

Imperialism, Racism and Immigration

Death on the Border

Down With Racist War on Immigrants, Blacks!

Sebastião Salgado

The 14 Mexican immigrants who died horrible deaths attempting a trek across the sun-scorched Arizona desert last month are among the latest victims of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border by the American capitalist rulers. The immigrants were part of a group of 28 who had left southern Mexico in pursuit of jobs in North Carolina. The group was driven across the border and then abandoned in the desert by ruthless *coyotes* (smugglers). After walking for five days over 30 miles of harsh terrain, they were still another 30 miles away from Highway 8 when delirium, heat stroke and dehydration set in. Peeling off their clothes, they searched in vain for shade. One by one they succumbed to the heat, which had risen above 115 degrees; several of the survivors will have permanent kidney damage. Just days after the bodies of the 14 were discovered, two more immigrants died trying to cross from Mexico into Arizona.

Three of the earlier victims were from the state of Guerrero, where what little

U.S. rulers have built walls and deployed thousands of heavily armed cops along Mexican border, causing hundreds of immigrants to die every year. New York City, May 27: Protesters demand, "No More Death."

Rivera/El Diario-La Prensa



employment exists is mainly in the tourist city of Acapulco. Others were from Veracruz, where residents of small towns and villages barely scrape out an existence. Every year, well over a million Mexican and other Latin American immigrants attempt the treacherous journey to *el Norte*, traveling up to 4,000 miles to get jobs as dishwashers, gardeners,

farm workers, janitors—anything they can get—working 70-hour weeks for sub-minimum wages.

While the capitalist media echoes the U.S. and Mexican governments in blaming the smugglers, the deaths were the outcome of conscious policies initiated by the Republican Bush Sr. administration and vastly expanded by Democrat

Clinton. The number of Border Patrol agents has more than doubled over the past six years to 8,800, and Bush Jr. proposes to increase that number to 11,000 by 2003. Border cities like San Diego and El Paso were sealed off by huge walls while the hated *la migra*, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), has been vastly augmented, supplemented by Marine, Army and National Guard troops. One Border Patrol supervisor said at the time, "Eventually we'd like to see them all out in the desert" (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, 26 May 1996).

Most immigrants pay smugglers at least \$1,000 to get them across the border, and at every step of the way they face the dangers of bandits, corrupt cops and vigilante ranchers. According to Mexican government figures, **491 Mexicans** died attempting to cross the border last year, up from 369 in 1999. Before 1996, there were fewer than 100 such deaths per year. Last year, 1.6 million Mexicans were expelled trying to cross into the U.S.

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Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

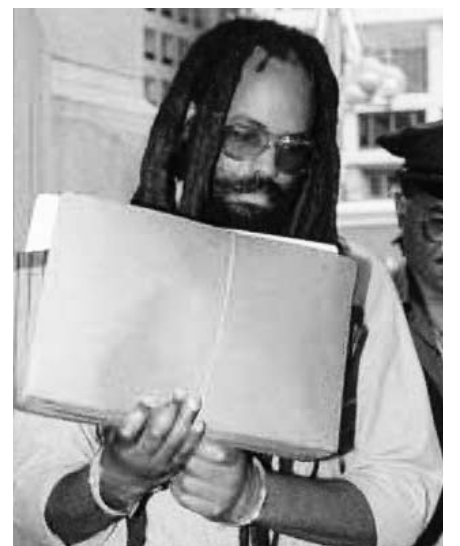
Prosecutors, Press Try to Bury New Evidence of Innocence

The Philadelphia district attorney's office, with the aid of a shameless blackout by the capitalist media outside Philly, is doing everything in its power to make sure that dramatic new evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence will never be heard in court—or anywhere else. On May 4, Jamal's new legal team

filed affidavits that blew to bits the frame-up that railroaded him to death row for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. The affidavits included the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly in 1999 that he shot Faulkner and that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting." In his own affidavit, Mumia says categorically, "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

In new papers filed on May 29, Mumia's attorneys point out, "It is a rare habeas petitioner who is able to come before the United States District Court

with a full blown confession from the true perpetrator of the offense of which the Petitioner was convicted and which proves that the Petitioner is innocent." But the prosecutors and the capitalist rulers they represent could not care less about Mumia's innocence. They want to execute Jamal because they see in this black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist repression. They want to execute Jamal in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines,



Reuters

Mumia Abu-Jamal carrying legal papers into 1995 appeal hearings.

who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad. Jamal's case symbolizes what the death penalty—and the whole apparatus of capitalist state repression—is all about.

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

No to McVeigh, Garza Executions!

The following is a June 5 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Seizing on outrage over the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, the federal government is intent on using the case of Timothy McVeigh to restart its machinery of death. With popular support for the death penalty waning, they see in McVeigh, a self-confessed mass murderer, the perfect victim for the first federal execution since 1963. Barring a stay of execution, on June 11 he will be strapped onto a gurney, wheeled into the death chamber at the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana and injected with a poison that will drain his

body of life within minutes. The federal government is determined to put someone to death this month even if McVeigh does win a stay. On June 19, Juan Paul Garza is slated to be executed. Garza, more typically, is among the **80 percent** of federal death row inmates who are either Hispanic or black. We demand: **Stop the executions of McVeigh and Garza! Abolish the racist death penalty!**

We recoil at this spectacle of vengeful, state-sanctioned murder. Capital punishment is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, and in the U.S. of black chattel slavery. It is a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in

all respects. We oppose the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who lives and who dies.

Attorney General John Ashcroft arranged for the McVeigh execution to be broadcast on closed-circuit TV, a grisly spectacle reminiscent of the Middle Ages. So intent were the Feds on rushing McVeigh to the death chamber that the FBI withheld at least 4,000 pages of documents pertaining to his defense until days before he was initially scheduled to be executed on May 16. The FBI released several hundred more pages only in the last few days. Yet Ashcroft adamantly opposes a further stay of execution...in the interests of “justice.” Ashcroft’s notion of justice is revealed in his admiration for the slavocracy. As governor of Missouri, he oversaw the restoration of capital punishment there. His current boss, George W. Bush, presided over a pace of executions unprecedented in U.S. history during his term as governor of Texas.

Just as the Feds now use the McVeigh case to bolster state-sanctioned murder, when state governments began carrying out the death penalty again in 1977 after a ten-year hiatus, the first victim to be hauled before a Utah firing squad was Gary Gilmore, who asked to be executed. Over 700 have followed Gilmore to death chambers around the country, overwhelmingly in the states of the old Confederacy. It is a direct expression of the brutal system of racial oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism, that the U.S. remains one of the few industrialized capitalist countries to retain the death penalty. Capital punishment is legal lynching: 43 percent of the

3,700 men and women on the country’s death rows today are black.

The death penalty stands at the apex of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. In recent years, that repressive apparatus has been heavily bolstered by both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans alike, in order to contain the explosive contradictions between the handful of filthy rich and the many at the bottom. With bipartisan support, the federal government has sought to ensure not only that the state and federal death row populations would continue to grow but also that death sentences would be meted out in those states that have resisted the reimposition of capital punishment. That was the import of two death penalty bills signed into law by Democrat Clinton in 1996, which vastly increased the number of federal crimes punishable by death while gutting the right of federal *habeas corpus* appeals.

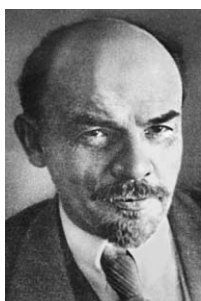
In an article headlined “State Butchers Gilmore,” *Workers Vanguard* (No. 141, 21 January 1977) wrote: “The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... The hangmen and firing squads will not be eliminated through civil libertarian reforms. Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism.” ■



TROTSKY

Parliamentarism and Bourgeois Elections

In Britain and other countries with mass social-democratic parties, the chief task of communists is to split the working-class base of these parties away from the reformist misleaders. The 1920 Second Congress of the Communist International addressed the task of building parties modeled on the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian workers to state power in the October Revolution of 1917. While affirming the need for revolu-



LENIN

tionary parties to participate in bourgeois elections and parliaments, the Congress rejected the notion that the proletariat could conquer state power through bourgeois parliamentarism.

Parliamentarism as a state system has become a “democratic” form of rule for the bourgeoisie. At a certain stage in its development it needs the fiction of a popular governing body that outwardly appears to be an organization of “the popular will,” standing outside the classes, but in essence is a machine wielded by ruling capital for oppression and subjugation.

Parliamentarism is a particular form of state organization. It cannot, therefore, be a form of communist society, which knows no classes, class struggle, nor any kind of state authority.

Nor can parliamentarism be a form of proletarian state administration during the transition period from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to that of the proletariat. At the moment when the class struggle becomes acute—in civil war—the proletariat must not fail to construct its state as **an organization of struggle** that excludes representatives of the former ruling classes. At this stage any fiction about “the will of the people” is directly harmful to the proletariat. Parliamentary separation of powers is unnecessary for the proletariat and harmful to it. The form of the proletarian dictatorship is the soviet republic.

Bourgeois parliaments, among the most important organizations of the bourgeois state machine, cannot as such be taken over permanently, just as the proletariat cannot possibly take over the bourgeois state. The proletariat’s task is to break up the bourgeoisie’s state machine and to destroy it, and with it parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist....

Participation in the electoral struggle as well as revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary rostrum is particularly important as a means of politically involving layers of workers, such as the rural toiling masses, that until now have had little contact with political life....

Since the center of gravity lies in the struggle for state power, which is waged outside parliament, it is obvious that the question of proletarian dictatorship and the **mass struggle** to achieve it cannot be placed on the same level as the special question of utilizing parliament.

—“Theses on the Communist Parties and Parliamentarism,” *Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920* (Pathfinder Press, 1991)

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Spartacist Forum

**New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

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Asian Minority Youth Organize Against Fascist Attacks

Britain: Down With Police Occupation in Oldham!

The following is an abridged version of a statement issued by the Spartacist League/Britain on June 1.

For five weeks the black and Asian population in Oldham have been subjected to repeated provocations by the National Front (NF) and British National Party (BNP) fascists. For Asians and blacks, Saturdays have become known as “no-go days” or “National Front days” in the town centre. On Saturday, 26 May, fascist gangs attacked Asian homes: a pregnant Asian woman had a brick thrown through her window; racist scum jumped on a parked car while an Asian woman and child were inside, smashing the windscreen. Asian youth organised to defend themselves and riot police moved in to quell the angry protests. Scenes of blazing police vans illuminated the reality of British capitalism and highlighted the despair of Asian youth in a racist dead-end town who have been pushed beyond the limit of their endurance. We say: **Drop the charges against all arrested Asian youth!**

Urgently needed is trade-union centred protest against the police occupation of the Asian community. This means drawing in the power of the urban working class of the Manchester area so that besieged minority youth in this enclave of Oldham, a run-down former mill town, are not left to go it alone against the organised violence of the state, its cops, courts and prisons.

**Blazing street
barricade in
Asian area of
Oldham as cops
move in to
suppress youth
defending
themselves
against fascist
provocations.**



towns like Oldham, perpetuating the conditions which provide a fertile breeding ground for the NF and BNP.

Socialist Worker (2 June) harps on about the fact the “Cops let Nazi thugs rampage in Oldham,” as if they might be expected to act differently. The cops—the armed fist of the bosses’ state—are not “neutral,” but defenders of the fascist scum and enforcers of the daily racism and deprivation meted out to minorities. *Socialist Worker* concludes: “Don’t Vote Nazi.” Such calls to repudiate the fascists

its state and implacably hostile to such independent mobilisations of the working class.

We are giving critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) whose campaign draws a class line, albeit crudely, against Blair’s anti-working-class New Labour. But we counterpose our revolutionary programme to the SLP’s programme which is Old Labour parliamentary reformism—a programme which has always served British imperialism. No amount of “socialist” MPs in parliament, no amount of tinkering with the worst excesses of the state or white-wash “inquiries” can get to the root of racial oppression: the capitalist system.

