

Defend Iraq! Down With U.S. War Moves!

OCTOBER 15—A day after his speech to the nation charting the course for a bloody imperialist war, Bush invoked “the security of our country” in imposing the strikebreaking provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act against the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). And as huge majorities in both the House and Senate gave Bush a blank check for war, the White House revealed plans for a long-term military occupation of Iraq. Bled white by 12 years of starvation sanctions and imperialist terror bombing, the people of Iraq are now threatened with yet more death and destruction and colonial tyranny under the arrogant American overlords.

The events of the last week make it crystal-clear that the multiracial working people of America and the semicolonial masses of Iraq have a common enemy in the unusually war-crazed, labor-hating gang in the White House and the capitalist class it represents. To wage imperialist war abroad, the bourgeoisie demands “class peace” at home. The “war on terror” has meant a racist witchhunt against Arabs and Muslims and a wholesale assault on immigrant rights and the civil liberties of the population as a whole. Its ultimate target, underscored by the attack on the ILWU, is the labor movement, the real “enemy within” in the eyes of the American bourgeoisie.

Following the Congressional vote,



New York City, October 6: Spartacists call for class-struggle fight against imperialist war.

Bush declaimed that “America speaks with one voice,” sounding like Louis XIV, the 17th- and 18th-century French monarch who said, “L’état, c’est moi” (I am the state). Even in Congress, some 150 Democrats and a handful of Republicans opposed the White House. The country at large is deeply divided over this new military adventure. The patriotic “one nation indivisible” hysteria whipped up follow-

ing the criminal attack on the World Trade Center last year has grown thin under the weight of recession, mass layoffs and grotesque corporate corruption.

In recent weeks, tens of thousands of youth have demonstrated against the war, and even larger numbers are expected to turn out on October 26 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, as well as other cities, to demand: “Stop the War on Iraq

Before It Starts!” The reformist organizers of these protests, the International ANSWER coalition politically dominated by the Workers World Party (WWP) and the “Not In Our Name” coalition initiated by the Revolutionary Communist Party, seek to channel fear and hatred of imperialist war into illusions that mass protest alone can stay the blood-drenched hand of U.S. imperialism. In the name of the broadest unity against war, these coalitions refuse to take a principled stand in defense of Iraq against the Pentagon war machine.

Those who want to fight imperialist war and the system that breeds it must take up the slogans: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!* March with the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents on October 26 in Washington and San Francisco.

The military defense of neocolonial Iraq against American imperialism, involving not an iota of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime, is in the interests of working people and the oppressed around the world. Washington’s war moves are carried out by the same racist ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that fiercely

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Down With Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Law!

Labor: Defend the ILWU!

Democrats: Enemies of Labor— Fight for a Workers Party!

OAKLAND, October 12—One day after going on nationwide television to whip up support for invading Iraq, President Bush moved against the labor front at home by invoking the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act—one of the government’s prime union-busting tools—in the contract battle between the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the employers’ Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). On October 8,

after months of government threats to use Taft-Hartley and military personnel against the ILWU, at Bush’s instigation federal judge William Alsup ordered the PMA to call off its ten-day lockout of the union from all 29 West Coast ports, setting in motion an 80-day “cooling off period” calculated to impose a legal stranglehold on the union. As ILWU International president James Spinoso said, “Taft-Hartley gives them 80 days of free shots at the union and we expect the employers will be dragging us to court daily, trying to bankrupt the union and throw our leaders in jail” (ILWU press release, 9 October).

The PMA launched its lockout by

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October 2: ILWU picket line at Port Hueneme near Los Angeles stops attempt to move ship out of port during lockout.



Chicago Transit Workers Rally to Defend Arlene Russell

CHICAGO, October 15—Transit workers are mobilizing to defend Arlene Russell, a black bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241. On July 17, Russell was hit with bogus charges of “battery” against a police officer after she was arrested while driving her bus route. Today as well as at Russell’s first court date on October 2, ATU officials and members of locals 241 and 308 rose with her when her case was called, in a show of solidarity drawn from the traditions of the civil rights movement. Russell’s trial date has been set for December 9 at 9:00 a.m., and transit workers are vowing to fill the courtroom with even larger numbers. *Defend Arlene Russell! All out for the December 9 trial date, 1340 S. Michigan!*

Russell, driving the number 12 bus, was arrested after she passed an elderly man who was waving from the other side of the street. Police in a patrol car immediately picked him up and pulled in front of Russell’s bus, cutting her off. After two cops jumped out, one began banging on the bus’s door shouting racial epithets, calling Russell a “stupid black bitch.” When Russell used her cell phone to protest this racist abuse to the city’s Office of Professional Standards, the cop hurling racist remarks tried to grab the phone out of her hand and then violently



Arlene Russell (center) with members of Amalgamated Transit Union locals 241 and 308, outside October 2 court hearing.

grabbed her arm. She was then arrested on fabricated charges, a ploy commonly used by the cops to cover up their brutal racist actions.

Locals 241 and 308 have both gone on record in defense of Russell, posting calls in bus barns and train yards for union members to mobilize. In a protest letter

on Russell’s behalf sent to the Cook County State’s Attorney, Local 308 president Jerry Williams wrote, “ATU Local 308 and its membership of over 4,000 will not sit by while fellow transit workers or any minority workers continue to be victimized by some racist police officers who violently abuse them.”

The case has sparked outrage among many transit workers, particularly women drivers who face this kind of racist, anti-woman abuse on a regular basis. “The police have been a constant problem with the bus operators,” a driver from the 77th Street bus barn told WV at Russell’s October 2 court appearance. And it’s not only bus drivers that are targets of the police: Democratic mayor Richard Daley’s cops

constantly terrorize the black and Latino masses. It is the job of the cops, as agents of the racist capitalist state, to “serve and protect” the interests of the ruling class through repressing labor struggle and terrorizing the ghettos and barrios.

There must be no illusions in the “justice” of the capitalist courts, whose role is to put the stamp of legal approval on the cops’ racist terror. The power of the ATU and the rest of Chicago’s multiracial labor movement should be brought to bear to demand that the charges against Arlene Russell be dropped now! Many ATU members remember the 1987 union defense of black bus driver Cassandra Seay, who was brutally beaten by the racist cops and then framed up on phony assault charges. It was the fact that the union stood behind Seay, with dozens of transit workers filling the courtroom, that won her acquittal.

Vividly illustrating how the repressive measures adopted in the post-September 11 “anti-terrorism” drive are wielded against workers and minorities, Russell was held for eight hours after her arrest while the cops ran her fingerprints through an international “terrorist” database. “It’s like they’re flexing their muscles, practicing for something bigger later on,” one driver said. But the ATU International supported the passage of the USA-Patriot Act, a keystone in the government’s onslaught against immigrant rights, civil liberties and the rights of labor. What is needed is to mobilize the labor movement in defense of immigrants, black people and all working people—at home and abroad—against the all-sided attacks of the racist capitalist rulers. *All out to defend Arlene Russell!*

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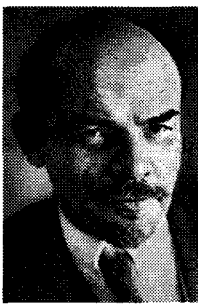
The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter to the Cook County State’s Attorney protesting this racist outrage. We urge all labor, minority rights, student and community organizations to send similar protest statements to: Richard A. Devine, Cook County State’s Attorney, 500 Richard J. Daley Center, Chicago, IL 60602. Fax: (312) 603-3000. ■



TROTSKY

Communist Opposition to Imperialist War

In our military defense of semicolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, the Spartacist League raises the call for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. Writing in the midst of the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained that the yearning for peace among the working masses must be directed toward a struggle for workers revolution to sweep away the capitalist order, which is based on exploitation, plunder and imperialist war.



LENIN

The yearning for peace is one of the most important *symptoms* revealing the beginnings of *disappointment* in the bourgeois lie about a war of “liberation,” the “defence of the fatherland,” and similar falsehoods that the class of capitalists beguiles the mob with. This symptom should attract the closest attention from socialists. All efforts must be bent towards *utilising* the masses’ desire for peace. But *how* is it to be utilised? To recognise the peace *slogan* and repeat it would mean encouraging “pompous airs of impotent [and frequently what is worse: *hypocritical*] phrase-mongers”; it would mean *deceiving* the people with illusion that the existing governments, the present-day master classes, are *capable*—without being “taught” a lesson (or rather without being eliminated) by a series of revolutions—of granting a peace in any way satisfactory to democracy and the working class. Nothing is more harmful than such deception. Nothing throws more dust in the eyes of the workers, nothing imbues them with a more deceptive idea about the *absence of deep* contradictions between capitalism and socialism, nothing *embellishes* capitalist slavery more than this deception does. No, we must make use of the desire for peace so as to explain to the masses that the benefits they expect from peace cannot be obtained without a series of revolutions.

—V.I. Lenin, “The Question of Peace” (July-August 1915)

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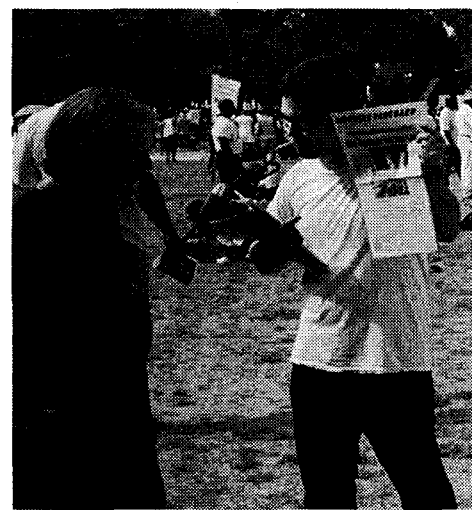
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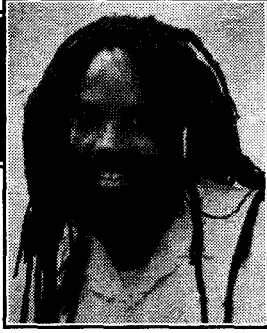
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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

T.I.P.S.— Return of “Snitch Patrol”



With the news that the Ashcroft Justice Department has initiated a new, civilian espionage system, truckers, cabbies, mailmen and plumbers have become unofficial agents in the latest war without end—the war against terrorism. They have been recruited to spy on their fellow citizens, customers and clients, and to promptly report “suspicious” happenings to T.I.P.S. hotlines, and contacts in the U.S. Justice Department.

Under T.I.P.S. (Terrorism Information and Prevention System) every U.S. street corner, and potentially, every American home and hearth, is to be placed under the ever-open eye of public surveillance. And as the “War” against terrorism is to last for generations, will not this surveillance last for generations also?

If such an announcement were made in, say, Cuba, would not the U.S. media be in full-bray-mode about the “police state,” where “neighbors spy on neighbors”?

And yet, history, that mistress of long memory, teaches us that there are few new things under the sun.

In the summer of 1917 over a million Americans entered World War I against Germany. As ever, in times of war, (and WWI was not popular in America) the government sought to stifle dissent, and enlist its citizens in a massive “private” spy campaign against other, “disloyal” citizens. In fact, to the Woodrow Wilson administration, “disloyalty” meant anyone who was critical of the War. The U.S. Justice Dept. sponsored what it called the American Protective League, which by June claimed almost 100,000 “patriotic” members.

The U.S. government urged APL members to spy on their neighbors and fellow workers. They rifled through the mails, infiltrated private meetings, and spied on public ones. Criticism of the “European War” was considered a crime. The APL claimed to have found some three million instances of “disloyalty” to

the Wilson government, which seemed to please Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to no end. “It is safe to say that never in its history has this country been so thoroughly policed,” he boasted.

