycle inherent in the capitalist mode of production has generated another international recession, workers kicked out of their jobs face little hope of getting decent-paying work. Against the mass unemployment created by the capitalist system, it is necessary to fight for a **sliding scale of hours** to divide the available work among all workers, uniting the employed and unemployed in class struggle. Writing



Financial Times

1998 strike by Australian dock workers against union-busting assault.

minimum pay. For many years the PGP was used by the bosses to blackmail the union, threatening to cancel it at even the hint of a job action.

By 2001, the number of registered longshoremen had decreased to some 10,500 from 65,000 in 1959. Reporting on Bridges' settlement of the last ILWU strike, the 134-day 1971-72 walkout, we noted: "The central issue is containerization. In a very few years containerization will automate away the longshore job and with it the longshore union—unless the ILWU together with the ILA, Teamsters and other unions **creates more jobs** through the shorter workweek with increases in daily and weekly pay. The workers must force technological improvements to benefit **them**" (*WV* No. 6, March 1972).

James Spinoso has apparently decided to knuckle under to the PMA, giving them an updated version of the notorious 1960 M&M sellout. "We know we are going to lose jobs to technology," Spinoso said (*Journal of Commerce*, 18-24 February). Instead of fighting to defend ILWU jobs against company attacks, the ILWU tops are trying to grab the jobs of the non-union and heavily immigrant port truckers, thus setting one group of workers against another.

The *Journal of Commerce* article reported that the February ILWU longshore Coast Caucus called "to expand ILWU jurisdiction," including to intra-port trucking, adding, "The caucus said the expanded jurisdiction would compensate ILWU members for the loss of jobs that will result as terminals become

as the world economy was emerging from the Great Depression, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky asserted in the 1938 Transitional Program:

"Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step....

"The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

Any serious struggle to defend the interests of the working class must begin with the understanding that the interests of the workers and the capitalists are irreconcilably counterposed: workers are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class derives its profits from the exploitation of the workers. The labor bureaucracy seeks to obscure this fundamental counterposition by peddling the lie that there can be a "partnership" of give and take between the workers and the bosses.

On an economic level, this means accepting the employers' argument that concessions by the trade unions—e.g., cuts in wages and benefits, layoffs and speedup—are necessary to help ensure the competitive edge of individual companies and of corporate America as a whole. On the political level, it means support to the capitalist political parties, chiefly the Democrats. This was no less

Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose "New Deal" was aimed at heading off the working-class upsurge. Today ILWU Local 10 headquarters is used to mobilize support for the likes of San Francisco mayor and key black Democratic Party power broker Willie Brown, who has held election victory celebrations in the union hiring hall.

The labor bureaucracy looks to the government as a "neutral arbiter" in conflicts between the unions and the employers. In reality, the government represents the class interests of the bourgeoisie against the working class and oppressed. The entire apparatus of the capitalist state—the cops, the courts, the prisons, the military—is a machinery of repression aimed at enforcing capitalist rule. In any serious struggle, the ILWU will quickly face union-busting attacks by the capitalist cops and courts. Likewise, anti-labor laws and government intervention in the unions are aimed at weakening and undermining the labor movement and subordinating it further to the capitalist state. The precondition for unions to defend the workers is complete independence from the capitalist state.

As the U.S. geared up for World War II and the Democratic Roosevelt administration implemented an array of laws to hamstring the newly forged industrial unions of the CIO, Trotsky explained that in this era in which capitalism is dominated by huge trusts and monopolies, the trade unions

"have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aris-



WV Photos

Oakland, February 9: Bay Area longshoremen were at core of labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights.



picked each day for jobs on the docks by the employers, who played favorites and pitted worker against worker. Instead, longshoremen were dispatched daily to jobs from the union hiring hall. The mechanization of the docks has made the hiring hall an anachronism for the employers, since labor is no longer the single most important factor in loading and unloading. But it remains a bulwark of strong union control over job conditions.

Every year there is a memorial to "Bloody Thursday," when striking longshoremen were shot to death by the cops during the 1934 longshore strike. But today's ILWU officials have *foresworn* the methods of independent class struggle that defeated the maritime bosses, their cops and National Guard in 1934. Spinosa's class-collaborationist strategy is *counterposed* to the methods with which the workers built the union.