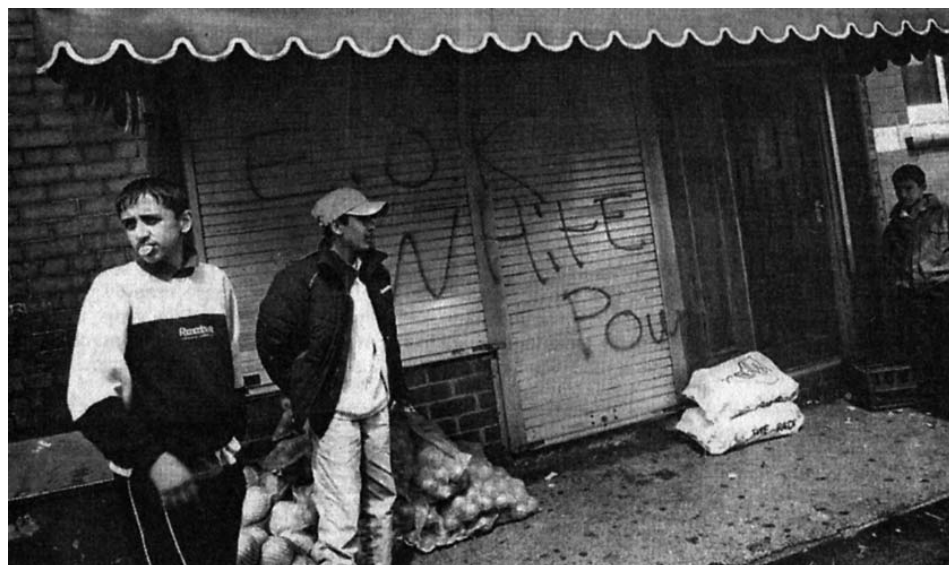
The situation facing racial minorities in Oldham—racist attacks, police terror, no jobs, grinding poverty and appalling social conditions—illustrates the vicious and irrational workings of British capitalism. During labour shortages immigrant workers are brought in to do the lowest paid and dirtiest jobs; when no longer needed they are discarded. In Oldham, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and black Caribbean workers once worked in the textile mills, but as in Bradford and elsewhere they have been pushed out of the workforce by the devastation of manufacturing industry. Unemployment levels for the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities are as high as 25 per cent and most of this generation of youth, particularly minorities, have no hope of *ever* finding a decent job.

Both under Labour and Tories, the capitalist system has looted and devastated the wealth of this country—which was built by the sweat of the working class “at home” and the exploitation of the colonial masses abroad. Racist divide and rule, practised in the colonies for centuries, is used to weaken the working class, scapegoating immigrants and minorities for the capitalists’ economic crises. Oldham is not unique; former industrial areas of Scotland, South Wales and the north of England have been laid waste. In some areas, three generations have been without jobs, and the looming economic recession promises worse to come. The organised workers movement must wage a class battle, including linking up with the unemployed, in a fight for jobs! And in the car plants of the West Midlands, Luton and Dagenham; in the railway and transport system in every major city, in London Underground as well as every hospital in the country, blacks and Asians are an integral part of the workforce. A

militant battle for a shorter working week with no loss in pay, for union control of hiring and union-run job training requires a workers leadership that fights for what we need, not what capitalism can afford.

Our perspective is based on the Transitional Programme by Leon Trotsky (1938) which asserts that the right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based on exploitation, that workers’ rights are determined in struggle and that “If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish.” The establishment of workers rule and a planned, collectivised economy with a five-year plan or two is the only way to overcome the devastation of capitalism in Britain.

There is a way forward: the struggle to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party which acts as the tribune of all the oppressed. Such a party would bring together the advanced workers and angry youth in the fight to overthrow this rotting, racist system once and for all, the fight for workers state power. This is what we in the Spartacist League stand for: join us! ■



Super/NY Times

Storefront in Oldham defaced with racist graffiti. Minority youth face future of no jobs and growing racist attacks.

Tony Blair said, “We give 100 per cent support to the police on the law and order issue and on race relations” and sanctimoniously condemned the “white extremists” for racism (*Guardian*, 29 May). This is rich. Labour’s relentless anti-immigrant, anti-asylum campaigns have fanned the flames of racism and given the green light to the fascist vermin. We demand full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! For the right of asylum! Under Labour and Tories alike the capitalist system of production for profit has resulted in massive de-industrialisation in

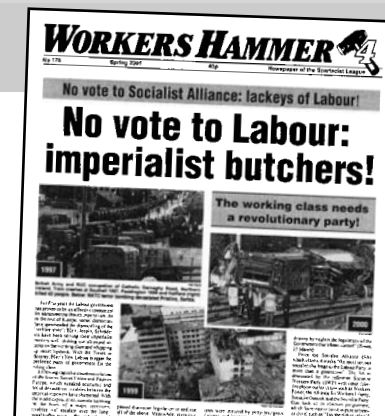
(and the Tories) at the polls are typical of reformist schemes to push Labour as a “lesser evil” and a way to “fight the right.”

Fascists are race-terrorists whose ultimate target is the destruction of the entire workers movement. As the Nazis were in Germany, so too the British fascists are kept in reserve as the capitalists’ “dogs of war” to be unleashed in times of extreme social crisis. They feed off the economic devastation and de-industrialisation in places like Oldham. The provocations of these extra-parliamentary gangs can and must be met by the mobilisation of the social power of the workers movement acting at the head of all the oppressed. We call for mass union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists! It is not only the duty of the workers movement but in its immediate and direct interest to take such action. The political obstacle to such mobilisations is the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy—loyal to the capitalist system, preaching the inviolability of

NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard skips
alternate issues in June,
July and August.
Our next issue will
be dated July 6.**

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Spartacists Campaign for Scargill's SLP

Britain: No Vote to Blair's Anti-Working-Class Labour Party

With the Conservative (Tory) Party in disarray, the June 7 parliamentary elections are widely expected to result in another term for Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labour Party. Four years of Labour government has meant union-busting privatizations, concentration camps for asylum-seekers, deadly crashes on the formerly nationalized railways, bigoted witchhunts against "sex offenders," unprecedented attacks on civil liberties and all-sided attacks on the working class and ethnic minorities. Under a draconian "Terrorism" Act enacted earlier this year, 21 Turkish, Kurdish, Tamil and other political organizations have already been banned and more are threatened. In the 1999 U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia, Blair was even more bellicose than his imperialist allies in Washington. In a 14 May statement (reprinted below), the Spartacist League/Britain called for critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) of Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, declaring, "Vote Socialist Labour Party, Against New Labour!"

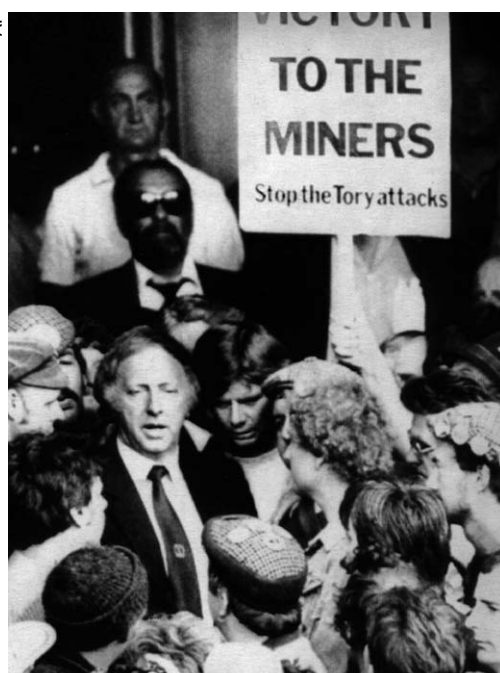
On the opening day of Labour's election campaign in May, Blair was loudly berated by a woman denouncing his attacks on the National Health Service, which is also threatened with privatization, and Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott got into a fist fight with egg-throwing farmers and fuel protesters. With contempt for Blair's "New Labour" extending to wide sectors of the population—as evidenced in the massive popularity of last year's fuel blockades by independent truckers and farmers—the perennially Labour-loyal fake left has banded together in the Socialist Alliance (SA) to posture as a "socialist challenge to the Labour Party." Dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), SA also includes Workers Power, Sean Matgamna's Alliance for Workers Liberty, the United Secretariat's Socialist Outlook and Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party.

Socialist Alliance is being hailed as a model by kindred reformists and centrists from West Europe to Australia and the U.S. But as the SL/B's *Workers Hammer* (Spring 2001) said, "*The Socialist Alliance are pimps for Tony Blair, seeking to channel the heartfelt anger of workers, youth and minorities back into the rotten mould of parliamentary politics and to refurbish Labour's image.*" With SA not running candidates in the vast majority of constituencies, the SWP explicitly urges, "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*Interna-*



Timothy Allen

Four years of Labour government under Tony Blair (left) has meant union-busting privatizations, anti-immigrant racism. Socialist Labour Party of Arthur Scargill, shown at right leading historic 1984-85 miners strike, is running in clear opposition to Labour.



AP

tional Socialism, Spring 2001). When a *Workers Hammer* reporter asked at a March 1 press conference if their brand of "socialism" can be achieved without a revolution, SA spokesman and Socialist Party chairman Dave Nellist sputtered that "it depends what you mean by revolution," citing "a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution"!

Bringing up the rear of this reformist lash-up is the fraudulent International Bolshevik Tendency, whose absurd call for a vote to *both* the pro-Labour SA and the SLP—which are facing off against each other in some areas—is just a cover for backhanded support to Labour. They claim: "The larger the aggregate vote for the candidates of the left, the greater the impetus for sections of Labour's working-class base to move to the left" (1917 supplement, 14 May). This is the timeworn refrain of "make the Labour lefts fight," aimed at pressuring the thoroughly pro-capitalist Labour leadership.

Our aim in extending critical support to the SLP against the Labour Party is to help break Labour's stranglehold over the workers movement and to demonstrate that the aspirations and interests of the working class cannot be advanced through bourgeois parliamentarism. Illustrating this in practice, on May 19 the SL/B issued a supplementary statement (also reprinted below) opposing support to one SLP candidate who is a probation officer. Our call for critical support has met with contradictory responses from the eclectic SLP, with the London Isling-

ton branch rejecting our offer to canvass for their candidate and the Manchester SLP welcoming assistance from our comrades in campaigning on June 2.

* * *

In the general election the Spartacist League says no vote to Labour, which promises only to carry out more of the same racist, anti-working-class policies they have dished out over the past four years, and we say no vote to the Socialist Alliance whose campaign is subordinate to getting Labour re-elected. We urge a vote for the Socialist Labour Party which is running an independent working-class campaign that draws a class line, however crudely, *against* the Labour Party. Unlike the misnamed Socialist Alliance the SLP refuses to call for a vote to Labour and is willing to stand against so-called Labour "lefts" such as Jeremy Corbyn. Labour has whipped up a racist frenzy which is inciting deadly attacks on the minority population. Blair's brutal crackdown on the fuel protesters was a measure of his commitment to enforcing capitalist austerity. From the war on Serbia to the British Army siege of Catholic areas in Northern Ireland to the ongoing bombing of Iraq, the Labour government are imperialist butchers.

We refused to call for a vote to Ken Livingstone—a zealous supporter of the bombing of Serbia—when he ran for mayor of London; needless to say the Socialist Alliance backed him. This month Livingstone and Blair unleashed thousands of cops on May Day protesters

in London. The Spartacist League says: Defend the May Day protesters! Drop all the charges!

In contrast to the Socialist Alliance, the SLP forthrightly calls for British troops out of Northern Ireland. The SLP calls for a united Ireland. We oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland which would mean reversing the existing terms of oppression. The only just solution is one in which the rule of capital is overthrown on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. We fight for an end to the oppression of the Catholic minority in the North and oppose the imperialist-brokered "peace" fraud which is necessarily at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority and won't do any good for working-class Protestants either. We say: Troops out now! For a workers republic in Ireland as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

The SLP raises some demands which we fully support, not least the call for the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords and the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales. They also call for free abortion on demand and for rebuilding health and public services, including re-nationalisation of rail and public utilities such as gas, water and electricity. These demands speak to the felt anger of working people against the crimes of the capitalist system.

The key question is what kind of party and programme does the working class need to represent its interests and those of



PA



Reuters

Privatization of British Rail has led to deadly crashes. Fuel blockades against Blair government by truckers and farmers were widely popular.

A Parliamentarist Sideshow

We publish below edited excerpts from a report by a Spartacist League/Britain comrade on a Socialist Alliance (SA) election rally in London on May 29.

It was an incredible achievement of a meeting for the parliamentary cretins of the Socialist Alliance. They held a meeting in a young and black area of London at a time when Oldham is under police siege due to fascist provocations and they drew nearly 100 old white people and mentioned Oldham precisely once in the presentations. Oh, and what did they say about Oldham: “It would be nice to have a candidate there, what with everything that’s going on there with the [fascist] BNP.” Wouldn’t that just have the cops shaking in their boots!