The great socialist union organizer, Eugene V. Debs, would be sent to prison for speaking against the War, saying, “Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder.... And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles.” For these words, 62-year-old Debs was thrown in prison, sentenced to 10 years.

Hundreds of others followed, with the blessing of a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court.

In 80 years, the nation has gone from the A.P.L. to T.I.P.S. Is the nation doomed to repeat the hellish errors of the past?

From snitch-program to snitch-program, how much has changed?

Do you trust your neighbor?

Perhaps more importantly, do you trust your government?

31 July 2002

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

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

Train Driver Killed at JFK

The Bosses Are Responsible



DeBourgh Family

Kelvin C. DeBourgh Jr.

Kelvin C. DeBourgh Jr., a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 589, was crushed to death on September 27 when the New York City JFK Airport AirTrain he was operating in a test run derailed, sending 2,000-pound concrete ballast blocks in his car crashing forward against him.

Had the company had even the slightest concern for his safety, DeBourgh would be alive today. Instead, they put him in the driver’s seat of a deathtrap. The Bombardier company not only failed to secure these one-ton concrete slabs, which were put on the train to simulate the weight of passengers, but placed them on plywood. As DeBourgh’s sister June told *Workers Vanguard*, “Even in high school you are taught that such a weight will move due to inertia if the train changes speed, especially when it is placed on plywood, which will let it slide!” For the bosses the only safety rule that matters is the one that protects the bottom line—profits. In the “cost-benefit” analysis of the capitalists, safety measures are too costly compared to the insurance costs of worker injuries and deaths. As June put it, “Are workers’ lives really worth that little?”

With a projected opening date of December, Bombardier had been pushing to complete the cars for the \$1.9 billion AirTrain, an automated, driverless, light-rail system linking JFK airport terminals with a hub of subways, buses and rail lines at Jamaica Center in Queens and with the subway terminal at Howard Beach. According to *Newsday* (6 October), DeBourgh’s co-workers pointed to at least four other incidents since testing on the AirTrain began more than a year

ago. DeBourgh was so concerned about a July accident in which two trains grazed each other, injuring a woman friend of his, that hours before his death, he told a friend he was planning on quitting his job. But Port Authority spokesman Pasquale DiFulco adamantly insists, “Was this rushed along? Absolutely not. Absolutely not. No corners were cut. We’ve been very, very conscientious about doing this the way it’s supposed to be done.” Tell that to DeBourgh’s daughter, Avion, having her first birthday 16 days after her father’s death, and to the rest of his grieving family.

Bombardier is notorious for its shoddy equipment. A software problem caused two of the company’s driverless San Francisco Airport trams to crash into each other during a test of a similar system in August. This past summer Amtrak took out of service Bombardier’s high-speed Acela trains because of cracks in the suspension system. In New York City, Bombardier’s computerized “new tech” subway cars have pulled apart *because of missing parts*. At the East 180th Street New York City Transit maintenance facility, one member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 told *WV*, “It takes forever to get new trains running, because we spend so much time repairing and retrofitting defective Bombardier trains, many less than a year old, that have been pulled from service.”

Kelvin DeBourgh Sr., a native of Trinidad and 32-year veteran member of the pipefitters union Local 638, told *WV* of his pride in his son’s abilities: “Chris was a person who concentrated on what he was doing with great care and responsibility. He is the type of person who will be doing the job according to what the supervisor advised him. I’m very concerned that the company will try to protect themselves and go on with the job and the business” by blaming Chris.

Following DeBourgh’s death, there is suddenly a flurry of investigations and re-examinations of testing procedures. The National Transportation Safety Board, the Port Authority, Bombardier and the

Occupational Safety and Health Administration are jointly looking into the incident. Even the Queens District Attorney is getting into the act. And an *act* is what this is. Not one of them gave a damn about Bombardier’s previous non-fatal injuries—or the hundreds of industrial accidents that take place in this city every day. Just the previous month, on August 9, Christopher Bonaparte, a subway track worker, was killed by a train barreling down a track that was supposed to be out of service because the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and its subsidiary New York City Transit scrimped on the cost of a walkie-talkie that could have notified him that trains were diverted to the track he stepped onto (see “Christopher Bonaparte Killed on Tracks,” *WV* No. 786, 6 September). Over the past 20 years, nearly one transit worker per year has been killed in the New York City transit system.

Kelvin DeBourgh’s uncle, Hugh Sanchez, a former officer of the United Steelworkers of America Local 8526 at the Hess Oil Refinery in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, hit the nail on the head when he said, “This is gross negligence on the part of the company!” He added, “The union should have made the employees more aware of safety. They should do their own investigation when-

ever there is an accident. You can’t rely on the company. The union has to do its own investigation.”

The fight for safe working conditions is not merely for the protection of workers but is of vital importance to the general public as well. Had the AirTrain derailment occurred over the Van Wyck Expressway section, the ten-ton concrete chunks of the railway’s sidewall would have rained down on midday traffic rather than a vacant airport yard. To safeguard workers and the public from these time-delayed moving deathtraps requires union action. As we wrote following Chris Bonaparte’s death: “The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses’ laws.” Workers must fight for elected union safety committees with the power to immediately shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot. It will take a class-struggle leadership, committed to fighting capitalism, to mobilize workers in defense of their lives and their futures. ■

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Cynics and Demagogues

29 September 2002

To the Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Over the past weeks supporters of the Internationalist Group and of the Spartacist League have had heated exchanges over a shameful article published in *Workers Vanguard* No. 786 (6 September) under the title "South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life." While bemoaning the very real divisions in the working class, this article echoes and promotes the ideology that the bourgeoisie uses to set different sectors of the working people against each other.

The article states that many Mexican immigrants, "rather than seeking to organize to fight for the same entitlements" as black Americans and Puerto Ricans, say "well, we immigrants want to work, we don't want any handouts." It goes on:

"In the workplace, many Mexicans hold a perception that blacks have a bad work ethic. Upon probing them to define what they mean, I have found that their conception of a 'bad' work ethic amounts to wanting to have better wages, a shorter and less intensive workday, and better and safer conditions at the workplace!"

What is this garbage about how "many Mexicans" supposedly don't want better wages and conditions? This is no isolated phrase, but a central theme of the *WV* article. It proceeds to lecture: "Mexican workers could stand a whole lot to gain by adopting the very 'work ethic' that many now despise!" As if it's a question of a "work ethic" rather than the brutal realities of capitalist exploitation! The article then presents an anecdote about a supervisor who reportedly stated "that she prefers to hire Latinos because blacks 'don't like to work'" while her Mexican

employee, "beaming with pride, just ate up every word she said." Over and over, *WV* keeps repeating the same claims, this time coming straight from a boss's mouth. What it is doing is retailing the very lies and stereotypes that the bosses use to divide the exploited and oppressed.

With all its talk about the so-called "work ethic" question, *WV* willfully obscures the fact that it is the capitalists who force undocumented immigrants into low-paying, dangerous and dirty jobs. Just look at this:

"In the precarious circumstances they live in, undocumented Latino immigrants tend to take comfort in the illusion that, if they just prove to the bourgeois rulers that they are essential to American capitalist society—by doing grueling work for pitiful wages in dangerous conditions and paying taxes faithfully while asking nothing in return in the way of benefits—then the capitalist rulers will somehow be convinced to grant them full citizenship rights."

So according to *WV*, Latino immigrants do "grueling work" and ask "nothing in return" in order to win favor from the bosses.

What a grotesque lie! The chauvinist image you present unmistakably reflects the outlook of the labor aristocrats, who accuse immigrants of undermining the pay and conditions of U.S.-born workers.

Moreover, from the ongoing union organizing campaign of New York City greengrocer workers to the militant janitors' unionization campaign—which tied up the streets of Los Angeles as immigrant unionists resisted wave after wave of brutal police attacks—the class struggle gives the lie to the picture you present. (In case the L.A. janitors' battles have slipped your mind, they are portrayed in Ken Loach's recent film *Bread and Roses*.)

As an immigrant worker pointed out at a recent Internationalist Group forum in

New York, it is vital to win this new and often militant layer of the proletariat to the understanding that the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution is central to every aspect of the class struggle in the U.S., a country built on slavery. This latest *WV* article cuts directly against this crucial task.

When confronted with the revolting *WV* article, some SLers try to brazen things out by pretending it doesn't say what it says, while others claim nothing you say could possibly be chauvinist because the Spartacist League has protested anti-immigrant laws. Many resort to what is now your main form of "argument": change the subject, quick.

It is incredible that a newspaper claiming to put forward the outlook and program of communism could print such a piece. The fact that you do speaks volumes about how far *Workers Vanguard* has come since the decades when it upheld the politics of Lenin and Trotsky. From vehemently refusing to call for the defeat of the U.S. and NATO imperialists in their war on Afghanistan (while smearing the IG as pandering to "anti-Americanism" for upholding this Leninist position) to renouncing the demand for unconditional independence for Puerto Rico and all colonies, the common thread is an adaptation to social-chauvinism. In a particularly crass and blatant way, this latest *WV* article shows that the SL is capitulating to the pressures of "its own" ruling class.

Abram Negrete
for the
Internationalist Group

WV Replies

The intent of demagoguery is to conceal and deceive. In playing the race card, the most shameful of demagoguery, the Internationalist Group's (IG) provocative, cynical and lying letter clearly demonstrates the IG's headlong dive into "people of color" nationalism, giving an alibi to anti-black prejudices among Latino workers.

Evident to anyone who cares to read the article for any reasons other than to defame the SL, the *WV* "South Chicago" article has a threefold thrust: 1) Anti-black racism among layers of workers in the U.S. is real, it exists, it's a fact; moreover, it is the primary weapon of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. 2) Latino immigrant workers are *not* somehow miraculously immune to racist attitudes prevalent in America, simply by virtue of being Latinos. 3) Anti-black racism among immigrant Latinos is a contradiction that goes completely against their own historical interests as oppressed and exploited workers, in the same way that anti-immigrant chauvinism runs completely counter to the historical interests of black people.

The theme of the disputed article is captured in the following excerpt:

"The central issue here is *the vital interest* of black and immigrant workers to unite in common struggle. It is necessary to combat the false consciousness that the black and Latino petty-bourgeois misleadership peddle: that the other worker is the enemy; that blacks will never fight for immigrant rights; that immigrants are nothing but scabs who want to steal black workers' jobs. Combatting such false consciousness is the task of a revolutionary workers party."

Does this sound like "an adaptation to social-chauvinism," as the raging demagogue Negrete charges? Does the SL's struggle to combat racist and anti-immigrant false consciousness constitute "capitulating to the pressures of 'its own' ruling class"? Since when has it been the "ideology that the bourgeoisie uses" to affirm that the vital interest of black and immigrant workers is to unite in common struggle?

Negrete's ravings are part and parcel of his and IG leader Jan Norden's accommodation to Latino nationalism. As we wrote following their defection from the International Communist League: "In the place of the Leninist party needed to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, Norden increasingly came to objectify certain political formations and layers—particularly in the former DDR and Latin America—as somehow inherently susceptible to revolutionary politics" ("A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996).

For the IG, the mask has increasingly become the face. While they thunder against our polemics against backward consciousness among Latino workers, they have no objections to the article's observation and efforts to combat backward, anti-immigrant attitudes among the black population. Combatting false consciousness among black longshoremen, immigrant port truckers and Latino day

laborers was central to our efforts to build the Oakland February 9 mobilization in defense of immigrant rights against the "war on terror" witchhunt. In spite of its tossed-off statements about the centrality of the struggle for black freedom, the IG diminishes the fight to advance the consciousness of black workers, mirroring in its own way attitudes toward blacks among the Latino milieu where the IG plies its trade.