Reviving the class-struggle traditions that built the CIO unions requires understanding exactly who and what you are up against. Speaking of "The Great Minneapolis Strikes" of 1934, which were led to victory by Trotskyist militants and helped build the Teamsters into a powerful national union, James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, underlined the political program which lay behind those victories:

"The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that.... The policy of the class struggle guided out comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were....

"Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue."

—The History of American Trotskyism (1944)

The Minneapolis strike leaders were guided by the Marxist understanding that the workers could not rely on the agencies of the class enemy—either the government, its political parties, the cops, the courts or the arbitration boards. This understanding is equally critical today, when the capitalist government has weakened the labor movement's ability to fight back with myriad anti-labor laws, which the AFL-CIO bureaucracy capitulates to.

The battles that forged the ILWU not only won union dispatch of workers based on seniority; they helped open up longshore jobs for black workers—a pioneering victory for integration of unions and a major break from the Jim Crow practices of the craft-based American Federation of Labor. In 1934 the longshore union actively recruited black workers into the union. And through hundreds of work actions over the ensuing years, the ILWU was able to determine manning scales, work rules and safe working conditions; in other words, union control of how longshoremen worked.

The M&M settlement brought about the institutionalization of the discriminatory division of longshore workers into unequal layers of more senior A-men and less senior B-men. Formed in 1959, the B-list was a new category of longshoremen who were kept out of the

continued on page 14



WV Photo

Los Angeles, 1994: Latino port truckers protest anti-immigrant Prop. 187. Sign reads: "Long Live the Immigrant Workers' Struggle—United Against Racism and Discrimination."

true of the "progressive" Bridges with his occasional socialist rhetoric than of the business unionist Spinosa. Under Bridges, the no-strike pledge and binding arbitration became a feature of every contract after the 1948 strike, and since then there has only been one other coast-wide strike, in 1971. The *Economist* (11 May) observes that "For most of its existence, the ILWU has had good relations with the shippers.... The two sides co-operated effectively over the biggest upheaval in cargo transport, the introduction of standard containers in the 1960s and 1970s." In fact, Bridges himself arrogantly called the M&M deal a "beautiful piece of class collaboration."

Indeed, "progressive" trade-union reformists like Bridges, and those misleaders in the ILWU today who uphold his "legacy," are better able to carry out betrayals of the workers' interests than the straight business union bureaucrats because they know how to put a "left" polish on their treachery. Behind the cultivated "progressive" image stands the same class collaboration that characterizes the rest of the AFL-CIO labor officialdom. In the late 1930s Bridges and the Communist Party (which was by then a thoroughly reformist organization) tied the working class to the Democratic Party of

tocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism....

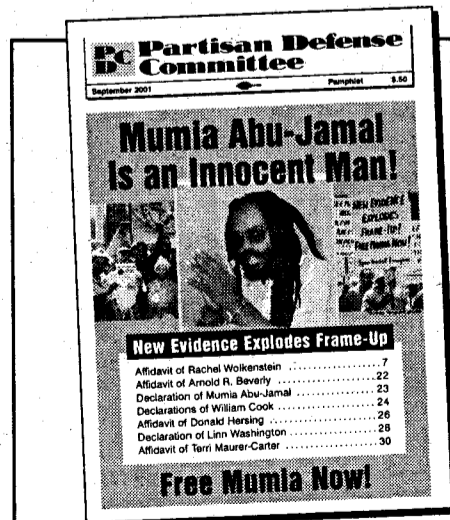
"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

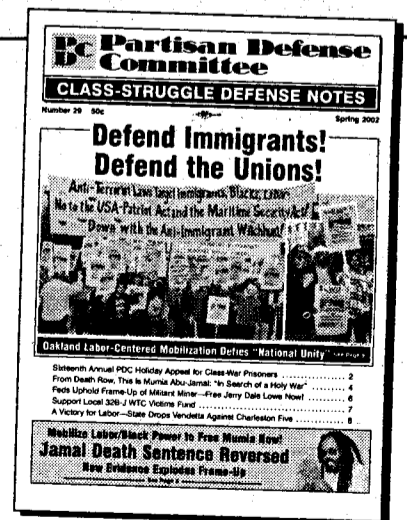
In times of sharp class struggle or war, the union tops become the open political police of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. Only by political struggle within the unions to oust these misleaders can the working class take the road of class struggle.