Here are a selection of words that did not pass the lips of any of the speakers: working class, Scargill, the SLP, British

imperialism, revolution, strikes, Northern Ireland, Garvaghy Road [site of Loyalist/police sieges against Northern Ireland Catholics]. Or to paint the picture another way, here are a selection of quotes: “People are bored into supporting the Socialist Alliance” (Paul Holborow of the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], chair of meeting). “A vote for the SA is not a wasted vote because all votes will send a signal to New Labour” (SWP Socialist Alliance candidate Teresa Bennett). “The Socialist Alliance has picked up what the Labour Party has thrown away—the red flag” (SA candidate Brian Kelly).

Former Labour Party “left” Liz Davies assured us that despite leaving the Labour Party NEC [National Executive Committee] and joining the SA she has had no Damascene conversion, she still has the same politics. She listed what she didn’t

like about this government and then went on to say that there are some good things this government has done. To quote Liz, “A vote to SA will make it harder for Blair to say he has a mandate for privatisations” and—the best one—“Socialist Alliance is a home for the tens of thousands who voted for Labour in 1997 and have a sour taste in their mouth.” According to the SA, their main battle zone is St. Helens, where Blair has given “ex”-Tory Woodward a safe seat. For these Labourites this is “shameful,” “shocking,” etc. In fact, one speaker said that *this* was the proof that Labour has contempt for the working class.

Our comrade got to intervene. He started by saying: You wouldn’t know from the speakers that Oldham is on fire. He was prompted by the chair to ask a question, so he replied: “Oh, you want it to be like Prime Minister’s questions.

Okay, does the speaker not agree that the situation in Oldham illustrates well what Lenin said of the capitalist state and the utter bankruptcy of Labourite parliamentary reformism?” He also got out that we are voting SLP, but not for [probation officer Gordon] Potts. And he said that the SA is for a Labour government by telling people to vote for Labour in other constituencies. The mooing and braying had reached such a level at this point you’d think a MAFF [Agriculture Ministry] inspector was on his way into the meeting.

In response to our intervention, Kelly stated: “We give unequivocal support to Asian youth in Oldham and all those combatting fascism and police brutality. The SA opposes the fascists.” SWPer Rob Hoveman said: “It is not true that we are for a vote to Labour—we do not have a position. I myself would maybe look to Labour if I didn’t have an SA candidate to vote for, but that is just personal.” Hoveman is only the national organiser of the Socialist Alliance, after all!

all the oppressed—minorities, women, gays and youth—in the struggle against capitalism. We seek to build a party which is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist, modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the great October Revolution of 1917.

The SLP, which raises many supportable demands, at bottom is nothing but a party of nostalgia: “Clause IV socialists” looking to a Labourite past, not a socialist future. “Clause IV,” which promised “common ownership,” was written into Labour’s constitution at a time when workers were electrified by the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution. The myths about “common ownership” were concocted deliberately to dupe workers into believing that “socialism” could be achieved *without* a workers revolution, and through parliament. The SLP harks back to the supposed “good old days” of Clement Attlee’s post-World War II Labour government which nationalised huge swathes of British industry in what amounted to an enormous capitalist bail-out of failing enterprises. These companies were then subsidised by working people through high taxes and low wages while the former owners were given exorbitant rates of compensation. Attlee’s Labour government were imperialist butchers who presided over the bloody partition of India and crushed the Communists in the Greek Civil War.

The Blair government’s mania for privatisation exceeds even that of Thatcher—the air traffic control system and the London Tube are on the list. We oppose privatisations, which always mean attacks on unions, jobs and working conditions, throwing safety to the wind. But for revolutionaries, the answer is not a return to the bad old days of British Rail à la the SLP, or Ken Livingstone’s bonds-plus-public ownership scheme, which again subordinates the operation of public transport to the overall dictates of the capitalist system. Livingstone has hired Bob Kiley, a notorious union-buster and former CIA operative, to run the city transport system. Workers are currently engaged in one-day strikes over safety. Bob Crow, the chief rail union bureaucrat who was long a prominent SLP stalwart, has done his utmost to channel workers’ anger into support for Livingstone/Kiley. Tube workers were infuriated when Crow called off a recent strike.

Our programme is for *expropriation* of transport without compensation to the capitalist bosses *as part of the struggle for a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy*. Expropriate private rail and bus—no compensation! Urban transportation ought to be free—rip out the ticket barriers! Such a programme is incompatible with the perspective of Scargill’s SLP. We fight for a powerful industrial union embracing rail,



Workers Hammer

SL/B contingent at 1993 London protest against fascist British National Party. Fake lefts seek to channel anti-racist youth into Labourite parliamentarism; we fight to mobilize social power of working class.

Underground and bus workers. Workers must rely on their own strength and must be mobilised independent of the capitalists and their state. The unions need a class-struggle leadership, not sell-outs like Bob Crow. The only way to get a safe, reliable transport system that also meets the needs of the workers in the industry is by the overthrow of capitalism through the seizure of power by the proletariat.

The SLP’s opposition to imports of coal and oil is protectionist poison which fuels national chauvinism and racism; it dovetails with calls to protect British industry at the expense of its rivals by nationalising British coal and manufacturing industry. Rivalry between imperialist powers has intensified in the wake of counterrevolution which destroyed the former Soviet Union; this rivalry leads to trade wars which lead to shooting wars. The logic of this kind of corrosive nationalism in the workers movement was shown at the April 2000 Rover demonstration organised by union bureaucrats in the car industry which was an outpouring of nationalist flag-waving. We fight for: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Trade-union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists! What’s needed is a fight across national borders for jobs for all, as part of the struggle to sweep away capitalist rule.

The SLP manifesto refers to the miners strike of 1984-85, which was led by Scargill and was one of the greatest class battles Britain has ever seen. We Trotskyists draw the lessons from it for the British proletariat. On the eve of the strike, Gerry Healy’s Workers Revolutionary Party set up Scargill for a witch-hunt over his correct statement that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. And it

is notable that Healy’s favourite Labour politician was...Ken Livingstone. The miners strike took militant trade-union struggle as far as possible; it was sabotaged by the Labour Party and TUC [Trades Union Congress] tops. But Scargill remained tied to the Labour Party and the miners union fought alone. We sought to extend the strike to other unions, calling for miners, railworkers and dockers to shut down the country.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European deformed workers states was a catastrophe for working people there and internationally. U.S. and British imperialism are preparing the ground for war against the People’s Republic of China. The SLP manifesto “condemns the use of economic and political blockades or sanctions which are used by international

capitalism against countries—such as Cuba—that challenge the very basis of capitalism.” We call for the unconditional military defence of Cuba, as well as the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. We Trotskyists fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. The overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist heartlands is the best way to defend the existing workers states and to go forward to a world socialist society. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

No Vote to Gordon Potts! Cops Out of the Unions!

19 May—We learned today that the SLP is standing one Gordon Potts, a Probation Service tutor and activist in the National Association of Probation Officers cop “union,” as candidate for Newcastle upon Tyne Central. Probation officers, like police and prison guards, are part of the capitalist state—the bosses’ “bodies of armed men” for the preservation of capitalist property, exploitation and oppression. *They do not belong in the workers movement!* We say: *No vote to Gordon Potts!*

The SLP is running a supportable campaign drawing a class line against Blair’s anti-working-class New Labour. The Spartacist League is giving critical support to the SLP. But at the same time, standing Mr. Potts is a crystallised expression of the SLP’s “Clause IV” parliamentary reformism, which is based on the deadly illusion that the capitalist state, its parliament, cops, probation officers, etc., are “neutral” and can be used by the working class to achieve socialism. ■

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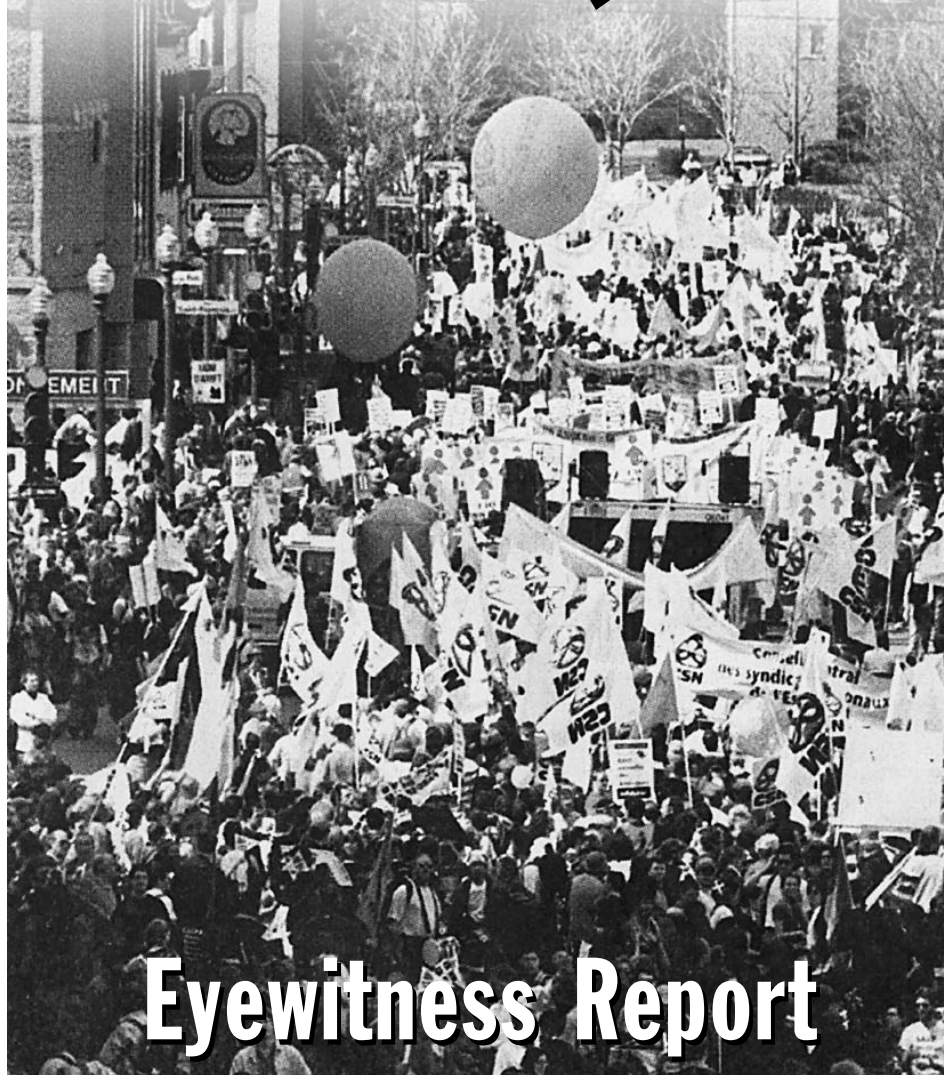
Mass Protests Against FTAA in Quebec

The following is Part One of a report based on a presentation given by Young Spartacus pages editor Anna Woodman at the Spartacist League Regional Educational in New York City on April 28.

A columnist wrote in last Saturday's issue of the Montreal *Gazette* that "perhaps the saddest thing about the large-scale protests this weekend at Quebec City's hemispheric summit is the harnessing of so much youthful idealism to the hoary right-wing warhorse of xenophobia." This is a good description of the national chauvinism that was cultivated by the union tops and social democrats who organized the People's Summit and the main march on Saturday, the March of the Americas. But among the estimated 60,000 to 70,000 protesters who were on the streets of Quebec City last weekend, there was also a palpable schism between the flag-waving patriots against globalization and leftist youth, typically identifying themselves as anarchists or anarcho-communists, who were questioning both the "peaceful, legal" tactics and the national-reformist politics of the mainstream organizers and in general wanted to make it known that they were in opposition to "the system," however they saw it.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is a continuation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, enacted in 1994, which we opposed as U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. That is starkly demonstrated today in the increased impoverishment and brutal conditions of the free trade zones. And it's not just there; we have noted that since 1994, prices for basic necessities rose over 400 percent in Mexico while real wages plummeted by some 25 percent and are barely two-thirds what they were 30 years ago. The new agreement would extend this to all of Latin America. Politically, the purpose of the FTAA is to shore up U.S., and secondarily Canadian, imperialist control of the various neocolonies and smaller capitalist states in Latin America and the Caribbean in the face of competition from rival imperialist powers in Europe and also Japan.