The IG calls the article in *WV* "revolting" for daring to express the ugly truths about racism in America. But it is the *reality* that is revolting. The American bourgeoisie has long fomented ethnic and racial hostilities to keep the working class divided and weak. As was noted in the 1890s in a letter from Friedrich Engels to a colleague in the U.S.: "Your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans

and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the living standard of the workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard-of elsewhere."

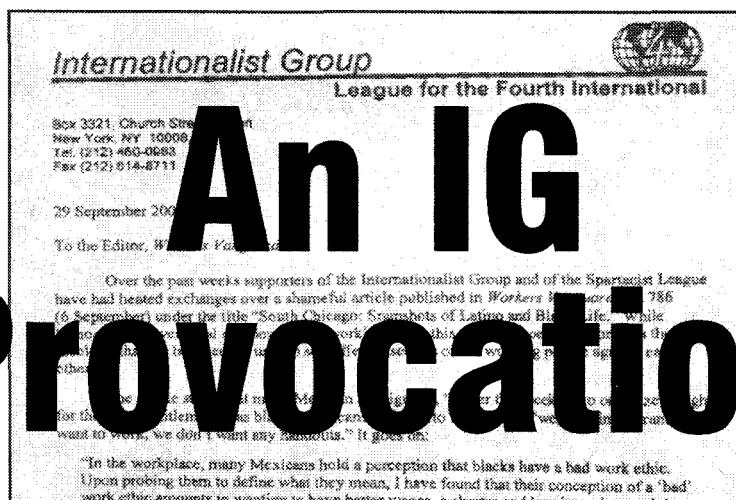
With the mass migration of blacks from the South to the Northern cities, particularly beginning in the early 20th century, the earlier nativist hostilities against immigrant workers were supplanted by anti-black racism. The color bar became a fundamental dividing line in American capitalist society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Every move to the right in the U.S. is always accompanied by the launching of racist assaults, overwhelmingly directed against the black population. The racial oppression of black people, which has its origins in black chattel slavery, is the bedrock of American capitalism.

Branded by the color of their skin, much of the black population has remained at the bottom of society—though strategically integrated into the political economy—while more light-skinned immigrants have historically been able to advance up the economic ladder. As we noted in "Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants" (*WV* No. 653, 11 October 1996):

"The bosses will do anything to divide foreign-born workers from their class brothers and sisters here. In the 19th century, railroad baron Jay Gould once boasted: 'I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half.' In racist America, many immigrants learn to adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, to the racist filth that the black masses remain at the bottom of this capitalist society because of their alleged lack of adherence to the 'work ethic,' or because they lack 'positive attitudes' or 'proper genes.'"

You cannot change this hideous reality if you deny its existence. But this is all immaterial to the demagogic IG, which prefers to denounce *not* the conditions of this society, but rather the Marxist revolutionaries who tell the blunt truth about these realities.

The IG declaims that our "South Chicago" article "speaks volumes about how



Workers Vanguard Polemics	IG Replies
<p>Whatever Happened to "Stalin as Commander in Chief"? IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan</p> <p><i>WV No. 772, 11 January 2002</i></p>	<p>None</p>
<p>IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars</p> <p><i>WV No. 785, 9 August 2002</i></p>	<p>None</p>
<p>IG on Venezuela Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows</p> <p><i>WV No. 787, 20 September 2002</i></p>	<p>None</p>



For class-struggle fight to defend black, immigrant rights! Anti-Klan demonstration in New York City, 23 October 1999 (left). Labor-centered demonstration, Oakland, February 9 to defend immigrant rights, oppose "anti-terror" witchhunt. WV Photos

far *Workers Vanguard* has come since the decades when it upheld the politics of Lenin and Trotsky." The fact is, however, that our fight for black liberation and our open struggle against false consciousness among the working class have *always* been central to our work in forging a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party.

In 1987, when current IG leader Jan Norden was the editor of *WV*, we published an article that cited our 1983 national conference document, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction." This document clearly stated:

"The Hispanic populations in America are widely diverse, encompassing both educated petty-bourgeois layers with the possibility for 'making it' in America and masses of desperate ex-peasants who in many areas of the country live worse than the black masses and see the unions as vehicles for black/white job-trusting and accomplices to the racist deportations.

"Contrary to prevailing opinion in Latin nationalist milieus, Hispanics are on the whole not below blacks on a scale of social oppression but above, and can get out while blacks are locked in as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society. Structurally this is a black-white country, making the black question strategic to the American revolution."

The article itself went on to note:

"While many Hispanics are as poor or poorer than blacks, this by no means determines that 'black and Latino unity' is the preordained outcome, as Third World nationalists... imagine. Far from it. Lately, racist bourgeois politicians have tried to appeal to Hispanics as a swing group *against* blacks, as in the hotly contested Chicago elections....

"Within the logic of capitalism, the smaller the pie, the more brutal the struggle for a piece of it. And as decaying capitalism's pie shrinks rapidly, the struggle for survival is fiercest among those for whom society makes it hardest to survive."

— "Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!"
WV No. 427, 1 May 1987

The fact that we speak openly about the need to combat retrograde consciousness among workers and the oppressed has always infuriated our reformist and centrist opponents who accommodate to these backward attitudes. These outfits denigrate the need to build a Leninist vanguard party, instead putting forward the notion that the oppressed are inherently revolutionary. It is not the Spartacist League but renegades Norden and Negrete who are now walking on the other side of the political street together

with the centrists and reformists.

Negrete's demagogic diatribe is as dimwitted as it is false. He claims that "according to *WV*, Latino immigrants do 'grueling work' and ask 'nothing in return' in order to win favor from the bosses." This is an absurd fabrication. The article is referring to *an illusion peddled by the Latino petty-bourgeois misleaders*. The passage in question states:

"The 'work ethic' question is closely tied in to the 'Amnesty Campaign,' which is a nationwide campaign to legalize undocumented immigrants through public marches and lobbying politicians. In the precarious circumstances they live in, undocumented Latino immigrants tend to take comfort in the illusion that, if they just prove to the bourgeois rulers that they are essential to American capitalist society—by doing grueling work for pitiful wages in dangerous conditions and paying taxes faithfully while asking nothing in return in the way of benefits—then the capitalist rulers will somehow be convinced to grant them full citizenship rights."

The IG would much rather direct its fire at the Spartacist League than the Latino reformists and liberal Democrats who mislead and deceive the workers.

The struggles of Latino and other immigrant workers, many of whom come from countries with stronger traditions of labor militancy, have been vital for the labor movement in the U.S. But workers struggles and present labor disputes notwithstanding, the reality is that the overwhelming majority of immigrant workers, particularly undocumented workers, *do* perform grueling work and ask for little in return. But why do they do this? It is certainly not to "win favor from the bosses." It is because they have no choice. All it takes to stop an undocumented worker from fighting for better working conditions or "acting up" in any other manner is a quick 1-800 call to the INS. And unlike the IG who seek to bury this material reality, undocumented workers are all too painfully aware of this.

As is plain to anyone who can read, Negrete's letter is a deliberate smear job and a provocation. But in what interest? As we explained in a polemic on the recent French elections titled "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars" (WV No. 785, 9 August): "Lies and slanders are but the opening step to encouraging and justifying violence against political opponents in the work-

ers movement. It was impossible for Stalin to defend his anti-revolutionary doctrine of 'socialism in one country' from any Marxist vantage point. When lying was no longer sufficient to silence political opposition, Stalin brought down the fist of violence." With its tiny handful of followers, the IG could hardly emulate Stalin. But what else could be the IG's purpose in screaming that we are "anti-Latino chauvinists" at immigrant rights demonstrations, if not to incite violence against us? In fact, unable to politically answer criticisms raised by our comrades, the repulsive strutting demagogue and provocateur Negrete has taken to demonstrably pulling off his glasses, as if looking for a fight.

The IG's slanders demonstrate its own political bankruptcy, witnessed in its inability to answer several of our recent polemics. (See: "IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," WV No. 772, 11 January; "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars," WV No. 785, 9 August; "IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," WV No. 787, 20 September.) Instead, the IG reverts to demagoguery and outright falsifications. These, too, were the cynical methods of the Stalinists who, stung by Trotsky's polemics, used to rant about Trotsky being an "agent of imperialism," knowing damn well this was a lie. The purpose of this was the cultivation of a whole layer of cynical members immune to the politics of revolutionary Marxism. In replicating this methodology, IG leaders Norden and Negrete likewise seek to seal off their recruits and periphery from the revolutionary Marxist politics of the SL.

The IG's capitulation to Third World nationalist consciousness reveals a lot about the party they seek to build. Their

condemnation of us for combatting the anti-black sentiments of many Latino workers echoes the anti-Leninist bleatings of petty-bourgeois nationalists around the world (and the fake leftists who tail them) that you can't criticize the oppressed. This is the language of anti-working-class liberals, of class traitors who preach and practice class collaboration, tying the workers to their class enemy.

It is ABC Marxism that the prevailing ideology in any society is that of the ruling class. The IG's ludicrous belief that Latino workers are somehow immune to the influence and pressure of bourgeois society turns Marxism on its head. It puts the IG on a collision course with the fundamentals of Leninism—that socialist consciousness must be brought to the working class from the outside through the instrumentality of the revolutionary party.

As Marxists committed to building such a vanguard party, the Spartacist League seeks to win over to a revolutionary program workers and youth who seek to engage in real revolutionary work among the workers. To these ends, we seek to recruit those who recognize and fight against the prejudices of petty-bourgeois nationalism and of American racist society. As we wrote in "South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life" (WV No. 786, 6 September):

"Racial tensions between black people and Hispanics is a nationwide issue, and this must be understood and fought against as we seek to forge a multiracial vanguard party. The fight against black oppression, which is a cornerstone of American capitalism, must be posed pointblank with any and all potential Latino contacts as part of the fight to raise the consciousness of the Latino working class to understand that black liberation is integrally linked to their own liberation." ■

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South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life

The following information, dated July 1987, was submitted by Comrade Sanchez of the Chicago branch.

I don't believe in the Mexican or other 'Latino' politicians who are here to make a profit for their families.

I have a young boy whose father is Puerto Rican and mother is Mexican American. He is dark skinned with features that are a mix of both races. He is a very bright child and is being educated in the public schools on either side of the family, one being black and the other white. All these are "Latino" people of color.

I know a young boy whose father is Puerto Rican and mother is Mexican American. He is dark skinned with features that are a mix of both races. He is a very bright child and is being educated in the public schools on either side of the family, one being black and the other white. All these are "Latino" people of color.

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WORKERS VANGUARD
No. 786, 6 September 2002

- "IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," WV No. 772, 11 January 2002
- "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars," WV No. 785, 9 August 2002
- "IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," WV No. 787, 20 September 2002

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Young Spartacus

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!

Down With UN Starvation Blockade!

Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!

The bloody U.S. imperialist behemoth is preparing a new massacre of the Iraqi people. The crazed U.S. nuclear cowboys are seeking to assert their "right" to ride roughshod over all the peoples of the world. Our opposition to this war is based on our struggle in defense of working people and oppressed internationally against an imperialist order in which a handful of rich and powerful states dominate the world and exploit the working masses. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are calling for a revolutionary internationalist contingent to march in the October 26 demonstrations to "Stop the War on Iraq Before It Starts" in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco based on the demands: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!*

We stand for the military defense of neocolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, while giving no political support whatsoever to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every unchallenged act of aggrandizement by the U.S., every new easy win further emboldens America's capitalist rulers to lash out against their perceived enemies at home and abroad; any defeat of the imperialist ambitions of the U.S. would be in the interest of workers and the oppressed throughout the world.