Gains for Workers, Blacks Won by Class Struggle

The PMA bosses have declared their intent to eliminate the union hiring hall and replace it with a computerized or Internet-based automatic dispatching system, which would reduce union members to atomized individuals sitting at home waiting for a job. The class battles of the 1930s that created the ILWU, most critically the 1934 San Francisco general strike and the 1936 maritime strike, ended the hated "shape-up" where workers were



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Waterfront...

(continued from page 13)

union. The workforce is further divided with a category of "casuals" who have no union rights and no benefits at all. These divisions have poisoned the union, but-tressing all the divisions—racial and sexual—used by the capitalists to keep the workers down. The B-men and casuals, who currently work far fewer hours than the A-men, must be brought into the union with full rights, pay and benefits, with special training and recruitment programs for minorities and women. This must be coupled with the demand for a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay to ensure work for all longshoremen.

International Workers Solidarity vs. Labor Chauvinism

Even more clearly than in other industries, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's support for flag-waving chauvinism and "buy American" protectionism is patently counterposed to the defense of the interests of longshore workers, whose very jobs depend on international trade. Moreover, longshore workers have a proud tradition of international labor solidarity. This was demonstrated with the international campaign to defend the locked-out Liverpool dockers in the early 1990s. Even more recently, it was illustrated by the successful defense campaign for the ILA "Charleston Five," who were threatened with jail sentences for defending their union in a South Carolina waterfront battle in 2000.

The vital necessity of international labor solidarity is stark here on the East Coast of the Pacific Rim. World War II in

the Pacific between U.S. and Japanese imperialism was primarily fought to determine who would "get" China for capitalist exploitation. But the social revolution in China in 1949 took that country out of the capitalist market, thwarting the imperialists' plans. Today the continuing introduction of capitalist "market reforms" by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy threatens the working-class property forms created as a result of the 1949 Revolution. U.S. capitalists are now seeking wider imperialist penetration into China, hoping to once more get their claws into the Chinese workers for unlimited exploitation through bloody counterrevolution to overthrow the Chinese deformed workers state.

The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders, who have sabotaged hundreds of strikes in the last 20 years to make U.S. capitalism more "competitive," support this reactionary goal. While the U.S. capitalists talk about the lack of "democracy" in China under the regime of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the union tops complain about "slave labor" in order to justify their protectionist campaigns to stop Chinese imports to "protect American jobs"—in effect, telling American workers that the workers in China, not the U.S. capitalists, are their enemies. When the U.S. capitalists talk about "freedom" in China, they mean the freedom of U.S. capitalists to exploit the workers of a fragmented China. Sweeney and the other AFL-CIO tops' campaign against "totalitarian" China bolsters the imperialists' counterrevolutionary aims.

This is a betrayal of workers in the U.S. as much as of their working-class brothers and sisters in China. Should unionized workers allow the bosses to smash

another union because its leadership is corrupt? Absolutely not! They should defend the union against the bosses' attack so that the workers can clean their own house. Likewise, the workers of the world cannot allow capitalism to be restored in China as it was in the former Soviet Union. That was a tremendous defeat for the working class internationally which has only encouraged the capitalists of every country to step up their attacks on the working class.

The 1,000 ILWU members who participated in the China-bashing protests in Seattle in 1999—dumping mock Chinese steel into Puget Sound—were misled by the AFL-CIO and ILWU labor bureaucrats to act against their own class interests by taking action in support of the counterrevolutionary goals of the U.S. government. ILWU members and all class-conscious workers must defend the Chinese workers state against imperialist attack from within and counter-revolution from within and support the struggles of the Chinese workers to take control of their state by throwing out the Stalinist bureaucracy through a workers political revolution.