The FTAA is billed as yet another example of "globalization," which is described as a world system in which sovereign, supposedly "democratic" governments are undermined by the transnational corporations that control the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO) and World Bank. However, we have emphasized repeatedly that these transnational corporations do not and cannot operate outside of the nation-state system. They require their own capitalist national states to *protect* their operations abroad from popular opposition and rival capitalist states. Therefore, the imperialist states must maintain strong military forces and a corresponding domestic industrial base. In a leaflet put out by the Bay Area SYC to mobilize student protest against ROTC at Berkeley last weekend, we wrote that while the purpose of the FTAA is to deepen the domination of American cap-



Deschênes/Le Soleil

Drop All Charges Against Protesters!

ital over the economies of Latin America, "a contract is only worth as much as the guns that back it up."

In Quebec City

Protesters against the FTAA last weekend were mostly trade unionists and youth from Quebec, Ontario and Atlantic Canada, with a sizable number from the U.S. and a lesser number from Latin America and beyond. The entire weekend saw military confrontations between riot cops and thousands of youth. By the second day, the cops were indiscriminately firing tear gas, water cannon and plastic bullets at protesters in the vicinity of what was called the "wall" or the "perimeter"—the six-kilometer-long, three-meter-high fence erected around the city center where the Summit of the Americas was being held. There were many reports of extreme police brutality in the area. One protester is in critical condition after being shot in the throat with a plastic bullet. Another suffered eye injuries from shrapnel from an exploding tear gas canister. As we reported in an emergency defense statement issued by the Canadian Partisan Defense Committee on April 23, riot police tear-gassed and shut down a medical center, forcing

everyone out at gunpoint and stripping them of their medical supplies.

By the end of the weekend, well over 400 protesters had been arrested and detained, including a leader of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (or CLAC by its French initials), Jaggi Singh, who was seized by cops disguised as protesters while he was standing on the street and then thrown into an unmarked van. The experience was an object lesson in the reality that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized violence. As we wrote in the Partisan Defense Committee defense statement, "The massive police onslaught in Quebec City...has shown how the capitalist state is not neutral, but is the armed and dangerous defender of bourgeois property and order. If the scales fell from the eyes of many protesters with illusions in 'Canadian democracy' this weekend, that is all to the good." And it is a complete refutation of the anti-globalization movement leaders who push the illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of the working people and oppressed.

We noted in our statement for the protest printed in *Spartacist Canada* (No. 128, Spring 2001) that "capitalist oppression is rooted in exploitative property

relations defended by armed state power for the benefit of the dominant class. To fundamentally alter the lot of the overwhelming majority of humanity requires proletarian revolution to abolish private property and liquidate the bourgeoisie as a class." Our purpose in Quebec was to intervene with a proletarian revolutionary internationalist perspective, explaining that only the proletariat has the potential power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy. As Marxists we understand that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle of labor against capital. We want to smash capitalism, not "reject" it as some of the more left-wing protesters proclaimed was their intention. While many anarchists claim to oppose capitalism, they deny the need for the victorious working class to organize its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend *its* freedom, *its* democracy, *its* rights against reaction. Only a workers state, organized and armed to suppress the resistance of the old regime, can open the road to a classless, communist society. And to be able to realize this power, the proletariat must become conscious of its historic task. This can only be done through the agency of a revolutionary party that is founded on Marxist theory and dedicated to advancing the interests of the working class.

So to this end, a lot of our political discussions with leftist youth were about how the organizers of the mainstream protests—the trade-union leadership, Canadian nationalists and various self-described "socialist" groups—actually seek to prettify the capitalist state, in fact defending what they term Canadian "democracy" against "corporate globalization," or even just against George Bush. For example, a leaflet for a teach-in by a coalition called Mobilization for Global Justice, which prominently includes reformist left groups like the Canadian International Socialists (recently split from the American International Socialist Organization), begins: "The FTAA is a trade agreement that will overrule our democratic power, and will eliminate many of the things that make this country one of the best places to live in the world." As we remarked in *Spartacist Canada*, tell that to Native people or refugees! The implications of such politics are to amnesty the crimes of the brutal ruling classes of the imperialist countries and to cover up or even push for increased imperialist forays worldwide.

There was a vast range of political opinion present at the protests, and our front-page headline in *Spartacist Canada*, "The Main Enemy Is the Capitalist Class at Home!", was therefore quite polarizing. It raises the need to fight to bring the social power of the working class to bear against the imperialist rulers, in the struggle for state power, as the only way to end the depredations of capitalism.

Many youth we spoke to thought of themselves as being pro-working class, but they also argued that whatever the leadership of the demonstrations, the fact

that so many people were out was enough, that just building a large protest was in itself a progressive act. The next argument would often be that the best way to effect change within society is to “work within the community.” These politics reflect a kind of bewilderment about political reality, which was expressed in several comments that protesters made to me that “this kind” of capitalism is bad and harmful, but that there’s no realistic way to reorganize society, so we should just look to change people’s minds about things little by little and as long as enough people voice “opposition” to the decisions of the leaders, things will change.

A youth I spoke with at Laval University on Saturday night, where many of the protesters were staying, said that he perfectly well understood that globalization is just an expression of capitalism, and that what’s needed is socialist revolution, but that more immediately the “movement” must do community outreach. He cited the example that people who live in Old Quebec had been taking protesters who were suffering from exposure to the tear gas into their homes, and he argued that the next thing should be to go back to the community rather than continue “summit-hopping.” Even the left wing of the protest had a profoundly idealistic view of politics—that is, that social



Villeneuve/Le Soleil

Over 400 protesters were arrested during the course of the protests; police brutality was rampant.

change is simply a matter of changing pervasive social attitudes. The ideas in people’s heads are those inculcated by the ruling class through various means—i.e., the family, schools, religion—in order to preserve their class rule. Racial and sexual oppression and oppression of the working people of the world are not a matter of bad ideas; they are materially rooted in a *system* that is based on exploitation and oppression. Our goal is to change that material reality.

The left anarchists like CLAC oppose the vicious protectionism pushed by the labor bureaucracy, yet they hark back to the “battle of Seattle,” the protests against the WTO in 1999, as the spirit of leftist radicalism that must be recaptured. The main demand of that protest was that Clinton’s Democratic Party administration pressure the WTO into adopting and enforcing an international code of labor and environmental standards. In other words, the U.S. should use the threat of putting up tariffs to dictate the economic policies of neocolonial countries like Mexico and Indonesia. The Seattle mobilization was politically dominated by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which staged an orgy of anti-Communist China-bashing. They denounced “slave labor” in China and symbolically dumped a load of Chi-

nese steel in the harbor. This racist protectionism would hardly look like a demonstration of leftist radicalism to Chinese steel workers, for example.

On Friday we went to the Carnival Against Capitalism organized by CLAC. This began with a rally at Laval University, which is west of Old Quebec where the Summit of the Americas was held. Several hours before the march was to take off, there were thousands of youth milling around. The event was targeted toward the more left-leaning part of the overall crowd, but the politics were all over the map. So one banner read, “FTAA ‘Democracy’ Clause—Trojan Horse for Imperialism” while another read “Canada 1867-2005—It Was Fun,” referring to the founding of the country and the proposed date of implementation of the FTAA—i.e., patriotic defense of the country.

The Carnival began with a march of about 5,000 youth. There was immediately a split in the demo between pacifist types of a group called GOMM, or Group Against Market Globalization, and CLAC. A few months ago, CLAC walked out of a joint coalition with the likes of GOMM because the latter insisted they renounce all “violence.” This march made clear who has the upper hand: the split went four to one in CLAC’s favor and about 4,000 proceeded on a five-kilometer march along Rue René-Lévesque toward the infamous cop barricade. Several blocks before the wall, CLAC called on all those who did not want to risk arrest to veer to the left to go to a safer area. Fewer than a dozen went.

By this point it was impossible to tell how big the demo was, as it spread out into side streets. There were several thousand youth milling up and down Rue St-Jean, a classic Quebec City street winding down a small incline, narrow and cobblestoned. We spent a few hours selling papers hand over fist and left after a large part of the youth dispersed when the area was attacked with tear gas. This was after some protesters breached the fence for the first time (it was breached twice on Saturday). Then the riot police went into a frenzy. By the end of the day, they had used their entire stock of tear gas and had to ask the Ontario police for more. Early on, cops disguised as protesters had arrested Jaggi Singh.

When we asked youth what they thought of the politics of the demo, most would start describing the debate about tactics, counterposing confrontations with the cops to lobbying bourgeois politicians. But at bottom, without challenging the rule of these politicians, these confrontations are simply the streetfighting face of reformism. As we emphasized in our statement in defense of the arrested protesters, the perpetrator of violence last weekend was the capitalist state. Of course the mainstream media was on overdrive in the lead-up to the protests, demonizing anarchists and other demonstrators as “violent.” And revoltingly, they were echoed by some protest organizers and even “leftists.” For example, Socialist Action raved in its Canadian press about the “hooliganism of a few adventurers” and did not call to defend the youth against the capitalist state!

Also on Friday were sessions of the People’s Summit. This was organized by the union tops and social democrats who wouldn’t go anywhere near the Carnival Against Capitalism. The Summit’s Friday teach-in was the biggest advertised event, so it drew some leftist students and young workers. The chair of the event was Naomi Klein, prominent anti-globalization spokesman known for her book *No Logo*. This was largely a mainstream crowd, far to the right of the anarchoid youth gathered elsewhere.

Labor Tops Push National Chauvinism

On Saturday, the same groups behind the People’s Summit organized the main legal demonstration, the March of the Americas. Around 50,000 people showed

Nationalist defense of Canada’s “democracy” from the U.S. was a common theme at trade-union dominated March of the Americas, April 21.



Young Spartacus

up, including busloads of unionists from all over Quebec and English Canada. There was a real desire among the base of the trade unions to go to the wall to back up the youth who were rallying there. Leaders of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) put out a statement announcing that they would do so, and CUPE leader Sid Ryan briefly did lead a contingent up the hill away from the main march, but came back saying the tear gas was too intense. The left-posturing Canadian Auto Workers union tops acknowledged pressure from the base and also demanded that the march route be changed. But this got shot down and the demo snaked through deserted side streets in exactly the opposite direction from where thousands of youth were facing down near-continuous volleys of tear gas.

It was obvious that there was nothing the Canadian Labour Congress and its Quebec affiliate, the FTQ, feared more that morning than 50,000 workers marching up the hill to join the young protesters. When CLAC’s Anti-Capitalist Contingent of several hundred tried to enter the march, they were blocked by a squad of FTQ goons. CLAC was eventually allowed in at the tail end. Then when the tear gas attacks at the wall became so intense that clouds of it could be seen rising from the cliffs of the Old City and just being downwind of it was extremely painful, several thousand people started splitting off to join the other protesters in solidarity. The FTQ marshals tried, not always successfully, to restrain them physically. Protesters denounced the FTQ for “being in the pocket of the government.” It was almost eerie, but the cops were nowhere in evidence on this march, as they allowed the union bureaucracy to do the job for them.

Here was a concrete example of the labor bureaucracy as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. In his 1916 book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explained the material basis for the role of the labor bureaucracy:

“The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a

given industry or a given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created a bond between imperialism and opportunism.”

Lenin described how Cecil Rhodes, infamous millionaire proponent of British imperialism, stated frankly in 1895 after observing a meeting in London’s East End of disgruntled, hungry workers: “If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.”

The bureaucracy is part of a privileged sector of the working class bought off by the profits extracted from imperialist exploitation of the rest of the world, and it ropes the workers into defense of the national interests of their “own” bourgeoisie. Lenin described how the labor bureaucracy plays a key role in maintaining the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

So when the trade-union bureaucrats speak against “globalization,” they are talking about global corporations supposedly usurping control from national states. This is in line with their essentially nationalist program, which serves their role of policing the labor movement on behalf of the national interests of their “own” ruling class. It is spelled out in their protectionist calls. In the lead-up to the Quebec protests, Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove was campaigning to “save jobs” by offering up his members as a low-wage alternative to foreign labor. In the U.S., this finds expression in anti-Mexican racism. So it was an encouraging sign that at a sympathy demonstration with the Quebec City protests at the British Columbia-Washington border, demonstrators had ripped up some of the printed signs that the U.S. Teamsters bureaucracy had mass-produced saying, “Mexican Truckers Off Our Roads.” One of the signs was marked up, with the word “racist” and swastikas written on it.