The demonstration is being called by the International ANSWER coalition, led by the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). They are mobilizing on the basis of opposition to a war on Iraq, but as the call for the demonstration makes clear, their activities are consciously aimed at enlisting a wing of the capitalist rulers—primarily Democratic Party politicians—to struggle for a more "humane" imperialist capitalism. Thus they write: "The so-called debate that is opening now to public view from within the political establishment presents a necessity for all anti-war forces to become a major factor in generating an authentic opposition to U.S. war plans in the Middle East. The October 26 National March in Washington DC and joint action in San Francisco come just one week before midterm Congressional elections." The Democrats' "opposition" to war is based on their assessment of what course will best serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. The WWP's political accommodation to the capitalist order, including through electoral pressure politics, is a dangerous



SL/SYC contingent at pro-Palestinian, antiwar demo in San Francisco, September 28.

Build the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent on October 26!

dead end. It is futile to oppose war against Iraq but not oppose the economic system which generates war and the ideology that legitimizes it. Moreover, pushing illusions in the reformability of the bloody American imperialist state can only result in the *demobilization* of the only force in capitalist society that can challenge the rule of the capitalist class: the working class.

For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers! Every strike, every labor mobilization against the government's war plans and its attacks on workers and minorities, every mass protest in defiance of the assaults on civil liberties is a blow against Bush's war drive. Those opposed to this war must look to the working class, which is the only power in society that has the ability and interest to stop it. Without the working class, society cannot function, a fact amply demonstrated during the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) lockout, which brought trade on the U.S. West Coast to a halt. We look to the example of the Japanese dock workers in Sasebo, who last year refused to handle Japanese military goods destined for use in the war against Afghanistan. We fight to build a revolutionary party that can

infuse the working class with an understanding of its historic task to sweep away the capitalist order and reorganize society on an egalitarian socialist basis.

In a climate where the Bush administration is trying to outlaw any kind of dissent, it is very good that thousands have come out already to protest war moves against Iraq. But successful opposition to war must be based on a perspective of mobilizing the social power of the working class against its "own" exploiters and in defense of all victims of U.S. imperialism. War is the concentrated expression of the brutal everyday workings of this imperialist system, which is driven by competition for sources of profits and spheres of influence between rival advanced capitalist countries. As explained by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution which brought the working class to power and pulled Russia out of World War I as the opening shot of the international proletarian struggle against all the imperialist warmongers and the rule of capital worldwide:

"To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destruc-

tive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it."

— "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

The Bush administration has used the criminal killing of thousands of innocent civilians in the attack on the World Trade Center to declare an open-ended "war on terror" against all perceived enemies, foreign and domestic. The bipartisan cry of "national unity" was used to rally the population behind the murderous military adventure in Afghanistan. In the U.S., the "war on terror," which is enthusiastically supported by Democrats and Republicans alike and is directed overwhelmingly against Muslims and Arabs, is ultimately aimed at organized labor. This is most starkly demonstrated by the government's union-busting injunction against the ILWU, whose members were locked out of their jobs by the bosses for following safety guidelines and defending their livelihoods during the current contract negotiations, in which the very defense of the union is at stake. The all-sided attacks on the population are palpable refutations of the call raised by ANSWER and others for "money for jobs, not for war," which poses the question as if the capitalists just need a change of priorities.

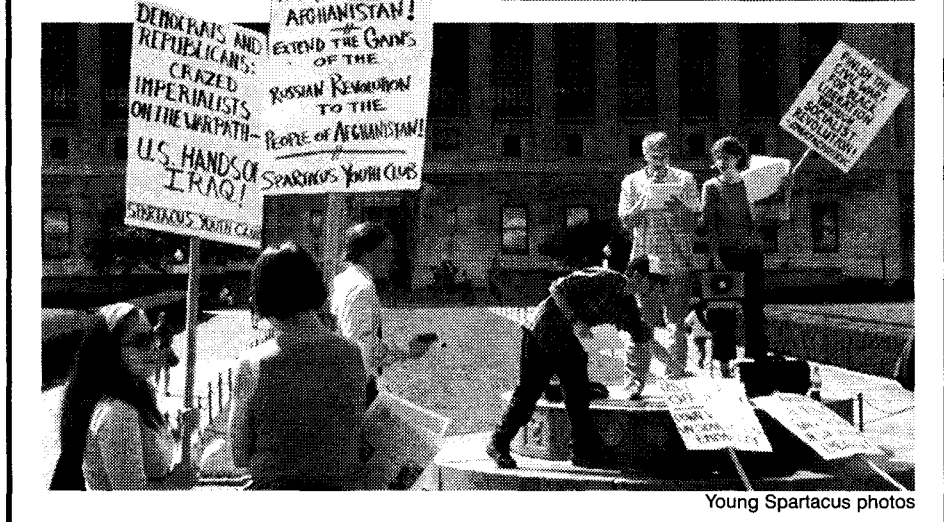
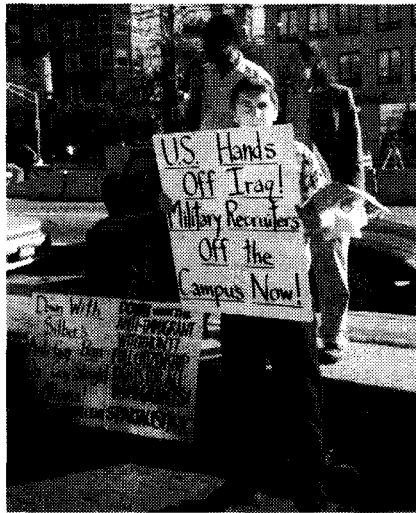
As revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg noted in her 1911 speech "The Road to Peace," for the imperialist rulers to abandon militarism, they "would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of the capitalist state demands."

Down with the UN starvation blockade! In the lead-up to the last Gulf War, the call for UN sanctions was raised by liberals and some leftists as an "alternative" to war. The death of more than 1.5 million Iraqis has demonstrated that sanctions are themselves an act of war. The UN is nothing more than a "democratic" fig leaf for imperialist bloodshed and plunder. It was the UN that in 1947 presided over the partition of Palestine and the ensuing Zionist expulsion of some



SYCs Say: U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

As the U.S. imperialists accelerated their drive for war against Iraq, the Spartacus Youth Clubs organized speakouts last month at the University of Illinois at Chicago (top), Boston University (right) and Columbia University in New York (bottom) around the central demands: "U.S. hands off Iraq!" and "Down with the UN starvation embargo!" We put forward our revolutionary opposition to war in Iraq and its reflection at home in attacks on civil liberties and the crackdown on political dissent.



Young Spartacus photos

700,000 Palestinians from their homes. It was under UN auspices that the imperialists waged the 1950-53 Korean War against the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. That war claimed upwards of three million Korean lives. And it was under the UN that the first Gulf War was prosecuted. The demand by some antiwar protesters to send UN weapons inspectors into Iraq simply buys the lie that the biggest proliferator of weapons of mass destruction, the U.S., is concerned with anything other than expanding its rapacious rule. Weapons inspectors are nothing more than spies who in 1998 helped the U.S. pinpoint targets for bombing Iraq.

The Marxist understanding we fight to bring to the working class is obscured by supposedly socialist groups like the WWP, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO). The founder of WWP's International Action Center, former Democratic Party attorney general Ramsey Clark, declared in a 20 September letter to the UN: "The most careful analysis must be made as to why the world is subjected to such threats of violence by its only superpower, which could so safely and importantly lead us on the road to peace"! The U.S., which has left a grisly trail of carnage around the globe, became the world's only superpower precisely through violent means—both military and economic—in pursuit of the interests of the ruling American capitalist class.

The RCP, which is the central force behind the Not In Our Name coalition, also caters to liberal appeals and moral-witness pacifism, promoting the myth that American capitalist democracy can be pressured to express the will of those

whom capitalism exploits and oppresses. For its part, while the ISO says that "Democrats are just as concerned with bolstering U.S. imperialism," they go on to say "when Washington politicians voice doubts about Bush's war drive, it opens the way for genuine opponents of the war on Iraq to be heard" and that "our protests can put pressure on all of Washington—Republican and Democrat alike" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 October). The Democrats who voted against Bush's war resolution are positioning themselves to contain any opposition and turmoil generated by the war against Iraq. These politicians quibble with the means but not the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism. In fact, because of its image as a "friend" of labor and minorities, the Democratic Party has historically been the preferred party of war for the American bourgeoisie. Unless the struggle against imperialist war is based on opposition to all parties and agencies of capitalist class rule, it will be used by the bourgeois liberals to channel discontent back into the very capitalist system that breeds war. **Break with the Democratic Party of war and racism! Build a workers party to fight for socialist revolution!**

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, student/youth auxiliaries of the Marxist Spartacist League, train young radicals to be professional revolutionaries dedicated to building the workers party that will fight for workers rule. Only workers revolution can break the stranglehold of the imperialists around the globe and open the road to a socialist society of material abundance and genuine equality. March with the SL and SYC in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent on October 26! ■

UIC Lecturer Arrested for Protesting War Against Iraq

The following protest letter written by the Chicago SYC was sent to the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) administration on October 10.

The Spartacus Youth Club protests the University of Illinois at Chicago administration's repression of professor Betty Resnikoff, who was arrested on September 26 on the charges of "trespassing on state property." Resnikoff's "crime" was holding a discussion with students in the Circle Center Cafeteria [CCC], distributing buttons and displaying a sign in opposition to the U.S. imperialist war drive in Iraq. The police slapped handcuffs on her and hauled her off to the police station, where they later dropped the charges and released her.

Like every other university in this country, the UIC administration is cheerfully doing its part to contribute to the sham "national unity" campaign in America; a campaign that amounts to repressive terror against Arabs and immigrants, racist attacks against blacks, the erosion of civil liberties, and a silencing of political protest and dissent.

Two days prior to the attack against Resnikoff, the administration suppressed a united-front demonstration initiated by the SYC under the slogans: "U.S. Hands Off Iraq! Down With the UN Starvation Embargo! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!" The police confronted our demonstration, which was not approved by the administration, and ordered us to cease using amplified sound and remove our signs from their cardboard poles. Then, a CCC building administrator arrived and we were informed that we had no right to assemble and had no right to approach students at all. The demonstration was then dispersed under threat of arrest.

In its drive to become a more prestigious campus, UIC has not only been carrying out political repression, but also undergoing a racist purge through massive tuition hikes. Contrary to their facade of being forums for open discussion and critical thought, universities are maintained by the ruling class for ideological indoctrination and train-

ing of its future functionaries.

Nearly 25 years ago, we filed a lawsuit against UIC's paternalistic "outside agitator" regulation, which was decided in our favor. In *Spartacus Youth League v. Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University*, the court enjoined the UIC administration to respect the First Amendment, declaring, "The present regulations contain the implicit notion that university students are fragile buds which must be nurtured in a controlled and protected environment if they are to blossom. That notion is incompatible with the First Amendment."

The 1980 court ruling upheld that political agitation by "outsiders" (anyone who is not a student, faculty or staff) is not a crime but a *right*, guaranteed in the First Amendment of the Constitution. Both Resnikoff and the participants at our September 24 demonstration had a legal right to assemble and express themselves, *without* having to identify or justify themselves to administrative hacks or armed thugs of the state.