Break with the Democrats— Forge a Multiracial Workers Party!

Last February 9, the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense organized a labor-centered united-front mobilization in Oakland against the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act and in defense of immigrants targeted by the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism" (see "Defend Immigrants! Defend the Unions!" WV No. 775, 22 February). The core of the demonstra-

tion were longshoremen from ILWU Local 10, who along with some 300 other unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth, rallied in opposition to the anti-immigrant witchhunt.

For many black longshoremen, acting in defense of immigrants—including the unorganized port truckers—represented a conscious break with attempts pushed by the capitalist rulers to pit black and immigrant workers against each other. We sought to win workers to the need to cut through the ideological straitjacket of "national unity" and break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the oppressed. In building this mobilization, the Spartacist League sought to raise the consciousness of the working class for independent struggle against the capitalist rulers. On that day this action gave those unionists a sense of struggle based on their independent class power.

There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregated America, to break from the Democrats and build a new leadership based on a program of class struggle that will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. That struggle requires a political expression, a workers party to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. The labor-centered united-front demonstration on February 9 illustrated on a small scale what a revolutionary workers party would do. The task ahead of us is to forge such a party, which will mobilize all the oppressed in a united struggle for workers power. Those who labor must rule! ■

Canada...

(continued from page 3)

Only a workers government can guarantee these conditions. The supposed guarantees of the Canadian constitution and bourgeois law are an illusion. The only rights that are guaranteed under capitalism are the bourgeoisie's "rights" to exploitation and plunder. To maintain its unjust order against the working class and oppressed, the bourgeoisie has at its disposal the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prisons and army—to utilize as instruments of violent repression. The vicious and inhumane treatment of Native people by the forces of the capitalist state was brought home recently at the trial of two Saskatoon cops who dumped a Native man on the outskirts of town in subzero temperatures, where he froze to death. Convicted amid revelations of daily brutality, the two cops were sentenced to light jail terms, while their cohorts carry on as before.

No Illusions in the Pro-Capitalist NDP! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The B.C. Federation of Labour has joined the call for a boycott of Campbell's racist referendum, and has welcomed Native contingents to its protests against the Liberal government. During their recent wildcat strikes, members of the heavily immigrant B.C. Health Employees Union carried signs denouncing the Liberals' anti-Native referendum. However, far from leading a struggle for aboriginal rights, the goal of the top union bureaucracy in the current labor protests is merely to return to office their "political arm," the NDP. Understandably, facing a vicious enemy like Gordon Campbell, the New Democrats may seem to many to be a lesser evil, if not a positive good. But what does such a perspective offer, especially for Native people?

It was the NDP government that ordered the largest operation in RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] history at Gustafsen Lake in 1995. The purpose? To evict a handful of Native militants occupying "private" ranchland near

100 Mile House. In the process, more than 7,700 square kilometers were turned into a war zone; Natives throughout the province were detained without cause, harassed and searched. Denounced by the NDP premier as "fanatics," the occupiers faced potential massacre for a month. Following their surrender, the NDP government vindictively threw their leader, William "Wolverine" Ignace, into prison for four years. It has also recently been revealed that the NDP's police complaints commissioner covered up the death of Frank Paul, a Native man who died of hypothermia in 1998 after being dumped by Vancouver police.

From its attacks on Natives, to railing against "illegal" Chinese immigrants, to leading the "national unity" crusade in B.C. against Quebec independence, the NDP government oversaw a decade of chauvinist reaction. The New Democrats' purpose in inculcating such racism and chauvinism among the workers was to reinforce capitalist class rule.

Taking their cue from the union tops are a host of pseudo-socialist groups—International Socialists, l'Humanité, Communist League, Communist Party—who present NDP governments (with greater or lesser enthusiasm) as a progressive alternative for working people and the oppressed. These groups all called to elect (and then re-elect) the New Democrats in the 1990s. They were thus politely silent on the NDP's own long, dirty record on aboriginal questions during the run-up to Campbell's referendum.