Nationalism is poison to the workers movement because it sets workers of one country against workers of another country and obscures the reality that the main enemy is the capitalist rulers at home, not other workers. The labor bureaucrats cultivate this poisonous attitude among workers. The Quebec demo featured

continued on page 11

Trade-union marshals of the FTQ (Quebec affiliate of Canadian Labor Congress) at March of the Americas attempted to enforce division between official march and Anti-Capitalist Contingent.

Laroche/Le Soleil



Sit-In Protests Sweatshop Wages at Harvard

The three-week sit-in by the Progressive Student Labor Movement (PSLM) at Harvard University this spring focused international attention on the poverty wages this filthy rich elite private university pays its workers. "Hey Harvard, you've got cash, why do you pay your workers trash?" chanted students occupying the president's office in Massachusetts Hall, as they noted Harvard's \$20 billion endowment. The obscenely huge gap between the ostentatious wealth at the top and the growing pool of desperately poor at the bottom of American society has led to new student support to workers rights.

Far less national attention went to another Boston sit-in, at Northeastern University, where black students exploded in protest at the administration's plans to raze the historic John D. O'Bryant African-American Institute. Meanwhile, at working-class Roxbury Community College, the largely black student body has had to resort to protests for even basic services like sufficient supplies of toilet paper. These demonstrations starkly reflect a growing national pattern of renewed attacks on blacks and minorities. The forcible subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism, and either the struggles for black rights and labor rights will go forward together or they will fall back separately. The Spartacus Youth Club fights to win students—from Harvard, Northeastern, RCC and throughout Boston—to a perspective of black liberation through socialist revolution.

The SYC joined Living Wage rallies at Harvard, supporting the fight for higher wages and better working conditions for Harvard's workers, largely blacks and immigrants, many of whom hold down two jobs just to get by. We actively solidarized with the building occupation and sought to engage militant students with our revolutionary Marxist program. We militantly oppose any reprisals against the student protesters. The PSLM's stand for a higher standard of living for Harvard workers is laudable, but a student campaign to pressure the administration will not succeed. A university whose "experts" have braintrused, and whose graduates have carried out, the immiseration—and occasionally annihilation—of workers across the world, Harvard will only pay a "living wage" when forced to through hard class struggle.

So who won? On May 8, Harvard students ended their sit-in as finals were to begin, when the administration, which at first insisted the issue was closed, agreed to set up yet another committee to further study the matter, to discuss contract issues with some Harvard unions, and halt any further subcontracting. The students had vowed not to come out until every Harvard worker, including those in subcontracted jobs, got a guaranteed \$10.25 an hour "living wage" (the rate used by the city of Cambridge).

Thoughtful activists must be wondering: if the worst-off workers didn't actually get any more money—which they didn't—then why is the PSLM being effusively praised as "Harvard's heroes" by everyone from the AFL-CIO to the *New York Times* to Democratic Party politicians like Teddy Kennedy (espe-



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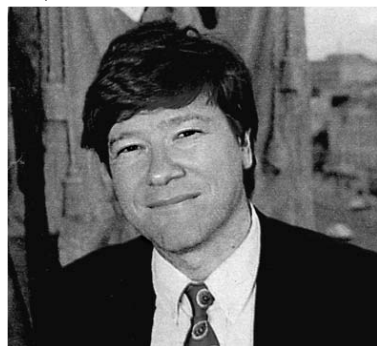
April 19 rally in Harvard Yard in support of PSLM sit-in for "living wage" for Harvard workers. Students occupying Massachusetts Hall on day seven of sit-in (right).

cially as they were coaxed out of the administration's offices). Still the ultimate seal of approval in this heavily Catholic city, even the Archdiocese of Boston weighed in with a favorable editorial on the "moral category" of the living wage. The new committee is a clear attempt to co-opt any further radical struggle by putting a couple of token student and union representatives on a review board whose final "recommendations" aren't even due until December.

Nonetheless, the sit-in created a potentially explosive situation, with growing and embarrassing media coverage, especially when dining hall workers voted a strike authorization, and workers began coming out in mass rallies. So it's no wonder that as commencement neared and strike fever began to catch on, the "big boys" moved in to ease the students out. AFL-CIO officials were inside hammering out an agreement, as if it were a national steel strike that might get out of hand. On May 17, the dining hall workers union leadership agreed to a five-year contract which allows up to 10 percent of labor hours to be outsourced and maintains the two-tier system which lets Harvard pay workers less than \$10.25 an hour for their first year of work.

In this class-divided country, the bourgeoisie is content to let millions of working-class youth and minorities sit in schools that are no more than holding pens policed by armed guards. The bourgeoisie has claimed all human culture, science and knowledge as its exclusive possession. We fight to open it up to all humanity. The achievements of science and culture must be made available to workers and the oppressed. Harvard

Pohl/NY Times



Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs helped braintrust counterrevolutions in Poland and USSR. Right: Moscow street market. Restoration of capitalism has brought terrible immiseration to working people.



AP

workers and their sons and daughters should have full access to *all* the educational benefits Harvard offers, as well as stipends and benefits. We are for free, quality integrated public education for all, and call for nationalizing all the private universities. Down with racist assaults on affirmative action! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there!

"Harvard Community" Illusions

In part what caged any potential explosion was the illusions of the PSLM itself in the moral "high ground" of this bastion of white upper-class privilege. Seeing the plight of Harvard workers as a blight on the venerable institution's good name, the strategy of the PSLM was to shame the administration into accepting their demands. So, speaking of the administration's earlier stonewalling of their demands, the PSLM remarked, "These are simple ideas, and we find it morally shameful for the richest university in the world to dance around them" (Response of the Harvard Living Wage Campaign to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Employment Policies, 6 May 2000).

Sit-in rallies frequently evoked the sup-

posedly inviolable "Harvard community." What the "Harvard community" means to the administration was graphically described during a 1968 strike for AFL-CIO recognition, when striking workers were told, "You are no longer part of the Harvard family." To Harvard, the workers there are part of the community only so long as they know their place and are grateful for the scraps off the master's table.

The PSLM believes that the capitalist state can be made truly democratic. Local and national Democratic Party politicians were featured at the daily support rallies, where AFL-CIO leaders like John Sweeney and Richard Trumka joined in, giving this capitalist party of racism and war a platform to play up its credentials as the "friends of labor." Of course there was no mention that it was the Democrat Clinton who ended "welfare as we know it," throwing thousands of people off the welfare rolls and forcing them into just such low-paying jobs in a desperate attempt to feed

their families. We say: Labor must break with the Democrats and Republicans—For a revolutionary workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

The PSLM also embraced security guards as part of the working class. On Harvard's outsourcing of jobs, they wrote, "An egregious case is that of Harvard's security guards, whose ranks have been cut from roughly 120 to 18 by outsourcing, and whose union has been decimated in the process" (Why We Are Sitting In, Press Packet—Harvard Living Wage Campaign [2001]). Security guards, far from being part of the working class, are the hired thugs of the capitalists. Their history is one of defending private property by breaking the backs of workers struggles and *busting unions*! The venal bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO officialdom, who welcome cops and prison guards into the labor movement, wrote at the end of the sit-in, "on behalf of the people who work every day at Harvard we congratulate all involved in today's announcement—the administration, faculties, alumni, students, and Harvard's police officers—for a job well done" (Statement of Harvard unions, Massachusetts and national AFL-CIO, 8 May 2001).

Taking their cue from this, the PSLM thanked the very cops who were stationed

Reiser/Bilderberg



U. of Chicago Protest Against Apologist for Slavery

“David Horowitz, Racist Tool of the Bourgeoisie”

We reprint below a May 29 leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club following the protest we led against Horowitz at the University of Chicago on May 8.

David Horowitz’s grotesquely misnamed “Freedom Tour” has as much to do with “free speech” as the Afghani Taliban has to do with “freedom fighting.” His campaign is part of a nationwide racist offensive by the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses, while black students were excluded altogether. And he’s using “free speech” as a cover for this racist witchhunt. His appearance at the University of Chicago on May 8 was a calculated *provocation*. “Discussion” was limited to written questions pre-selected by the president of the College Republicans. When a member of the Organization of Black Students simply said to Horowitz, “You wish to make us voiceless,” armed campus cops grabbed her and unsuccessfully tried to drag her out of the hall as she clung to her chair. Another black female student was actually physically ejected from the event. As his charade unraveled, Horowitz outrageously ranted from the podium that these were “intellectual terrorists” comparable to Nazi fascists!

Horowitz seeks to intimidate leftists and minorities into silence while attempting to disseminate his racist views and make them more widely accepted. When he brought his tour to U of C, the Spartacus Youth Club initiated a united-front protest under the slogan:



Young Spartacus Spartacus Youth Club-initiated protest against racist ideologue David Horowitz at University of Chicago, May 8.

“Protest David Horowitz, Racist Ideologue!” More than 30 anti-racists joined our picket line—the *only* venue for free speech on campus that night—which fought to *refute* Horowitz’s racist bigotry and to defend free speech rights for leftists, radicals and black and minority students.

The self-styled socialist organization Spark sent a representative who joined the picket line. This stands in stark contrast to their politics. For example, Spark disgustingly claims that the Con-

federate flag of slavery is a “symbol of the South’s resistance to regional domination by the North” (*Spark*, 24 January 2000). Noticeably absent from the protest was the politically bankrupt International Socialist Organization, which fervently raises the call to “fight the right,” portraying the racist capitalist Democratic Party as an alternative to the Republicans. When the right reared its head at U of C, these “fighters” refused to join the *only* organized protest against Horowitz.

there to arrest them if they got out of line (though of course the sons and daughters of the ruling class got preferential treatment as usual). On May 9 at New York City’s Hostos Community College in the South Bronx, students protesting class cutbacks were seized and threatened by NYPD cops whose job is to terrorize the overwhelmingly Latino and black community. “At Harvard, you’re allowed to sit in the president’s office for three weeks, and I guess you get tea and crumpets,” noted an angry lawyer for the mauled Hostos students. We say: Cops and security guards out of the unions! Cops off campus!

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Common among students is the view that the exploited working class is just another oppressed sector of society. In fact, the working class produces the vast majority of the wealth of society, and therefore wields the sort of immense social power that students can only dream of, the power to shut down production and freeze the profits of the capitalists. It is precisely this social power that gives the working class its position as *the class* capable of liberating not only itself but all of those who chafe under the oppression of modern capitalist society. It is in fact a power capable of overthrowing capitalism itself.

Essential to the power of the working class are its numbers and organization, which is why the SYC calls for the organization of *one campus-wide union* of faculty, employed graduate students and workers at colleges and universities. The Harvard administration is well aware of this power. In the 1974 merger with Harvard’s auxiliary women’s college, Radcliffe, they stipulated that Radcliffe employees (who were organized in one

union) would have their union broken up along the lines of the Harvard craft constituencies.

When John Sweeney came in as AFL-CIO president, a new program called “Union Summer” sought to steer idealistic youth interested in labor rights into safe channels. Sweeney’s “social justice” talk is designed to provide a useful cover for the real content of the AFL-CIO’s program: pressuring the government and the capitalist Democratic Party to occasionally grant a few concessions to keep the lid on social explosions. A lot of early Union Summer activists who hoped to organize workers found themselves used for just another voter registration drive for the Democratic Party.

The trade-union tops faithfully carry out the interests of the capitalist class, with whom they feel they have more in common than with rank-and-file workers. Daniel De Leon, one of America’s early Marxists, aptly described the union bureaucracy as “labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.” For example, during the Seattle protests in 1999 against the World Trade Organization, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy manipulated liberal student youth (whose concern for global poverty is mixed with illusions in the “democratic” facade of the American state) for their own reactionary ends: chauvinist trade protectionism and anti-Communist China-bashing. These were the same policies that sections of the bourgeoisie were pursuing.

Unions in this country were built in opposition to the bosses’ cops and courts. Strikes were virtual wars. Picketing was organized on a mass basis to keep out scabs. Other unions didn’t cross picket lines. These militant tactics are what the AFL-CIO today seeks to replace with consumer boycotts and “corporate cam-

paigns.” What really got the Harvard administration nervous was the potential for united workers *strikes* combining with growing student and community support all targeting Harvard. That’s why Sweeney and the AFL-CIO jumped in to “negotiate” the PSLM out of Mass Hall. And you’d better believe all the local Cambridge politicians and Teddy Kennedy will be coming around next election time asking for student support.