We vigorously fight to defend our constitutional rights, as shown by our successful lawsuit. At the same time we have no illusions that the capitalist class has any lasting interest in upholding them. Increasing efforts to stifle political protest, such as the attack on Resnikoff and university administrations nationwide slandering pro-Palestinian protesters as "anti-Semitic," come in the context of the all-sided attack on constitutional rights carried out in the name of the so-called "war on terror."

While Big Brother Bush admonishes the entire country to speak "with one voice"—his voice—UIC administration officials act as his eager foot soldiers. In McCarthyite fashion, they seek to ensure that not *one* cafeteria table, not *one* cardboard sign, not one public event or leaflet on campus manifest any opposition to the Democrats' and Republicans' plans for war and slaughter in Iraq.

We demand an immediate end to the repression of political activists who seek to assemble on campus and express their views. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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Boston University, CAS Room 237
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University of Illinois at Chicago
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Saturdays, 2 p.m.

October 26: **The Marxist View of the State**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
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Wednesday, October 23, 7 p.m.

Class: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Organizing Meeting for Oct. 26 Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent
Columbia University, 411 Kent Hall
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Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

October 22: **Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!**

University of British Columbia,
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail tlit@look.ca

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

oppresses blacks, Hispanics, immigrants and others, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare. Every easy win encourages America's rulers to launch further military adventures abroad and to intensify attacks on working people and minorities in the U.S. In turn, every reversal, every setback for the American imperialists serves to assist the struggles of working people and minorities.

As they shred democratic rights in the U.S., Bush & Co. proclaim that an imperialist occupation will "liberate" the Iraqi people like the occupation of Japan under General MacArthur's forces at the end of World War II, which was an imperialist and predatory war on both sides. To get a sense of what U.S. occupation of Iraq would look like, one need look no further than the Occupied Territories, where Washington's Zionist junior partners wreak wanton slaughter on the Palestinian people with U.S.-supplied tanks and helicopter gunships. Capturing a sense of the Orwellian cynicism of the Bush White House, Maureen Dowd wrote in her column in the *New York Times* (13 October):

"Mr. Bush said he needed Congressional support to win at the U.N., but he wants to fail at the U.N. so he can install his own MacArthur as viceroy of Iraq...."

"Mr. Bush says he's in a rush to go to war with Iraq because it's so strong, but he's in a rush to go to war with Iraq because it's so weak."

Indeed, if the Iraqi government had the military wherewithal to defend itself, the U.S. would not even be contemplating an attack. Defense of Iraq means, above all, pursuing the class struggle against the imperialist rulers. In a speech given after April 1967 antiwar marches of hundreds of thousands, veteran Marxist and historian Isaac Deutscher said that he would have exchanged the whole

San Francisco unanimously approved a resolution declaring:

"Whereas, under the guise of 'national security' Bush will attempt to recruit unions to his war drive for big oil companies, and

"Whereas, the issue of 'national security' is being used by the Bush administration and PMA to undermine contract negotiations,

"Therefore be it resolved that Local 10 oppose any new war against Iraq and call on other locals and labor councils to adopt this position."

A number of other union bodies around the country have also adopted antiwar resolutions.

But for such statements to be turned into effective class-struggle opposition to the war requires a break with the flag-waving chauvinism pushed by the labor officialdom, which binds the working people to the imperialist order through support to the Democratic Party and embraces the capitalist government's "war on terror." Against the "national unity" promoted by the bosses and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, we counterpose the class unity of the proletariat internationally.

Imperialism Breeds War

The Bush administration's naked assertion of Washington's "right," without even a fig leaf of pretext or provocation, to "pre-emptively" attack any country perceived to challenge U.S. power and prerogatives has shocked and horrified people, and governments, around the world. America's rulers rail against the Japanese "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor in 1941. But what the U.S. now promises is a policy for two, three, many Pearl Harbors around the world. For all its cynical braying about "weapons of mass destruction," it is the U.S. which has the largest arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in the world, and it is only the U.S. which has used nuclear weapons, incinerating 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

ing a sentiment that has become increasingly common in the face of a war-crazed administration that proclaims its god-given right to go after whomever it wants whenever it wants.

But to put an end to this and all imperialist wars, it is necessary to understand that the root cause of such wars lies in the imperialist order itself. The drive to war and conquest is inherent in a system based on competition among rival capitalists and a handful of large capitalist states to secure the greatest possible profits. In reality, the United States has been an imperialist power since the time of the 1898 Spanish-American War, which was fought to seize Cuba and the Philippines. Its purpose in that war was to conquer new markets and new sources of raw material and cheap labor for American capitalism. Retired Marine general Smedley Butler, who served in a series of American imperialist wars from the beginning of the 20th century, put it succinctly when he described himself as "a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers."

For America's capitalist rulers, workers are mere fodder for profit at home and war abroad. But precisely because it is the working class that produces the wealth of society, it has the social power and class interest to sweep away this exploitative capitalist order and the war, poverty and racism it breeds. Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war once and for all.

Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

It is this understanding that the liberal and reformist "socialist" organizers of the antiwar protests seek to obscure. They claim that simply bringing large numbers out on the streets can force the capitalist government to change its policies. The example always cited as a model is the antiwar movement of the 1960s and '70s, when millions demonstrated and students shut down campuses in protest against the

movement was subordinated to political representatives of the class enemy. The Spartacist League fought to win radical antiwar activists to the proletarian class struggle and away from the bourgeois pacifism—opposition to all war in principle—that served as a screen for capitulation to a wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In Trotsky's words, "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force in general. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors."

From the standpoint of the working class, it does not matter which side fires first in a war. We had a side in the Vietnam War. Not only was it a conflict between an imperialist power and a neocolonial country, but one which posed the question of social revolution. We called for military victory to the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese revolutionary fighters and raised the slogan, "All Indochina must go Communist!" In an October 1967 leaflet titled "From Protest to Power," we explained:

"The Vietnamese war is not unique. It is simply the largest in a series of colonial wars that the U.S. and all other imperialist powers have been fighting for the past century and will continue to fight until capitalism is overthrown in its main centers. In brief, the U.S. is in Vietnam to suppress a peasant revolution which challenges the dominance of U.S. business in Asia. It is futile to oppose the intervention in Vietnam while supporting the economic system which generates that intervention and the ideology that legitimizes it."

Democrats—Party of War and Racism

Iraq is not Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is an anti-Communist butcher who was a lackey of the U.S. imperialists until they turned on him when he moved into oil-rich Kuwait in 1990. Nor is destitute Iraq in a position to militarily prevail against the American imperialist juggernaut. But the opposition by Congressional Democrats (and a few Republicans) to last week's war resolution reflects considerable unease within American ruling circles about going to war with Iraq at this time. They fear that Bush's military adventure could not only throw the entire Near East into turmoil but also, if it backfires, ignite the massive social tinder at the base of recession-ridden American society.

Thus black Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee, who cast the sole vote in Congress against authorizing the open-ended "war on terror" a year ago, now warns that "war with Iraq poses enormous risks" and "would divert billions of dollars from our own profound domestic needs, including healthcare, prescription drugs, education, and homeland security." Lee and like-minded black liberals like Congressmen Danny Davis and Jesse Jackson Jr. from the Chicago area are positioning themselves to get out ahead of and contain any opposition and turmoil that could develop among working people and minorities.

And in this they are aided by the reformists. In its newspaper, *Workers World* writes that "the strategic objective of the anti-war movement must be to reach out to the workers and oppressed" because they are "the class that can put an end to imperialist war by getting rid of capitalism" (*Workers World*, 10 October). But the real strategy of the WWP is to tailor the demands of the "anti-war movement" in order to reach out to liberal Democrats. Thus a call for the October 26 demonstrations by the WWP's ANSWER coalition talks about how they want to be a "factor" in the "so-called debate that is opening now to public view," boasting that the demonstrations "come just one week before midterm Congressional elections." Echoing liberals like Lee, ANSWER focuses on the demand for "\$200-Billion for Jobs and Education Not for War in Iraq!"

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, in different ways and with different constituencies, represent the interests of American capitalism. In fact, the impending invasion is the culmination of



Baghdad neighborhood devastated by 1998 U.S./British terror bombing.

huge April mobilization for just one dock strike.

The defense of Iraq against imperialist attack is integrally linked to the defense of the working masses here against increasing exploitation and oppression, which ultimately requires the overturn of the imperialist order through workers revolution. The task is to forge a workers party to educate and mobilize the proletariat to that end. And that requires breaking the allegiance of the workers to their class-collaborationist, national-chauvinist leaders. Proletarian opposition to the depredations of the imperialist exploiters can, in the words of revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, be pursued "only through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, that is, by widening, deepening, and sharpening those revolutionary methods which constitute the content of class struggle in 'peacetime'" ("Learn to Think," May 1938).

The social power of the working class was starkly demonstrated by the recent West Coast port shutdown. While the shutdown resulted from a lockout by the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) rather than a strike, it showed the power of the longshoremen to bring the entire industrial and commercial economy of the West Coast to a grinding halt. Moreover, in mid-September the executive board of ILWU Local 10 in

And the U.S. may well be preparing to nuke Iraq. The "Nuclear Posture Review" issued this year by the Pentagon explicitly allows for an American first strike and lists seven possible targets, including (for the first time) non-nuclear countries—like Iraq. Moreover, it specified a wide range of situations that could trigger a nuclear attack. Warning that "we may be closer to seeing the use of nuclear weapons than at any time since World War II," an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (11 October) by Eduardo Cohen reports: "The use of American nuclear weapons would be justified: if Iraq attacks any of its neighbors; if Israel is attacked; if U.S. forces are attacked with chemical or biological weapons; if the United States military encounters targets impervious to conventional weapons; and in the event of 'surprising military developments.'" The article adds, "All five of these scenarios are not only possible but likely if the United States goes to war against Iraq."

Under the headline "Seeds of Protest Growing on College Campuses," a *New York Times* (12 October) article quoted a student who explained what led him to become active in antiwar protest: "We're talking about attacking Iraq, attacking first, which is something this country's never done before. We're turning into an imperialist power." This student was voic-

Vietnam War. In fact, what brought an end to the Vietnam War was not the peace rallies or the more militant mass civil disobedience actions. Rather it was the military victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, who were fighting not only to expel the American invaders but for a social revolution against the capitalist order.

The effect of the official 1960s antiwar movement, embodied in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party's National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), was, in reality, to deflect radicalized youth from fighting against the capitalist system and corral them back into the confines of bourgeois electoral politics. Limiting the protests to pacifist demands to bring the troops home, NPAC explicitly appealed to (and succeeded in drawing in) liberal Democratic Party politicians who sought to extricate American imperialism from this losing colonial war and to head off a challenge to the capitalist order at home. It was, in fact, the Democratic Kennedy/Johnson White House that launched the Vietnam War.

With the ghettos erupting in upheaval and workers staging a number of militant strikes, some in defiance of both the government and the labor bureaucracy, there were enormous opportunities to weld the fight against war to the class struggle. But this could not be done if the antiwar

over a decade of U.S. military and economic warfare, supported and carried out by both Republicans and Democrats. When Clinton and Gore took over the White House in 1993, they continued the policy of Bush Sr. from the time of the 1991 Gulf War: punishing economic sanctions under UN aegis, supplemented by periodic terror bombing of Baghdad and other Iraqi cities. When asked in 1996 about the half million Iraqi children who had died as a result of the sanctions, Clinton's UN ambassador (and later secretary of state) Madeleine Albright replied: "That is a very hard choice but we think the price is worth it."