The NDP is a *bourgeois workers party*, based in part on the trade unions but thoroughly pro-capitalist in its leadership and outlook. When installed in office, NDP governments are *capitalist* governments, committed to maintaining the bourgeois order through parliamentary illusions and reactionary chauvinism where possible, through naked force where necessary. In fact, thanks to their ties to organized labor via the union bureaucracy, the New Democrats are often more adept at suppressing working-class struggle than open capitalist parties like the Liberals.

The struggles of working people and the oppressed can go forward only against the treachery and sabotage of the

NDP and its allies in the labor bureaucracy. It is necessary to forge a new, anti-capitalist leadership of labor: a revolutionary vanguard party that opposes every manifestation of injustice and strives to make the proletariat conscious of its social power and historic interest as the only force which can sweep away capitalist exploitation and oppression. The unremitting defense of Native people's lives and rights by the organized working class is an integral part of this fight.

The best historical model for successful proletarian struggle is the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which, in October 1917, succeeded for the first and only time in history in leading the working class to political power. From its inception, Lenin insisted that the Bolshevik Party act as a spokesman of all the oppressed. He understood that working-class opposition to every manifestation of oppression, however small, was the only way to weld the exploited masses into a weapon capable of shattering the empire of the tsars.

Thus the communists championed the right to independence of all the nations trapped in the Russian "prison house of peoples." They mobilized workers defense guards to protect Jewish neighborhoods from government-inspired pogroms. Following the revolution, they immediately

abolished discriminatory laws against Jews, women and homosexuals. Despite isolation and extremely limited resources, the Soviet workers state brought tremendous advances in education, health care and life expectancy to the indigenous populations of Russia's north and east.

Many of these gains were undermined and eventually reversed following the usurping of political power by a bureaucratic caste under J. V. Stalin beginning in 1924. The crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which replaced the liberating and egalitarian ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution with nationalism and crude chauvinism, helped pave the road for the destruction of the Soviet workers state many decades later, in 1991-92, a historic defeat for the working class worldwide.

Nonetheless, the revolutionary perspective mapped out by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks remains the road to liberation for working people and all the oppressed. For Native people—the most oppressed of all in Canadian capitalist society—it is the only road to a future free of barbarous racist abuse and grinding poverty. Only an egalitarian society under workers rule can offer the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. ■

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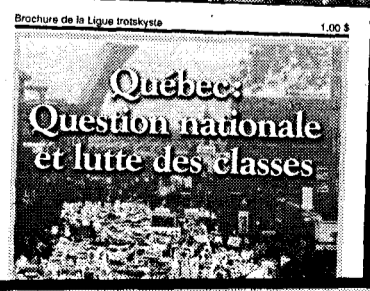
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AP

After train carrying Hindu fundamentalists was criminally torched by Muslims in Indian state of Gujarat in February (left), Hindu mobs burned down homes and killed hundreds in anti-Muslim pogroms.



AFF

Kashmir...

(continued from page 1)

the decades-old antagonism between the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies to fever pitch. In pursuit of its "holy war" against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s, U.S. imperialism poured tens of billions of dollars in weaponry into the hands of the Afghan *mujahedin* and their sponsors in the Pakistani military and Inter Service Intelligence (ISI).

When Washington declared war against "Islamic terrorism" last fall, it renewed its support to the Pakistani military dictatorship in order to buy off these erstwhile sponsors of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. While Islamabad dutifully disowned the Taliban, the Pakistani military and security forces and Islamic fundamentalist gangs under their wings escalated terror attacks in the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir. At the same time, U.S. imperialism's "global war on terror" provided the Hindu-chauvinist government of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee with a pretext for stepping up repression in Kashmir and provocations against Pakistan. The missile tests carried out by Pakistan last month were preceded by India's test in January of a missile capable of reaching Pakistani cities with nuclear warheads.

This potentially catastrophic tit for tat is being used to divert the massive discontent of the impoverished workers and oppressed masses away from their own capitalist governments. It is notable that one of the strongest voices for war with Pakistan in the BJP-led government is Defense Minister Georges Fernandes, a former "socialist" who deployed the army and navy two years ago to break a strike by 100,000 dock workers. What helped propel the BJP on the road to power were

the massive anti-Muslim pogroms triggered in 1992 by the razing of a mosque in Ayodhya by mobs led by the BJP and its communalist paramilitary allies. Pakistan is a suffocating Islamic theocracy, ruled by naked dictatorship since General Pervez Musharraf took power in a military coup three years ago.