The power wielded by these careerists can be easily shattered by a new eruption of class struggle. A fight for even the most basic right of workers—to a job at decent pay—leads in the direction of challenging the capitalist profit system, as the struggle at Harvard should demonstrate. We Marxists seek to fight within the working class and among students to build a multiracial workers party that can revitalize the workers movement and lead future struggles to victory. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing with us in the Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student-youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement.

Workers World and Progressive Labor: The Tail and the Donkey

Acting to rein in militant workers and students at the PSLM rallies were the so-called “socialists” of Workers World and Progressive Labor. The *Workers World* front-page coverage (May 10) consists of nothing more than enthusiastic journalism, reading more like student reports of their summer vacations than a left-wing press. What’s *not* written gives their politics away: their article contains not one criticism of either the Democratic Party or the trade-union bureaucracy; this is in keeping with their politics of seeking to

Horowitz is not some individual nutcase or fringe element. He is well connected to and funded by some big-time right-wing forces, including in the upper echelons of the Republican Party. The inauguration of the Bush administration doubtless encourages the likes of Horowitz while fueling racist intimidation on the campuses. Earlier this month, students at Penn State staged a sit-in to protest death threats directed at black students. At Northeastern University in Boston, multiracial protests erupted against the campus administration’s plans to raze the African-American Institute building.

Our protest against Horowitz was part of our effort to win youth to the cause of black freedom. That’s why we emphasized at the protest the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose frame-up throws into sharp relief the whole nature of racist American capitalism. The SYC fights to build a youth organization to intervene on the campuses with a revolutionary program and to combat every manifestation of racial oppression and discrimination. American capitalism is based on the forcible subjugation of black people at the bottom of society. What is needed is a revolutionary multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through integration in a socialist society. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten capitalist system and open the door to human freedom.

reform capitalism through pressuring the powers that be. This becomes especially clear with a Republican president in office, as these fake “lefts” go into high gear building “fight the right” protests against Bush in the service of Democratic Party electoralism.

Progressive Labor (PL) puts on a much more militant face, even going so far as to call for a campus-wide strike to shut down Harvard and criticizing the venal labor bureaucrats like Sweeney. In a leaflet they put out for the sit-in, they denounce Harvard’s “outsourcing jobs to non-union companies.” One would hardly guess from this sentence that PL sometimes denounces the unions as run by fascists (meaning in their logic that unions are actually the enemy of workers), but in the same leaflet they label Sweeney and Trumka “liberal fascists.” Another example of this was their dismissal of the powerful 1997 UPS strike as “mainly a battle between two sets of bosses” (*Challenge*, 24 September 1997). PL reinforces backward consciousness in the working class, for example in its capitulation to anti-gay bigotry.

From Vietnam to Mexico to Poland: Victims of “Veritas”

The secretive and dictatorial Harvard Corporation is an inbred brotherhood of prigs which runs Harvard as a training ground for the bourgeoisie’s most highly paid servants and academic prostitutes in the White House, Congress, banking, law and other professions so necessary to disguising and furthering naked capitalist repression.

Of course the Yard is fertile recruiting ground for even the most filthy jobs. “We always do well at Harvard,” as a CIA recruiter put it. The SDS seizure of

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Harvard...

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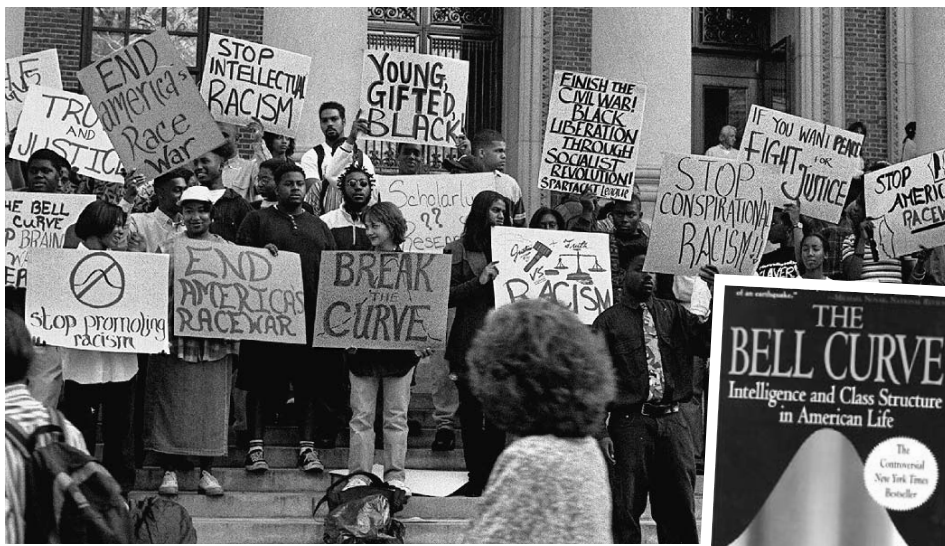
University Hall in 1969, protesting the Vietnam War, also uncovered evidence of the CIA's understandings with the gentlemen of Harvard, as radical students "liberated" documents confirming links between Harvard's Center for International Affairs and other departments with the CIA and State Department. It's no surprise to us that the most prestigious university in the U.S. has links to the ruling class' Murder, Inc. The administration, stung by the revelations, unleashed hundreds of cops to brutally beat and arrest the students sitting in back then.

While we Marxists hailed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam as a victory for the Vietnamese working people and an inspiration to struggle around the world, Harvard men were busy running a large part of U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing Vietnam War. In 1942, Harvard professor Louis Fieser invented napalm, employed by U.S. imperialism in World War II, the Korean War, and with horrific effect in Vietnam in burning children to death. That operation was carried out by Nixon's Dr. Strangelove, Harvard professor Henry Kissinger and his gang of war criminals. The torching and mass bombing of Vietnamese villages was what Harvard professor Samuel Huntington thought to describe as "accelerated urbanization" and "economic development." Development Harvard style, certainly.

Harvard is a proud anti-Communist bastion. Professor Richard Pipes is infamous for his deranged anti-Soviet screeds. In the 1980s, Harvard (along with apartheid South Africa) was a haven for anti-Soviet Polish ideologues seeking a launching pad to restore capitalism in East Europe and the USSR. Jeffrey Sachs, director of Harvard's Center for International Development, was the brains behind the "free market" misery, poverty, hunger and spiraling unemployment that marked the Solidarność government's capitalist austerity "shock treatment" in Poland in the early 1990s (earlier, AFL-CIO bureaucrats funneled millions in U.S. dollars to Solidarność).

In 1985, Sachs, a pre-eminent advocate of "free market" capitalism, was an economic adviser to the right-wing regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia. His advice on how to end hyperinflation there was to slash wages and state subsidies for food, and fire two-thirds of the tin miners, many of whom were reduced to begging on the streets. Sachs' strategy was to crush the tin miners, the most combative and class-conscious proletariat in all of Latin America. Sachs and his boys brain-trusted the capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union which impoverished millions of workers. Today, Sachs says, he worries "not that there are too many sweatshops but that there are too few" (*New York Times*, 22 June 1997). **This** is Harvard's answer to demands for a living wage.

And back in the "good old days" of unabashed white Aryan racism, Harvard president Lowell served proudly as the vice president of the Immigration Restriction League (the name is self-explanatory). Lowell also formed the



Young Spartacus

Black student protest at Harvard University, November 1994, against racist pseudo-science of Harvard prof Herrnstein's *The Bell Curve*.

"review" committee which sent framed-up anarchist labor militants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti to their execution in Massachusetts' electric chair in 1927. Just another Harvard service for the ruling class.

Racism: Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism

Since American capitalism has, from its inception, been based on the oppression of black people, beginning in outright slavery, it is no surprise that Harvard is a big proponent of "master race" theories, while closing its ivied gates to all but a few black students. This spring black students and others protested racist assertions by professor Harvey Mansfield that a supposed "influx of black undergraduates" had caused artificial grade inflation. (Actually, Harvard's grades take a dive every time another rich boy Kennedy political hustler enrolls—JFK himself was a classic Harvard product, who as president contracted the Mafia to hustle women and assassinate Cuba's Fidel Castro.)

Racism at Harvard goes way back. Almost 30 years ago former professor Daniel Patrick Moynihan blamed the black family for the oppression of blacks, as justification for his "benign neglect" program to further grind down the ghetto poor and cut social services. The infamous Klitgaard report came out in 1980. Written by a special assistant to then-president Bok, it claimed that since black students were academically inferior they'd be better off at "lesser" institutions where they'd have a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality" once they stopped trying to fit in with the rich white folks. Richard Herrnstein's 1994 racist tract, *The Bell Curve*, written when he was head of Harvard's psychology department, promoted pseudo-scientific garbage to "prove" blacks were genetically inferior to whites.

All this racist "scholarship" is a slightly cleaned-up version of the crude assaults of reactionary demagogues like David Horowitz, whose racist ads in campus newspapers across the country this spring were part of a national drive by the right against blacks and leftists on campus. Elite campuses are being turned into overwhelmingly lily-white institutions where racists and other retrograde jerks think they can act with impunity, while affirmative action rollbacks, escalating tuition costs and racist cutbacks have proliferated everywhere, as the Roxbury and Northeastern University protests reveal.

"We've been lied to for so many years," the president of Northeastern's Black Student Association said, explaining why after a month of sit-ins to save the school's African-American Institute, on May 10 furious students chased off campus the cowardly Northeastern president Freeland, who had refused to meet with them to announce plans to raze the building. Declining black enrollment at Northeastern reflects the bitter fruit of decades of capitalist assaults on the lim-

ited gains of the civil rights movement, especially here in Boston, where the 1970s defeat of school busing was a severe setback for black rights everywhere.

The Executive Committee of the Capitalist Class: "Toxic Waste" Summers and His Banker Boss Rubin

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the state as the "executive committee" of the capitalist class as a whole. The Harvard Corporation's job is to train those executives. Prime examples: Harvard's new president Lawrence Summers and his former boss Robert E. Rubin, head of the Wall Street megabank Citigroup. Summers, former vice presi-



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League at October 1980 protest against Harvard's racist Klitgaard report, which recommended that black students attend "lesser" universities.

dent and chief economist of the World Bank, was Clinton's secretary of the treasury following his boss Rubin's resignation. While at the World Bank, Summers expressed his utter contempt for the world's poor in a memo exploring the economic benefits of dumping toxic waste in Third World countries, as the PSLM cleverly pointed out.

This spring's 350th commencement speaker, Robert E. Rubin, was chosen as a sterling example to the sons and daughters of the ruling class. At least one protest is already planned against this capitalist executive, by Native American Indian students protesting Rubin's role as treasury secretary, when 162 boxes of documents were destroyed that contained evidence of the Department of the Interior's cheating Native Americans living on reservations out of billions of dollars (Rubin was charged with civil contempt of court in the case).

Rubin, the former Goldman Sachs chairman, stepped in as Clinton's treasury secretary to engineer the \$50 billion "bailout" of Mexico's debt in 1995—that is to say, he ensured that Wall Street and the imperialist bankers would get paid off on their bloodsucking loans, while driving Mexico's poor and working people ever

deeper into poverty and unemployment. Then he hopped back to Wall Street as Citigroup's chairman, while extracting a farewell gift from the Clinton administration of legislation allowing banks, securities firms and insurance companies to merge with each other on a freewheeling scale not seen since the 1929 stock market crash. And now the latest pay-off: this May, Citigroup announced that it will buy the second-largest bank in Mexico, Banamex, for \$12.5 billion. A lesson to youth in how the rich get richer. And **that** is why Harvard pays its workers trash.

For World Socialist Revolution!

Does all this make anyone out there gag with disgust? Then you might as well be a Bolshevik, because you can't really side with the workers without breaking with the bosses—and that means breaking with all their academic prostitutes and front men at Harvard. To fight them requires understanding this and a strategy to mobilize the working class to defeat them. As freed slave and militant abolitionist Frederick Douglass put it, "Power concedes nothing without a demand," and a demand is only as good as the force which backs it. The moral suasion of students, no matter how well intentioned, is not such a force, but the power of the working class is.