All sections of the American ruling class are committed to expanding U.S. military power and global presence. Throughout much of the 1990s, it was the Democratic Clinton administration that carried out one military intervention after another, including the 1999 air war against Serbia. That war was waged in the name of "liberating" the Albanians of Kosovo from the brutally oppressive regime of Slobodan Milosevic. For the American ruling class, Milosevic's real crime (like that of Saddam Hussein) was his refusal to bow to Washington's dictates. Like Saddam Hussein, Milosevic was vilified by the American media and bourgeois politicians, especially liberal Democrats, as "another Hitler." For two months, U.S. warplanes systematically destroyed the economic infrastructure of this small Balkan country.

The most fervent advocates and supporters of the war against Serbia were located on the *liberal, not the right wing* of the American political spectrum. And much of the left marched in lockstep. Thus, the International Socialist Organization, echoing imperialist "human rights" rhetoric over the plight of the Albanian refugees, raised the call, "Money for refugees, not for war!" Unlike the liberals and reformists who mimicked the imperialists' hue and cry over "poor little Kosovo," we have always defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians. But that democratic question was decidedly subordinated to the military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO attack.

Several years earlier, when the Bush Sr. administration launched its racist military intervention in Somalia in the name of famine relief, Workers World called for "food, not troops in Somalia." Explicitly justifying a "humanitarian" Pentagon expeditionary force, *Workers World* (31 December 1992) declared: "The U.S. Air Force is by far the largest in the world. It could have easily and inexpensively provided famine relief."

Nuclear Cowboys on the Loose

The main argument raised by Democratic Party politicians against an immediate war with Iraq is that it will divert military resources from and weaken international support for the "global war on terror." More broadly, significant elements of the ruling class, including Republicans like Brent Scowcroft, Bush Sr.'s national security adviser, fear that the bellicose "unilateralism" pushed by the Bush administration needlessly and recklessly flouts international conventions and institutions, like the United Nations, that have proved their value to American imperialist interests.

Bush made a bow to such concerns by appearing before the United Nations last month. But only days later, the "Bush doctrine" was proclaimed. Affirming a general policy of "pre-emptive" war, the "National Security Strategy" document warned that the U.S. is militarily "strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military buildup in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States." The new doctrine was foreshadowed as far back as 1992 by leading elements of what is now the White House/Pentagon inner circle, like Vice President Richard Cheney and Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Under the guidance of Cheney, then secretary of defense in the administration of Bush Sr., Wolfowitz authored a draft Pentagon document stating that the



Le Bolchévik

Above: French Trotskyists at October 12 Paris protest oppose racist terror, call for class struggle against French capitalists and for defense of Iraq. German Spartacists at September 28 Berlin protest in defense of Palestinians call for German/NATO/UN forces out of Balkans, Near East.

Spartakist



U.S. "must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role" (quoted in "George Bush & the World," *New York Review of Books*, 26 September).

This is a potential threat against every current American "ally." But it is particularly directed at China, the largest remaining bureaucratically deformed workers state. A central goal for U.S. imperialism is the destruction of the People's Republic of China through capitalist counterrevolution achieved by a combination of external military pressure and internal economic and political subversion. China is one of the seven countries now listed as potential targets for a U.S. nuclear *first strike*. As revealed by the *Glasgow Sunday Herald* (15 September), the "Bush doctrine" was laid out in a position paper drawn up by Cheney, Wolfowitz & Co. in September 2000, even before the elections. That document specifically called for an increase of "American forces in southeast Asia" and projected "American and allied power providing the spur to the process of democratization in China." What the American imperialists mean by "democratization" in China (like they meant in the former Soviet Union) is capitalist counterrevolution.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalinist misrule, was a historic defeat for the international working class. The removal of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to imperialist designs has, as we warned, made the world a far more dangerous place. It is no accident that the Cheney cabal, which was a minority voice in the Bush Sr. administration, calls the shots under Bush Jr. The U.S. bourgeoisie has grown dizzy with success after a series of easy wins over the last decade, and Cheney & Co. are a distillation of this arrogant imperialist triumphalism. In a perceptive article in the *London Review of Books* (3 October), Anatol Lieven writes: "If the US can demonstrate overwhelming military su-

riority in the Middle East, there will certainly be groups in the Republican Party who will be emboldened to push for a much tougher line on China."

Nonetheless, the venal Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has endorsed Washington's "war on terror" in return for a diplomatic okay from the U.S. to Beijing's suppression of Turkic-speaking, Islamic separatist groups operating in the western borderlands of China. Thus, even as it promotes the forces of capitalist restoration within China, the Beijing regime has supported the extension of U.S. military forces to the western border region of China in Afghanistan and the former Soviet Central Asian republics. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution—which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy—are today under dire threat. We Trotskyists fight for *unconditional military defense* of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and call for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The liberal justification for invading and occupying Iraq is to bring "democracy" and "modern civilization" to the Arab/Muslim people of that country and the region. This was clearly and fatuously expressed by *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, a leading advocate of American "human rights imperialism." In his 18 September column, he declares that "all the Arab-Muslim states" are "failing at modernity."

Since the end of the Cold War, the notion of "failed states" has become an all-purpose rubric for colonial-style military interventions and occupations in the Third World. "Humanitarian" rhetoric aside, what we are seeing today is a throwback to the naked colonialism of an earlier era. And the current administration in the White House dispenses even

with the "human rights" fig leaf. Liberal Paul Krugman titled a recent column in the *New York Times* (24 September) "White Man's Burden," the racist ideological slogan of 19th- and early 20th-century British imperialism, and noted "the parallel between America's pursuit of manifest destiny a century ago and its new global sense of mission." Indeed, what Washington is now projecting for Iraq is the kind of military occupation routinely carried out by U.S. imperialism in its Latin American "backyard," most recently in Haiti.

A U.S. occupation of Iraq will not bring "democratization" but a more pliant dictatorial puppet and will only reinforce and deepen national oppression and social backwardness. Iraq was a creation of British imperialism, artificially carved out of the Turkish Ottoman Empire after its defeat in World War I for the purpose of concentrating its oil fields within a single state border and denying any access to the French imperialists. To this end, the British colonialists forcibly united the Kurds and Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs, populations that had enjoyed relative autonomy under Ottoman rule. Now the would-be American liberators vow to maintain the "territorial integrity" of Iraq under U.S. rule, setting the stage for bloody internecine conflicts and brutal imperialist repression.

In the face of a U.S. invasion, the Marxist policy is one of revolutionary defensism. This war would be predatory and imperialist on the part of the U.S., but just and defensive on the part of Iraq. While the chief means of defending Iraq lies in class struggle against the imperialist rulers, the working class and oppressed peoples the world over must defend the struggles of the Iraqi people against the American invaders.

But our defense of Iraq does *not* mean a defense of the bloody and oppressive Saddam Hussein regime. Quite the contrary! In order to fully and effectively mobilize the workers and rural toilers of Iraq against American imperialism, it is necessary that the Iraqi regime be overthrown and replaced by a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was established by the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Iraq today would thus seek to combine the struggle for national independence against American imperialist militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landowners.

Zionist Israel openly serves as a gendarme for U.S. imperialism in the Near East. But from Egypt to Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, the various neocolonial bourgeois regimes of the Near East and South Asia also act as local enforcers of imperialist subjugation and backwardness. It is necessary to forge Trotskyist parties based on the perspective of permanent revolution: the chains of imperialist subjugation can only be broken through a workers revolution that shatters bourgeois rule as part of the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution, especially in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the national rights of all the many peoples of the region be achieved, from the Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people to the Kurds.

Ultimately and decisively, the struggle for a socialist world—free of imperialist war and economic depredation—will be fought out in the United States, the bastion of the world capitalist system. That requires breaking the ideological chains that bind the proletariat and the ghetto poor to the "lesser evil" Democratic Party of American imperialism. If there is to be an end to imperialist war, to racist oppression and economic immiseration, the multiracial American working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the fight to build a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the bloody system of capitalist imperialism. ■

(continued from page 1)

accusing the union of engaging in a "slowdown" after the union instructed its members to follow all safety rules on the docks in self-protection against speedup imposed by the employers. In returning to work, Spinosa declared: "We're going to continue to work safe" (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 October). **Seven people** have died on the docks since March, including five ILWU members: one was crushed by a falling lifeboat, one hit by a 3,000-pound metal ring after a crane broke, one run over by a large forklift, one run over by a 45-ton lift for stacking containers and the last killed by a fall into an open hatch. According to the AFL-CIO, the PMA's own records show the astounding figure of 1,668 injuries on the West Coast for the year through September 6—**one for every six dockers**. Now Judge Alsop's order prohibits any attempt by the workers to defend themselves against speedup and employer provocations on the docks.

This injunction is a declaration of war on the entire U.S. labor movement. The bosses and their government want to break union power and tame the U.S. population to step in line behind the "war on terror." Months before the lockout, Department of Homeland Security head Tom Ridge personally called the ILWU leadership to warn them that any action by the union to shut down the ports would not be tolerated. In the Bush administration's legal brief for the Taft-Hartley Act, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld attested, "The DOD [Department of Defense] increasingly relies upon commercial items and practices to meet its requirements" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 October). By "homeland security" the U.S. government means its intent to make U.S. imperialism "secure" from domestic opposition by the working class as Bush prepares to carry out a bloody invasion of Iraq.

The PMA has more or less openly admitted that the purpose of its lockout was to provide the opening for federal intervention. When a high-ranking Bush administration official got the union to agree to a last-minute, 30-day extension of the contract, seeking to end the lockout without Taft-Hartley, the PMA flatly rejected it. Beginning in May, in the months of negotiations over the new contract, the PMA has repeatedly reneged on supposed agreements in "bait and switch" bad faith bargaining," as the union described it (ILWU Coast Committee Letter to the Membership, 9 October). Now, after 60 days under the injunction pass, ILWU members are to be forced to submit to a government-run vote on the PMA's last offer, which at the time of the court order was a package denounced by the union's negotiating committee as completely unacceptable.

The bosses' aim is simply the wholesale destruction of union power on the docks. The entire labor movement must come to the defense of the ILWU now and protest every attack on the union. **Down with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act—Government hands off the ILWU!**

Capitalist Rulers Target Longshore Workers

Whatever tactical differences they may have, the U.S. rulers are united around the dual goal of maintaining and extending their world dominance abroad while taming the working class at home. The ILWU gets in the way amid increasingly competitive inter-imperialist rivalry over international trade and markets. Both the Republican Eisenhower administration in the 1950s and the Democratic Kennedy White House in the early '60s went after the Teamsters union because its demonstrated ability to shut down all truck transportation in the country made it a strategic threat to profit. Likewise, the PMA's lockout has made graphically clear that with the growing reliance of

U.S. commerce on trans-Pacific trade, the ILWU has enormous potential power to hurt capitalist profits.

As dozens of freight trains were backed up into the Midwest and auto plants from Fremont, California to Tennessee began running out of parts, the ILWU faced a full-court press by all the agencies of the bosses, from the employers to the government to the media. Across the country, a media campaign parroting the PMA's propaganda retailed lying "statistics" refuted by the union months earlier, painting the dockers as greedy, overpaid ingrates (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics," WV No. 784, 12 July).

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* (1 October) commented that in going after the ILWU, "Bush can be seen as standing up to union intransigence and doing so in the name of protecting the economy and the nation's security." The article quoted a University of Texas economist who said it was "an opportunity for Bush to look Reaganesque," referring to Ronald Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, and noted that the ILWU is "an even more appealing target" as "one of the most aggressive unions left standing after decades of dwindling labor power."