The war buildup has been accompanied by a chauvinist frenzy in both countries. Two Christian churches in Pakistan have been subjected to deadly terror attacks, and there has been a spate of murders of

to entire families and killing hundreds, while the police and army looked on or joined in the massacres.

India and Pakistan have already fought two wars over Kashmir, in 1948 and 1965, and a third war in 1971 when a struggle for secession by East Pakistan (Bangladesh) was taken over by the Indian military. The 1948 war, fought when *both* armies were still under British generals, resulted in the de facto partition of Kashmir along the cease-fire line, the so-called Line of Control. (A small part

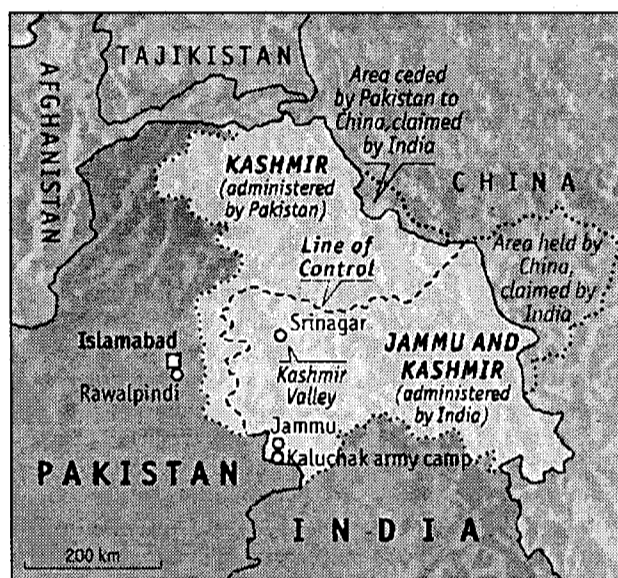
to independence from the Russian tsarist empire, in the particular context of World War I he argued: "The Polish Social-Democrats cannot, at the moment, raise the slogan of Poland's independence, for the Poles, as proletarian internationalists, can do *nothing* about it without stooping, like the 'Fracy' [social-chauvinists], to humble servitude to *one* of the imperialist monarchies."

Both Pakistan and India are prison houses of peoples. Pakistan includes over a million Hindus, while India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world—larger than Pakistan's. Pakistan's claim to constitute "one nation" of all Muslims masks the domination of the Punjabi ruling class over Baluchis, Pashtuns and other oppressed nationalities. Similarly, India includes a myriad of national and pre-national groupings chafing under the rule of the Hindu-centered "all-India" bourgeoisie. The vile chauvinism pushed by the BJP is simply a deepening of the communalism promoted for decades by the avowedly secular Congress Party. Despite its pretensions of representing all caste, religious, national and ethnic groupings, Congress presided over the brutal suppression of numerous separatist insurgencies.

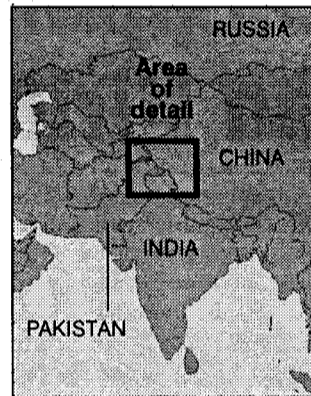
Age-old caste oppression remains pervasive in India and has been intensified under the high-caste BJP, while women are the slaves of slaves throughout the subcontinent. In Pakistan, women are subjected to *purdah* (seclusion) and jailed or stoned to death for adultery and similar "crimes" under Islamic law or murdered in "honor killings" by their own families. India has seen an alarming revival of *suttee* (the religious practice of burning widows to death on their husbands' funeral pyres) and dowry burnings—the murder of young brides by husbands' families greedy for a second dowry.