We have no illusions that we will actually see Harvard nationalized this side of the socialist revolution. What we are looking for at Harvard are a few good class traitors, like John Reed, from the class of '10. Reed broke from the Harvard elite to become a lifelong partisan of the international working-class struggle. He was in Russia at the time of the

1917 Bolshevik Revolution, when the working class seized power in the first and only successful workers revolution in history, and wrote what is to this day one of the most powerful popular accounts of it, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. For us, the Bolshevik Revolution was the opening shot in the continuing battle for workers control of the world. Upon returning home, Reed was a founder of the American Communist Party, dedicated to destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to intervene into all social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We seek to mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class. Our purpose is to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party essential for the victory of socialist revolution. If you want to fight for the rights of the working class, for an end to the racism and sexism that is inherent in capitalist society, then you should join us in the fight for international socialist revolution! ■

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Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

Beverly confessed that he had been “hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner” because Faulkner reportedly “was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.” Beverly went on to state that police officers were present in the vicinity when Faulkner was shot on 9 December 1981. “I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me.”

The prosecution and its local media mouthpieces claim it is “ridiculous” that Beverly could have been hired by cops or the mob to kill Faulkner. Although lie detector tests are certainly not fool-proof, they are routinely used by police and government agencies and are admissible in many courts. It is notable that the prosecution is attempting to discredit Beverly as an inveterate liar with the claim that he failed two lie detector tests. But like every prosecution fabrication that preceded it, this new lie was blown away on May 29 when Mumia’s lawyers submitted Beverly’s actual polygraph reports. According to an affidavit of polygraph expert Dr. Charles Honts, he administered two lie detector tests in 1999 and concluded Beverly was being



Revolutionary Contingent at May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco. Mobilize labor/black power to fight for Mumia’s freedom!

truthful each time. The *only* time Beverly was being deceptive was when he *denied* being the one who shot Faulkner. Honts also concluded that an earlier test performed by another examiner was “irremediably flawed and without probative value.”

Yet while trying to dismiss Beverly as a liar, the D.A. has sought a blanket ruling knocking his confession out of court and barring Jamal’s attorneys from taking Beverly’s oral deposition—a simple but essential step to preserve his testimony, given that Beverly is a marked man to the forces who hired him to kill Faulkner. If they really believed Beverly

Quebec working class increasingly into support for bourgeois nationalism, which is particularly fostered by the Quebec labor bureaucrats.

There was also a contingent of the Parti Québécois, which rules Quebec and whose government was meting out the repression only a few blocks away. This did not go unnoticed; protesters in the CLAC contingent chanted, “Parti Québécois, parti bourgeois!” Many of the Québécois youth we spoke with were militantly anti-nationalist. Seeing that it was the nationalist Parti Québécois government that was unleashing the cops, and more generally oppressing minorities, youth and workers, they would sharply disagree with our call for Quebec independence. But some would agree once we motivated it, explaining that this was a way to really fight Anglo-chauvinism and nationalism among the working class, allowing the workers of both nations to see that their real enemy is their own bourgeois rulers and getting the national question off the agenda. For both English-speaking and Québécois youth, it was a new thing to consider a perspective of splitting the working class from its chauvinist leadership to forge proletarian class unity and a revolutionary course.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



November 1999 Seattle protest against WTO featured protectionist China-bashing. Anarchists of CLAC oppose protectionism, yet hark back to Seattle as spirit of leftist radicalism to be recaptured.

was lying, the prosecutors would want the opportunity of cross-examination afforded by a deposition.

At the time Faulkner was shot, Philadelphia cops were the subject of no less than three FBI investigations, and police brass were hysterical about the possibility of informants. Among the targets were James Carlini, head of homicide; John DeBenedetto, Chief of the Central Division where Faulkner worked; and Inspector Alphonse Giordano, the senior cop at the scene of Faulkner’s shooting. The federal probes ultimately led to the convictions of over two dozen cops, including DeBenedetto and Giordano. Carlini was an unindicted co-conspirator. After testifying against DeBenedetto, one FBI informant was gunned down and an ex-cop linked to Giordano was named as a suspect in the murder. Now Beverly’s account of Faulkner’s killing has been backed up by the “Straight Scoop” columnist in the *Philadelphia New Observer* (16 May), who reported: “I heard this very, same story over a month before the local media released it. The sad tale came from a cop who works a downtown detail.”

Beverly’s account was also buttressed by the affidavit filed on May 4 of Jamal’s brother, Billy Cook, who reported that his partner, Kenneth “Poppi” Freeman, was a passenger in Cook’s VW when it was pulled over by Faulkner the night of the shooting. While Billy was looking in the back of the car for his owner’s registration, Freeman got out of the VW, shots were fired and then Freeman was gone. “Later Poppi talked about a plan to kill Faulkner,” Cook said. “He told me that he was armed on that night and participated in the shooting.” Cook’s friend Arnold Howard testified at Jamal’s 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing that he had loaned Freeman his driver’s license the night of the killing; that license was found on Faulkner’s body. Howard also reported that Freeman said he’d been present at the scene of the shooting.

Indeed, Beverly’s account is corroborated in numerous ways. Beverly asserts that he and another man were hired to shoot Faulkner; no less than five witnesses during Mumia’s 1982 trial and subsequent post-conviction hearings said they saw one or more black males flee the scene of the shooting. Beverly says that he shot Faulkner and then “*Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene.*” After debriefing the cops on the scene that night, homicide officers told the medical examiner’s office that Jamal was shot by “arriving police reinforcements.” But at the trial, the prosecution claimed Jamal was shot by Faulkner in self-defense.

A centerpiece of the prosecution’s case in 1982 was the claim that Jamal yelled out a “confession” when he was taken to the hospital for treatment of his near-fatal gunshot wound. The supposed “confession” was only raised by cops *two months after* that night. The cop assigned to guard Jamal from the time of

his arrest to his treatment at the hospital filed an official report at the time stating, “During this time, the negro male made no comments.” In his affidavit, Mumia states emphatically, “Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to.”

In another statement submitted on May 4, Temple University professor and journalist Linn Washington tells how a hospital worker and another reporter told him when he visited the hospital that “police were beating Mr. Abu-Jamal in the ER.” A veteran police reporter, Washington describes being shocked by the “total lack of police” when he visited the shooting scene less than five hours after the shooting, saying it brought to mind other instances of “police destruction of a crime scene,” the most memorable being after the 1978 cop siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. When one cop was killed by police crossfire, the cops razed the house to cover their tracks. Nine MOVE members were framed up and convicted for the murder.

In the May 29 papers, Jamal’s attorneys advised Federal District Court judge William Yohn that they will be filing a new post-conviction relief petition in the Pennsylvania state courts with new evidence of ineffective legal counsel at the earlier PCRA appeal and subsequently. This is based in part on the fact that Beverly’s confession was suppressed for nearly two years by Jamal’s former legal team of Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams and that Williams authored a treacherous, recently published “inside account” of the case titled *Executing Justice*, after which he and Weinglass were fired by Mumia. It was the suppression of Beverly’s confession and Billy Cook’s corroborating statement that prompted Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, to resign from Jamal’s legal team two years ago. Cook says in his affidavit, “Rachel wanted me to testify but Leonard didn’t.”

In the 14 years since the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal’s fight, we have brought his case to millions of trade unionists, students and minorities worldwide through publicity and labor-centered, united-front protest actions. We pointed to Jamal’s frame-up to expose the true nature of the capitalist state as a machinery of organized violence against the working class and the oppressed. While advocating that every possible legal avenue be pursued on his behalf, we place all our faith in the mobilization of the social power of labor at the head of black people and all the oppressed to win his freedom, and no reliance on the “justice” of the capitalist courts.

In contrast, the reformists who have taken up Jamal’s cause have demobilized those who want to fight for his freedom by pushing illusions in the capitalist “justice” system. Thus, they have raised calls like “New Trial for Mumia” and “The Evidence Must Be Heard.” Now that conclusive new evidence of Jamal’s innocence has surfaced, they abet the bourgeois press blackout by ignoring or greatly downplaying Beverly’s confession. As Jamal said in a statement to the May 12 defense rallies in Philly and San Francisco, “Many of you have said that you don’t believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.” Despite detailed presentations of the new evidence by Jamal’s attorneys at these rallies, in their coverage of the demonstrations *Revolutionary Worker* (27 May) said not a word about the Beverly confession and *Workers World* (24 May) devoted all of one sentence to it. Neither even bothered to quote Mumia’s own statement.

Mass protest centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement is not only urgently needed to free Mumia but would strike a blow against the whole capitalist frame-up system. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

Zionists...

(continued from page 16)

Europe. Meanwhile, largely unreported in the U.S. media, fascist settlers have staged pogromist rampages on a near-daily basis. To take just a few incidents in the four days beginning May 10: an 18-year-old student in Gaza was so badly mauled by attack dogs that it took him a full day to crawl home, dying hours later; the next day, Arab wheat fields near Bethlehem were burned down as Israeli troops looked on; then eight Palestinians were beaten bloody near Hebron and, a day after that, settlers opened fire on houses in an Arab village near Ramallah.

Far from cowing the Palestinian populace, escalating Zionist terror has fueled growing defiance, bringing to mind the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943. It has also provoked the sort of frustration and desperation that has led growing numbers of Palestinian youth to enlist as “martyrs” for Islamic Jihad and Hamas. We condemn indiscriminate terror attacks, like that in Tel Aviv and a bombing at a shopping mall in Netanya two weeks ago, which are directed not against the Zionist state’s armed forces or its fascist settler auxiliaries but against all Jews. Such attacks are in keeping with the vile anti-Semitic—and anti-woman—aims of Hamas, which was initially built up with direct aid from the Israeli gov-



While Israeli troops rampage through Occupied Territories, fascist settler auxiliaries carry out pogroms against Palestinians.

Arabs in 1948, “The Catastrophe” (*Al Nakba*) commemorated to this day by Palestinians. Countless imperialist-inspired “peace plans” since, far from opening up any vista of liberation for the Palestinians, have served only to deepen their subjugation under the Zionist jackboot.

The Palestinians cannot prevail in a military conflict with the Israeli juggernaut. And if threatened militarily by their Arab neighbors, the Zionist madmen would be quite capable of unleashing

ugees across borders once again,” a recent meeting of foreign ministers of Islamic countries in the oil-rich Gulf state of Qatar offered nothing more than appeals to the U.S. “to exert pressure on Israel to accept a balanced peace” (BBC News, 27 May).

In early 1990, when Israel was not toeing the American line, George Bush Sr. threatened to cut U.S. military aid. And later that year, Washington warned Israel to stay out of the impending war with Iraq as the American imperialists successfully sought to include the other Arab regimes in their “coalition” against Saddam Hussein. But with the Soviet Union gone, the Arab bourgeois regimes have far less leverage in pressuring the U.S. The *New York Times* (4 June) describes how the Bush administration has resisted pressure, “particularly from the Arab world, to raise its diplomatic visibility” in the Near East.

The destruction of the Soviet Union also conditioned Arafat’s acceptance of the ignominious 1993 Rabin-Arafat accord which gave the PLO a handful of trappings of sovereignty while significantly strengthening Israel’s position. Palestinian police trained and overseen by the CIA and Israeli security forces would carry out the day-to-day policing of the subjugated Palestinian masses while all Israeli settlements remained in place pending an indefinite “final status” agreement. The PLO, echoed by the Zionist “peace camp,” hailed the 1993 accord as a first step toward Palestinian statehood. Rather, as we wrote at the time, this deal did “not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination” and instead placed “the PLO’s seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses” (“Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto,” WV No. 583, 10 September 1993).

The accord laid the basis for further devastating the economy of the Occupied Territories. Gaza’s GNP plummeted by 37 percent between 1992 and 1996. Even before the start of the recent uprising,



Reuters

average national income in the Occupied Territories, at \$1,500, was little more than half what it was before the “peace process” and less than one-tenth that in Israel. The export of agricultural produce to Israel and Jordan was sharply curtailed as was, more importantly, the number of Palestinians allowed into Israel as day laborers, a crucial source of income for the Occupied Territories. Intent on ending any reliance on Palestinian labor in agriculture and construction, the Israeli capitalists have brought in tens of thousands of migrant workers, legal and “illegal,” from Thailand and other countries.

In the aftermath of the 1993 accord, more or less sporadic “security closures” became virtually permanent, denying passage not only to workers but to students attending universities in Jerusalem and the West Bank and to desperate patients needing operations in Israeli hospitals. Israel erected an electrified barbed wire fence at the Gaza border crossing and began the construction of a series of fortified “bypass roads” connecting Israeli settlements, which involved further expropriations of Arab land and farms. While the PLO envisaged an end to the settlements as a result of the “autonomy” deal, the number of settlers has in fact doubled, climbing to over 200,000, among them impoverished Russian Jews who were assigned housing in the Occupied Territories. In response to the demand that East Jerusalem become the capital of a future Palestinian state, the Zionists have “created facts on the ground,” razing Arab homes and expanding Jewish-only housing, even though thousands of newly built housing units remain unoccupied.