But who wins in any battle between capital and labor depends on the relationship of forces as measured in struggle. In the middle of World War II, against the howls of the whole capitalist order denouncing them as traitors and agents of Hitler, U.S. coal miners defied the wartime no-strike pledge. In response to Franklin D. Roosevelt's threats of military intervention to break their strike, the coal miners pointed out that you can't mine coal with bayonets.

The labor movement has never won anything by playing by the bosses' rules. The government and its cops, courts and army exist for the very purpose of defending the bosses and their property against the working class and the oppressed. The capitalists will always attempt to outlaw any effective action workers take to resist exploitation. Labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: picket lines, solidarity strikes, secondary boycotts, plant occupations.

Militant actions and class solidarity have indeed been demonstrated over the past few weeks. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were present at one location where a scab truck was stopped from leaving a terminal with a container after longshore pickets stationed there were joined by almost a hundred others. Teamsters and railway and postal workers have been respecting the picket lines, as have a number of IAM mechanics, despite the Machinists union tops' declaration of intent to scab.

In marked contrast, as longshoremen manned pickets outside the locked gates, security guards patrolled terminal property from the inside—guards who are organized by the ILWU! Some of the reformist left, like the International Socialist Organization, believe that security guards should be organized. We think it is a matter of elementary union protection that agents of the employers, like the guards and walking bosses, be tossed out.

On the day Bush announced the Taft-Hartley injunction, hundreds of truckers led a honking demonstration through the Port of Oakland with signs that read, "Port Truckers Locked Out by PMA." Mostly non-union owner-operators, the heavily immigrant port truckers have been hit with outrageous fees by the shippers for storing containers they couldn't move because of the shippers' own lockout. The need to unionize these workers is becoming increasingly evident to many rank-and-file longshoremen, despite often palpable tensions between them and the truckers in the past. At an October 5 labor rally at the Port of Oakland, various union officials called for "organizing the unorganized"

—but pointedly **did not mention** the port truckers!

International solidarity action is especially vital in this struggle. It would do the PMA no good to load ships with non-union labor if they can't get unloaded at the other end. Among those declaring support are the Japanese dockworkers union Zenkoku-kowan, the Maritime Union of Australia and the South Korean maritime unions. ILWU Local 10 secretary-treasurer Clarence Thomas traveled to France; at the Oakland rally, he spoke of support promised by dock workers in the key ports of Dunkirk, Le Havre and Marseilles. Particularly significant for the multiracial workforce on the docks here were letters of protest to the PMA from the Municipal Workers' Union in South Africa and from the nuclear workers union in Mexico.

The Capitalists' "Slave-Labor Act"

While many workers are furious at Bush's invoking Taft-Hartley, others see it as aimed against the employers, who initiated the lockout. This is an illusion. Dubbed the "Slave-Labor Act" by trade unions at the time, Taft-Hartley was passed in 1947 with wide support from both Democrats and Republicans as part of a vicious crackdown against worker militancy as the U.S. turned toward the Cold War and the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The year 1946 saw more strikes than any year before or since, and the capitalists pinned the blame squarely on the militant organizing of the CIO and "Communist" influence in the unions. As the head of General Electric put it, the Cold War had two targets: "the American labor movement at home and the Soviet Union abroad."

Taft-Hartley outlaws as "unfair labor practices" almost every effective organizing tactic in the union arsenal: wildcat strikes, mass picketing, secondary boycotts, sitdowns and slowdowns. It greatly increases the powers of the courts, Congress and the president in acting against the unions, including stiff fines for violations, while specifying minimum punishments for employers. Taft-Hartley also bans "economic" strikers from voting in union certification elections (while scabs can vote!) and allows states the right to ban union shops. The law required that union officials sign affidavits that they were not Communists, a provision later replaced by the Communist Control Act of 1954.

But while the government may try to legislate the class struggle, it doesn't always succeed. In 1948, the ILWU answered the referendum on the company's lousy contract mandated by Taft-Hartley in the following way: Of the 26,965 eligible workers on the waterfront, the total number of ballots cast was—zero. The ILWU also refused to comply with the anti-Communist oaths. When the bosses said they'd no longer bargain with a union whose officers failed to sign the non-Communist pledge, ILWU international president Harry Bridges put it to a vote in a coast-wide secret ballot. The result was 96.8 percent "no" on accepting the contract and 94.39 percent "no" on the anti-Communist affidavit.

Taft-Hartley was last used against the ILWU in 1971—and after the "cooling off" period, the union resumed its strike and faced down the PMA. In the historic 110-day 1978 coal miners strike, miners defied Jimmy Carter's threats of Taft-Hartley, saying: Taft can mine it, Taft can haul it, and Carter can shove it.

The Labor Bureaucracy and the Taft-Hartley Democrats

By invoking Taft-Hartley, the capitalist government has put the ILWU in a vise, hoping to make the union a surrogate for the whole labor movement. On October 2, Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa Jr. declared that use of Taft-Hartley "would be viewed as open union-busting by the Teamsters and all of labor." AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka pro-

claimed, "Bush is setting a new precedent against workers' rights."

But these fine words are being used to drum up more support for the capitalist Democratic Party in the upcoming elections. Bush is indeed a particularly nasty specimen as capitalist rulers go. But **union-busting is the normal function of the capitalist state**, which is run to defend the interests of America's filthy-rich Wall Street rulers by their dual parties. After vetoing the Taft-Hartley Act to maintain his fiction of being a "friend of labor" and after the veto was overridden, Democrat Harry Truman invoked it no less than **58 times** in the first 29 months of its existence.

As if to underscore the point, California Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein was one of the first to demand that Bush invoke Taft-Hartley. The union complained, "We're very disappointed. Bordering on outrage" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 October). But Feinstein is no aberration. Congresswoman Barbara Lee, the liberal darling of the reformist left and the Bay Area union bureaucracy, said, "Talk of Taft-Hartley is premature" (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 October). In other words, she's not for using union-busting laws **yet**, just as she says that it's not **yet** time to invade Iraq—putting up a resolution in Congress to require the White House to first get the approval of the United Nations, that fig leaf for naked imperialist interest.

The *Oakland Tribune* (13 October) reported that the unions would probably "continue to support Feinstein come election crunch time," and California governor Gray Davis' statement that Taft-Hartley is necessary has not put an end to the union bureaucracy's drive for his reelection. In this they are joined by the misnamed Communist Party, publishers of *People's Weekly World*. The more militant-talking union tops and their reformist waterboys—the Workers World Party and its International ANSWER coalition—implicitly support the Democrats, speaking only of "fighting the right," as if union-busting and imperialist war were unique to the Republicans.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers president Don Hahs explained support to the Democratic Party by saying, "We don't have much choice" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 October). This lay-down-and-die perspective reflects the political role of the labor bureaucracy, not the actual prospects for struggle before the labor movement. The union bureaucracy is a key component of the Democratic Party, providing the labor cover for these capitalist politicians and **misleading** the workers into thinking they can win at the ballot box. In the voting booth, 10,000 ILWU longshoremen have no more power than any other 10,000 voters. But as workers they have the power to shut down nearly half of the capitalist economy. However, that power cannot be mobilized to take on the capitalists represented by the PMA if the union is out rounding up votes for the capitalists represented by the Democratic Party.

As the *San Francisco Chronicle* (13 October) indicated, the West Coast ports are considered "key links in a wartime supply chain." In this situation, defending one's livelihood can't be restricted to a purely economic battle with the employers. What's required is a political struggle against the aims of the ruling class in its "war on terror," both at home and abroad. Never has it been clearer that the working class needs its own political party. Such a party would not act primarily as an election vehicle but would wield labor power in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. It would galvanize the labor movement into action, independently of the capitalist class and its government, in defense of the longshore union and of the Iraqi people against American imperialism, the main enemy of the workers of the world. The Spartacist League seeks to build such a multiracial workers party to fight for a workers government that would put an end to this capitalist system once and for all. ■

Israeli Terror...

(continued from page 12)

daily life of the Palestinians must be rendered unbearable.... This will encourage immigration [sic] and weaken the resistance to further expulsions." The "public debate" over this question, Shlonsky notes, is merely over how many Palestinians to leave behind.

The Zionist state is a racist, exclusivist state, predicated on the expulsion of over 700,000 Arabs at the time of its creation and the displacement of thousands more. The Zionist rulers have long been concerned with the "demographics problem"—another Zionist euphemism—meaning that the growth rate of Palestinians, including Israeli Arabs, far outstrips that of Israeli Jews. An article from *Ha'aretz* (28 June) captured their sentiments:

"The new interest in demography touches the core of the state's being—its definition as a Jewish state. For the first time in the history of public discourse here, even the most devout leftists are being required to confront their inner truth. It is no longer possible to seek refuge in banal statements like 'there is no contradiction between a Jewish and a democratic state,' or hollow slogans about coexistence. Anyone who clings to the concept of a Jewish state cannot ignore the demographic figures laid out in black and white in dozens of publications on the subject. The character of the state, its identity card, now depends on the definitions derived from these figures."

It is urgently necessary for the working class, in the U.S. and internationally, to take up the defense of the besieged Palestinian masses through demonstrations, protest strikes and other class-struggle actions. The Israeli threat of mass expulsion is real—and the planned slaughter against Iraq could provide the cover for it! All opponents of U.S. imperialism's war against Iraq must take up the cause of the Palestinian people! Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Defend Iraq against U.S. attack! All U.S. troops out of the Near East!

U.S./Israel Axis of Terror

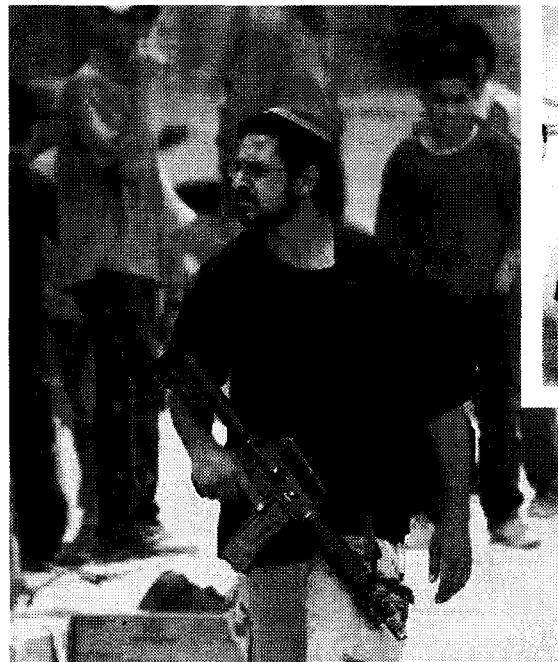
During the first *Intifada*, which began in late 1987, Israel's rulers responded with what then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin described as "force, might, beatings to break bones." By the time it subsided in 1993 with the signing of the Oslo "peace" accords between PLO head Yasir Arafat and Israel, some 1,500 Palestinians had been killed. The current uprising, which began in September 2000, was from the outset responded to with even greater barbarism and brutality. According to the Israeli army's own reports, in the first three weeks of the current *Intifada*, i.e., before any of the Palestinian suicide attacks began, more than *one million* bullets were fired by Israeli troops against Palestinian protesters. Some 2,500 have been killed so far.