National and social justice for all the oppressed of the Indian subcontinent requires the revolutionary overthrow of both the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies. This task can only be realized through the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties based on an internationalist perspective. For a socialist federation of South Asia!

Fueled by imperialism, the conflicting nationalist appetites of the Indian and Pakistani ruling classes pose the possibility that millions of people in South Asia could be incinerated in a nuclear holocaust. But the greatest danger to the continued existence of humanity lies in the vast arsenals held by the major capitalist powers, particularly the U.S. And as history has shown, there are no bounds to the scale of imperialist barbarity—from the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the horrendous massacres perpetrated by British imperialism in colonial India. The alternative lies in the proletariat establishing its own class rule around the globe, seizing state power from all the exploitative ruling classes and ushering in an international socialist society. The fate of humanity lies in the timely re forging of Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■



Economist



Shi'ite Muslims in that predominantly Sunni country. In India in March, the government instigated the worst communalist violence the country has seen in ten years. After a train carrying Hindu fundamentalists returning from a "pilgrimage" to Ayodhya was criminally torched as it stopped in a Muslim neighborhood in the BJP-governed state of Gujarat, killing dozens of passengers, Hindu mobs went on a rampage throughout the state. They laid siege to Muslim enclaves, setting fire

of eastern Kashmir is held by China.) But the Kashmiris in Pakistani-controlled Azad (Free) Kashmir are no more free than those under Indian occupation. Despite intense oppression under the Hindu-chauvinist New Delhi regime, the overwhelmingly Muslim Kashmiri population has *not* historically sought to join the Pakistani theocracy.

As we wrote in "Brutal Crackdown in Kashmir" (WV No. 506, 13 July 1990), following the outbreak of an insurgency against Indian rule in 1989:

"Marxists demand the immediate withdrawal of the Indian army and security forces from the Kashmir valley, and of the Pakistani army from the areas of Kashmir they occupy. Defense of the oppressed and of the right of national self-determination is not conditional upon the character of the leadership; we defend the exercise of the right to self-determination, as long as the Kashmiri struggle is not decisively subordinated to the intervention of the Pakistani ruling class (as was the Bangladeshi struggle to the Indian ruling class in 1971 with the Indian army's invasion). But short of a perspective of proletarian revolution throughout the whole subcontinent the prospects for Kashmiri liberation are far from rosy. This is especially so given its strategic location and historical role in relations between Pakistan and India."

There can be no genuine expression of the right of Kashmiri self-determination, either as a politically independent state or through voluntary union with Pakistan (or India), without the withdrawal of both occupying armies from Kashmir. Today the struggle in Kashmir is manifestly subordinated to the conflict between India and Pakistan. And none but the most rabid nationalists could presume that the fate of Kashmir should be determined at the cost of a nuclear war taking millions of lives. While Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin strongly supported Poland's right

British colonial butcher Mountbatten (center) flanked by Indian Congress leader Nehru and Muslim League head Jinnah. Imperialist partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947 set stage for horrific communalist slaughter.

Commonwealth Office



Der Spiegel



Showdown on West Coast Waterfront



Shipping Bosses Target Union Hiring Hall, Work Rules

OAKLAND, June 10—With the contract between the Pacific Maritime Association

(PMA) and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) expiring on June 30, the employers are gunning for the union and the basic gains won in hard class struggle going back to the 1930s. The PMA, a powerful group of shipping carriers, terminal operators and cargo distributors, aims for total control of the waterfront—deciding not only who works but how they work. The PMA is threatening a lockout, and a showdown is looming. If West Coast longshoremen hit the bricks, this could quickly become a critical class battle in which all of labor has a stake and must stand shoulder to shoulder with the ILWU.

The stakes are high given the increasing importance of lucrative Pacific Rim trade funneled through West Coast ports, particularly the Los Angeles/Long Beach ports. American capitalists have invested heavily in plants in Asia and Southeast Asia and are expecting trade to this region to *double* within ten years, taking advantage of low-wage, super-exploited labor. Transportation costs have already been cut by the use of giant container ships with non-union, low-wage skeleton crews of seamen working around the clock for up to six months at a time.