The current uprising against Zionist occupation is the result of several years of the Oslo "peace" accords. That shameful betrayal of Palestinian national aspirations, which further worsened conditions for the Palestinians, was in turn conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. During its existence, the Soviet Union provided a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, allowing petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO to jockey for support between the U.S. and USSR. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, this leverage was lost—as well as considerable amounts of financial and military support—and a significantly weakened PLO accepted a sham "autonomy," effectively policing the Palestinian masses on behalf of the Israeli rulers. At the same time, the collapse of the USSR created a far more dangerous "one superpower" world where U.S. imperialism sees no obstacles in its drive to dominate the world.

An example is the Bush administration's response to Israel's continuing onslaught. Despite the occasional call for "restraint," the U.S. has largely given

Israel a green light to carry out its slaughter. This, even as Israeli actions threaten to hamper U.S. imperialism's drive for war in Iraq by provoking unrest throughout the Near East.

When Israel threatened mass expulsions of Palestinians during the first Gulf War in 1990-91, U.S. imperialism pulled its leash to maintain the "coalition," which included most Arab states, against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Bush Sr. even threatened to cut back aid when the Zionists demanded more for settlements, and he intervened to ensure that Israel did not respond to the Scud missile attacks Iraq launched against it during the war. Today, however, Washington is silent even as Israeli politicians threaten to nuke



Reuters

Baghdad. Such threats by the Zionist regime underline the fact that far from being merely a puppet of U.S. imperialism, Israel is a regional power with its own appetites and interests to pursue.

Elements within and around the Bush administration certainly favor a "tougher" policy against the Palestinians. Earlier this year, Emanuel A. Winston, the Middle East analyst for the arch-Zionist Freeman Center, argued for "resettling the Palestinians in Jordan, where 80% of the population already is Palestinian" (*USA Today*, 21 February). According to Anatol Lieven (*London Review of Books*, 3 October), Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld described Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories as "legitimate" products of Israeli military success, while the Republican majority leader in the House, Richard Armey, "has advocated the ethnic cleansing" of Palestinians to Jordan.

Behind all this is the forging of an unholy alliance between Zionist neo-conservatives, the staunchest supporters of war with Iraq, and large elements of the Christian religious right. This includes the likes of deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Pentagon adviser Richard Perle, who in 1996 called on then Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu to abandon Oslo and wage war against the Palestinians. It also includes bible-thumpers like Jerry Falwell, who recently called the Islamic prophet Muhammad a "terrorist" while proclaiming that "the Bible Belt in America is Israel's only safety belt right now" (*New York Times*, 6 October). But such Christian fundamentalists are hardly "friends of the Jews." It was Falwell who only a few years ago proclaimed that "the Anti-christ will, by necessity, be a Jewish male" (*Christian Courier*, 1 February 1999). For Falwell and many other fundamentalist Protestants, the formation of the state of Israel was a harbinger of the "Rapture." Fundamentalists like Falwell believe that closer to Armageddon is closer to god—and more specifically Jesus.

Combined with the "war on terror," the U.S. alliance with Israel has set a stifling climate on U.S. campuses where pro-Palestinian activists are being witch-hunted. A Web site by Zionist groups has been set up to "track" pro-Palestinian professors and academics. Activists

against Zionist repression are threatened with expulsion while pro-Palestinian campus groups are threatened with outright ban. Last month, Harvard University president Lawrence Summers denounced the actions of campus activists opposed to Israel's occupation as "anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent" (*Boston Globe*, 20 September). Summers also accused pro-Palestinian student groups of raising funds for "questionable" political groups later found to be linked with "terrorist" organizations. Such attacks on protest set the stage for the crushing of all forms of dissent.

It is manifestly clear that the drive for war with Iraq could set the stage for an even bloodier war against the Palestin-



Between the Lines

Fascistic Zionist settlers terrorize Palestinian population of Hebron. The ultimate logic of Zionism is ethnic cleansing.

ians—up to and including expulsion. As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast, we say: Down with U.S. aid to Israel! Down with the U.S./Israel axis of terror! It is our purpose to build the revolutionary workers party that is the necessary element to unite and organize the multiracial American proletariat in the struggle to sweep away U.S. capitalist imperialism through workers revolution.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. For decades, under both Democrats and Republicans, U.S. imperialism has armed Israel to the hilt. For their part, the European Union imperialists, when they mutter statements against Zionist "excess," are merely trying to re-establish their influence over the oil-rich Near

East region. As for the United Nations, it was the UN that partitioned Palestine in 1947, leading to the creation of the state of Israel, and it was a UN expeditionary force that disarmed the PLO fighters in Lebanon in 1982, leading to Sharon's slaughter of some 2,000 Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila.

The venal Arab bourgeois states have neither the military wherewithal nor any interest in challenging nuclear-armed Israel for the sake of the Palestinians. They, too, are enemies of Palestinian self-determination. Between 1967 and '77, over 50,000 Palestinian people were slaughtered at the hands of Arab regimes, including some 10,000 during the 1970 Black September massacres in Jordan. Kuwait expelled over 200,000 Palestinians following the Gulf War in 1991. The Arab rulers' occasional diatribes against Zionism are meant to divert the anger of the toiling masses they exploit and oppress. And the anti-Semitism peddled by the Arab nationalists and Islamic reactionaries serves only to drive the Hebrew proletariat of Israel deeper into the arms of its chauvinist rulers.

A move to expel the Palestinians will spark mass outrage and protest throughout the Near East. It is the task of revolutionaries to intervene into such movements to forge Marxist workers parties to lead the struggle for the overthrow of the Arab regimes through socialist revolution. A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the international unity of all working people, would have an enormous impact on the Hebrew workers of Israel. But if the workers of the Near East are to break their chains of exploitation, they must be won to a relentless struggle against the Islamic fundamentalists and nationalists who now pose as enemies of Zionism and imperialism.

If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. Only then can the right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestinian people be assured—as well as the rights of the myriad other peoples of the Near East, like the Kurds who are currently oppressed by the Iraqi and Syrian Arab states as well as Turkey and Iran. What is required above all is the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all forms of religious fundamentalism. **Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East!** ■

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Defend the Palestinian People!

Israeli Terror Machine Strangles Palestinians

On October 7, with willful blood-thirstiness, an Israeli helicopter gunship fired a missile into a crowd of Palestinians cheering the withdrawal of Zionist troops from the refugee camp of Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. Fifteen Palestinians were slaughtered and over 100 injured. The same night, the nearby Nasser hospital, which was treating those wounded in the Khan Yunis attack, was riddled with Israeli automatic gunfire, killing another Palestinian.

As the Bush administration gears up for war on Iraq, the Israeli government of Ariel Sharon has been ratcheting up its war of terror against the Palestinian people. Most West Bank towns are now under direct military occupation enforced by over 1,000 tanks and thousands more soldiers. Israeli forces continue to surround the compound of Palestinian Authority head Yasir Arafat, having already destroyed most of it.

Life is made intolerable by round-the-clock curfews—and those who dare defy them are shot down with impunity. Schools and universities are either closed or unreachable because of a dizzying array of arbitrarily imposed checkpoints. Travel is impossible, not only between the West Bank's nine main cities, but even within them. Numerous people have died from treatable illnesses because they couldn't reach a hospital. Today, the West Bank resembles a wasteland of destroyed buildings, looted offices, wrecked infrastructure; most of the population is without income and more than half the children suffer from malnutrition. And some 400,000 armed Zionist settlers freely rampage throughout the Occupied Territories, stealing land and murdering Palestinians by the dozens.

In Gaza, conditions of life are even more bleak. Palestinian scholar Edward Said wrote a searing indictment of Zionist atrocities and brutality in a recent article titled "Punishment by Detail"



October 7: Funeral in Khan Yunis refugee camp in Gaza for one of 15 Palestinians killed by Israeli missile attack. Reuters

(*Monthly Review*, October 2002):

"Gaza is surrounded by an electrified wire fence on three sides; imprisoned like animals, Gazans are unable to move, unable to work, unable to sell their vegetables or fruit, unable to go to school. They are exposed from the air to Israeli planes and helicopters and are gunned down like turkeys on the ground by tanks and machine guns. Impoverished and starved, Gaza is a human nightmare, each of whose little pieces of episodes—like what takes place at Erez [checkpoint], or near the settlements—involves thousands of soldiers in the humiliation, punishment, and intolerable enfeeblement of each Palestinian, without regard for age, gender, or illness. Medical supplies are held up at the border, ambulances are fired upon or detained. Hundreds of houses demolished, and hundreds of thousands of trees and agricultural land destroyed in acts of systematic collective punishment against civilians, most of whom are already refugees from Israel's destruction of their society in 1948."

Sharon and his "national unity" government claim all this is to stop "Palestinian terrorism." But in reality, it has been Sharon's policy from the beginning to provoke suicide attacks, which have killed dozens of innocent Israeli civilians. Such attacks on civilians, entirely criminal from the viewpoint of the international proletariat, serve to further drive the Israeli Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist rulers and to provide the pretext for even bloodier attacks on the Palestinians by the Zionist juggernaut. Ur Shlonsky, an anti-Zionist Israeli professor, notes: "The human bombs in the cafes and buses assure ever broader and deeper support for a project of ethnic cleansing" (*Against the Current*, September/October 2002).

We have warned in the past that the Zionist rulers are entirely capable of carrying out massacres of the Palestinians on

a truly genocidal scale. And this could very well be what they have in mind, particularly as a U.S. war against Iraq thrusts the Near East into total chaos. Jordan has already sealed its border with the West Bank in anticipation of a Zionist-induced Palestinian exodus. A *London Review of Books* (3 October) article by Yitzhak Laor notes: "If Blair and Bush go to war against Iraq, then that will be the 'right time' for the Israeli military to expel the Palestinians, or at least a portion of them."

An urgent appeal issued late last month by nearly 100 Israeli academics warns "that the 'fog of war' could be exploited by the Israeli government to commit further crimes against the Palestinian people, up to full-fledged ethnic cleansing." It notes how Israeli chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon, a self-avowed "humanist," described Palestinians as a "cancerous manifestation," the military actions in the Occupied Territories as "chemotherapy" and called for a more radical "treatment." Sharon himself has backed this "assessment of reality."

The overt advocacy of the forcible expulsion of Palestinians—euphemistically called "transfer" in Israel—was once relegated to the fringes of the Israeli ultraright. Today, however, it is common for politicians to rant about driving the Palestinians from their homes. Former tourism minister Benny Elon told Israel public radio earlier this year: "We must not fear bringing up again the idea of a transfer and of open discussion of the various possibilities that it offers." The ultra-chauvinist *Moledet* party has put up billboards throughout Tel Aviv declaring: "Only transfer will bring peace." Ominously, a recent poll found that 46 percent of Israelis support the forcible expulsion of Palestinians.

Already, over 100,000 Palestinians have fled to Jordan since September 2001. Within the West Bank, thousands more have been forcibly driven from their villages and "relocated" elsewhere. In Israel, schemes abound for the expulsion of Arab "citizens" of the Zionist state, who constitute some 20 percent of the population. In an unprecedented move, the Israeli government revoked the citizenship of one Nahal Abu Kishaq in September, accusing him of being a member of Hamas. It has also threatened several other Israeli Arabs with the same. In November last year, Azmi Bishara, an Arab member of the Knesset (parliament) had his parliamentary immunity stripped and now faces criminal charges based on speeches he made in Syria defending the right of Palestinians to resist the Israeli occupation.

The strangulation of Palestinian life is part and parcel of a possible move to drive them out. As Shlonsky noted: "The

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Israeli military checkpoint in Gaza. Palestinians are humiliated and terrorized, denied access to jobs, hospitals, schools.