The last wave of mechanization on the docks—the replacement of break-bulk cargo with containerization—exponentially sped up the loading and unloading

of cargo, simultaneously increasing the rates of injuries and accidents. Now the employers want to break the bottlenecks associated with moving cargo into and out of the ports, by introducing new technology that will further decimate longshore jobs, and by targeting union work rules, full manning scales and strict provisions for working conditions that slow down the transfer of cargo. In its frontal assault on the ILWU, the PMA has declared its intent to eliminate the union hiring hall, which was one of the central gains of the tumultuous class battles that created the ILWU in the 1930s.

The current recession and the resulting decrease in trade have further intensified the cutthroat competition between the U.S. capitalists and their chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. The recession also creates a propitious climate for going after the workers weakened by growing unemployment. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (16 April), “Last year was the first year since 1975 when both ‘container cargo and hours paid (to port workers) fell below the totals for the previous year,’ said Joseph Miniace, president of the Pacific Maritime Association.” With U.S. demand for Asian exports down, Oakland-based APL Ltd. was forced to lower its freight rates by 9 percent, and its parent company, Singapore’s NOL Group, lost \$57 million.

As we warned immediately after the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the “war on terror,” which is currently directed chiefly at immigrants, will also be used by the U.S. ruling class to try to prevent labor struggle. The capitalists aim to drive up sagging profits by squeezing more out of fewer workers for less. Armed with the stepped-up repression coming out of the right-wing Bush administration—in partnership with the Democrats in Congress—the capitalists hope to use the climate of “national unity” as a club against labor. First the Senate and now, early this month, the House have passed versions of the Maritime Security Act, which in mandating background checks of all port workers would allow the capitalists to weed out union militants and undermine the power of the union as a whole.

Other maritime industry groups like the International Mass Retail Association have announced their support for the PMA’s demands against the ILWU. “We are telling PMA to stand tough,” said Robin Lanier, executive director of the West Coast Waterfront Coalition, which represents major importers and exporters. “In the past we said, ‘Avoid a strike at any cost.’ This time, we’re saying ‘We don’t want a strike but we don’t want to avoid one at any cost’” (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 May). This cabal of maritime capitalists

Kulich/SABA has put together a \$200 million line of credit to back up their threat of a coastwide

lockout if the ILWU doesn’t knuckle under or if it organizes any slowdowns during negotiations.

While the shipping and transportation companies have concentrated in huge cartels that carve up the shipping lanes, ports worldwide have modernized and shipping has been concentrated in fewer and fewer large container ports. Even before the current recession, shipping bosses and capitalist governments targeted unionized dock workers—from Britain to the Philippines, Australia and Japan—in an international anti-union offensive.

In 1998, one of the largest Australian stevedoring outfits, working in league with the Australian government, conducted a military-type operation against the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). Hundreds of black-uniformed security guards with attack dogs swarmed over the docks, expelling 2,000 MUA members and replacing them with scabs. In the end, after being betrayed by the union bureaucracy and the Australian Labor Party, the workforce was slashed to 800 workers (see “War on the Waterfront—Smash Bosses’ Union-Busting Offensive in Australia!” WV No. 689, 24 April 1998).

But the very concentration and centralization of shipping has also given dock workers enormous potential power. We saw a taste of that power recently in Charleston, South Carolina when crane operators won the reinstatement of suspended workers by walking off the job for two days (see “ILA Crane Operators Defeat Anti-Union Assault,” WV No. 782, 31 May).

The West Coast ports handle over 50 percent of all waterborne imports to the U.S., representing 7 percent of the U.S. Gross Domestic Product. These ports support four million jobs in the U.S. and handle \$309 billion in container cargo per year. As a director of the International Mass Retail Association said: “Work stoppages in a just-in-time-delivery environment can be devastating.” While the shipping bosses are pushing to provoke a confrontation with the union, other sections of the bourgeoisie recognize that this could be very costly. The

continued on page 12



Oakland Tribune

Oakland, February 1998: Longshoremen and other unionists protest PMA lawsuit against ILWU for refusing to handle scab cargo in solidarity with Liverpool dockers.