Both Sharon and Arafat claim to support the recently released Mitchell Report, which calls on the Palestinians to end the violence and on the Israelis to end expansion of settlements. It is an indication of how far things have shifted to the disfavor of the Palestinians that the issue in debate is no longer whether such enclaves of murderous Zionist fanatics



New York Times

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

ernment as a counterweight to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In seeking to create an Islamic regime in the Occupied Territories, the fundamentalists mirror the fascist religious Jewish reactionaries who strive for a fully fledged Old Testament theocracy in Israel. In the latter’s eyes as well, the Russian immigrant youth who were partying in Tel Aviv on the Sabbath are “infidels”; indeed, three of the dead were initially denied burials in municipal cemeteries because they were children of mixed marriages.

Though the Zionist butchers have the whip hand, the Near East provides ample evidence of the genocidal logic of all nationalism, including the secular version espoused by petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalists, who have also engaged in indiscriminate terror. What drives the bloody cycle of Zionist repression and Palestinian defiance is the root cause of this conflict: two peoples lay claim to the same land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples under capitalism. The Zionist state was created through the expulsion of some 700,000

their arsenal of nuclear weapons. The *only* way to ultimately prevent yet more catastrophes on the scale of 1948—and to realize the national rights of the Palestinians without denying those of the Hebrew-speaking people—lies in workers revolutions to smash all the capitalist regimes in the region. The fate of the Palestinian people, and of all the peoples of the Near East, ultimately hinges on the timely forging of Leninist vanguard parties based on the program of proletarian internationalism.

1993 “Peace” Accord: Recipe for Disaster

The immediate backdrop to the ominous situation currently facing the Palestinians lies in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Though the bureaucratically degenerated workers state under Stalin was among the first countries to extend diplomatic recognition to the Zionist state, hoping to secure an ally against British imperialism, in subsequent decades the USSR tilted toward the Arab bourgeois regimes and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like the PLO. The availability of Soviet military, diplomatic and financial support allowed such nationalists a certain degree of latitude in rhetorically confronting U.S. imperialism.

In 1973, the Arab regimes launched an oil boycott—whose main effect was to enrich their coffers and those of the Seven Sisters oil monopolies—nominally targeting U.S. support for Israel. But in the face of a “nightmare scenario” that “ever bigger attacks on Israelis, ever bigger reprisals against the Palestinians...could lead to the mass exodus of Palestinian ref-

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should exist but whether they should continue to grow. And Israel categorically rejects any constraint on settlement expansion. Israeli Jews should imagine how they would feel surrounded by militarized Palestinian settlements linked by roads open only to Arabs! *We demand removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the settlements and the apartheid highway network!*

Zionism and “Ethnic Cleansing”

Today, the rhetoric of “negotiation” has given way to denunciations of Arafat as “a leader of terror.” The Israeli military has assassinated over 30 middle-level PLO leaders in its campaign of “selective elimination” in the last eight months. While the Zionists and their American backers hypocritically scream for the Palestinian Authority to “end the violence,” Israel’s rulers are deliberately stoking spontaneous outpourings by killing those Palestinian nationalist cadre they could hope to use to quell the anger on the streets .

Only months after Arafat rejected Israel’s “last, best” offer for a final settlement last summer, Barak gave Sharon a green light to stage his provocative “visit” to the Muslim holy site Haram al-Sharif (the Temple Mount to Israelis), triggering the predictable outburst of anger among Palestinians. More fundamentally, what led to the uprising was the despair among the Palestinian masses that the 1993 accord had resulted only in deeper misery and national humiliation. Meanwhile, the Hebrew-speaking population, which had been promised “peace through security,” realized that they had neither.

The Zionist “peace camp” has essentially collapsed, utterly silent in the face of ever more murderous terror against the Palestinians. Many Israelis consider the settlements a running sore, and polls indicate that a majority would favor curtailment of settlement construction if it led to peace—and few but the most fanatical, mainly American Zionists, would now voluntarily move to the Occupied Territories. But the hardening of a chauvinist consensus against the Palestinians was clearly reflected in the overwhelming vote last February for Sharon, who was widely reviled as a fanatical extremist in the wake of his 1982 invasion of Lebanon even by large sections of the Zionist establishment.

The Labor Party readily accepted Sharon’s invitation to join a “national unity” government, and vaunted “peace” Nobel Shimon Peres now serves as foreign minister in this war government. Peres was an admirer of the French *colons* in Algeria and an architect of Israel’s alliance with the former apartheid regime in South Africa, which involved the development of nuclear weapons for the Afrikaner rulers, who later got the weapons out of South Africa to ensure they would not fall into the hands of the ANC when it took power. “Mr. Dove” Peres would better be called “Mr. Settlement.” As Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak noted in his publication *From the Hebrew Press* (July 1996), it was Peres who began the construction of settlements in heavily populated Palestinian areas when he was minister of defense in Rabin’s 1974-77 government. Working with Peres at the time was Yigal Allon, who authored the so-called Allon Plan that prefigured the current dismemberment of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories. In the early 1970s, Allon smuggled weapons to fascistic Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger to help him set up a tiny settler enclave in the center of Hebron, which has meant an ongoing state of siege against the city’s 100,000 Arab residents.

On the right wing of Sharon’s cabinet are the likes of Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi, leader of the National Union, which openly calls for the “transfer”—mass expulsion—of all Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank. Serving as minister of infrastructure is Avigdor Lieberman, who vowed in February that a Sharon government would not hesitate to fire missiles at Egypt’s Aswan Dam “if, for example, Egypt

moves troops into the Sinai,” which is Egyptian territory! Lieberman calls for stripping Arab members of the Knesset (parliament) of citizenship. Such views are not confined to settler fanatics and a handful of extreme rightists in seemingly marginal cabinet positions.

In March, President Moshe Katsav staged an official ceremony to publicize the release of a statement titled “The Balance of National Strength and Security in Israel: Policy Directions,” which was produced by a conference of 300 “leading figures” described by *Ha’aretz* (23 March) as “the core of Israel’s political and defense establishment.” This conference smacked of the 1935 Nuremberg conference that promulgated the Third Reich’s “racial laws”!

Sneering that “the Palestinians have made a decision that they want the highest rate of natural population growth in the world, but they don’t have the means to support it,” conference chairman Uzi Arad proposes a “humanitarian solution” detailed as follows in the statement: “It will be necessary to find some place for resettlement outside the State of Israel (perhaps to the east of the Jordan) if the Palestinian population of the territories does not curb its rate of increase.” The document also calls for the forcible repatriation of a section of Israel’s Arab population near the West Bank to a future Palestinian bantustan. “Asked if the shift to Palestinian jurisdiction will be imposed on Israeli Arabs living near the Green Line, despite their known objections, Arad answers: ‘In a democratic state, it is the majority that determines where the national borders lie.’”

Implementation of such schemes would doubtless fan imperialist fears of “destabilization” throughout the Near East. Discredited autocratic regimes in Egypt and elsewhere could well face popular upheaval and challenges from Islamic fundamentalists and other proponents of “holy war.” But it is fully in keeping with the Zionist drive for a “Greater Israel.” As the open “transferist” Zeevi proudly declares, he follows in the footsteps of “Labor Zionist” founding fathers like David Ben-Gurion, who raised the banner of “conquest of the land.” Ben-Gurion presided over the 1948 “cleansing” of 700,000 Arab men, women and children, which was not a “by-product” of the war with the Arab states, as the Zionists assert, but was rather a planned and deliberate terror campaign, including a series of well-publicized massacres.

Months after the end of the so-called War of Independence, in September 1948 Ben-Gurion ordered the army to launch an operation “for the conquest of the entire West Bank,” according to an Israeli military commander at the time (*Ha’aretz*, 18 April 1994). When Ben-Gurion asked Allon how many Arabs would escape from the occupying forces, he was told: “As many as you decide.” Ben-Gurion was forced to scuttle the plan at the last minute when his coalition partners got wind of it and voted him down. Twenty years later, Ben-Gurion’s successors did conquer the West Bank, and it is hardly inconceivable that the Israeli occupation forces could today perpetrate massacres on the scale of those in 1948.

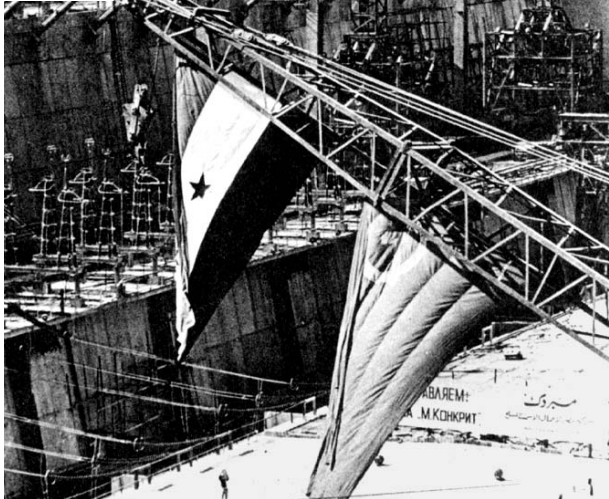
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. Illusions in the “good offices” of U.S. imperialism, other imperialist powers or the United Nations are suicidal. The U.S. has armed Israel to the hilt. The Bush administration has dispensed with even the patina of evenhandedness under which its Democratic predecessor pursued an anti-Palestinian “Pax Americana.” For their part, the European Union imperialists, competing for influence in the Arab countries, have imposed token sanctions against agricultural exports from Israeli settlements. At the same time, Germany has played a prominent role alongside the U.S. in pushing Arafat



Crosscurrents Press

Soviet Union was counterweight to arrogant U.S. imperialism. Soviet premier Khrushchev (left) with Egyptian strongman Nasser, as USSR funneled aid to nationalist regime in late 1950s, '60s. Aswan Dam was built with Soviet assistance.



Camera Press

to bow to Israel’s latest dictates. But all of the capitalist powers are adamantly opposed to genuine self-determination for the Palestinians—or the Kurds, carved up and oppressed by Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria—for fear it would plunge the region into even greater turmoil. And the United Nations exists to serve the imperialist powers. It was the 1947 UN partition that paved the way for the 1948 catastrophe, and it was a UN expeditionary force that disarmed the PLO fighters in Lebanon in 1982 on the eve of the Zionist massacre.

The Arab bourgeois regimes have neither the military wherewithal nor the interest to come to the defense of the Palestinians against the Zionist terrorists. In recent days, the Egyptian regime of Hosni Mubarak, the second-largest recipient of U.S. financial aid next to Israel, has talked of a military response if Israel attacks Palestinian Authority targets (which it has been doing for months). The Israeli Air Force launched a massive war exercise yesterday, and a military statement last month warning the Arab regimes against taking advantage of the Palestinian uprising gloated: “Syria does not want a war with Israel and the air force’s strike against a Syrian radar station just outside of Beirut in April left a deep impression on Damascus, which saw it as just the start of what Israel can do.” Israel’s nuclear arsenal is now larger than Britain’s, and no one takes seriously the occasional military bluster against Israel from Cairo or Damascus.

From the Black September massacre of some 10,000 Palestinians in Jordan in 1970 to the expulsion of 200,000 Palestinian migrants by the Kuwaiti emirate in 1991, the Arab rulers have proven themselves no less hostile to the Palestinian people than the Israeli bourgeoisie itself. When the Arab states have gone to war with Israel—in 1948, 1967 and 1973—it was not to defend the Palestinians. While Marxists gave military support to Egypt against an invasion by imperialist Britain and France (joined by Israel) in 1956, we called for revolutionary defeatism against both capitalist Israel and the capitalist Arab states in the other wars. 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-speaking proletariat deeper into the arms of its chauvinist rulers.

Zionist chauvinism today permeates the vast bulk of the Hebrew-speaking working class, which also benefits from an artificially high standard of living. But that relatively privileged bubble in the

backward Near East would quickly burst should the U.S. imperialists ever decide that Israel is more of an albatross than an asset. And even today, the huge Sephardic Jewish population is largely impoverished and subjected to discrimination in housing and education by the Ashkenazi (European-derived) elite. Israel is a capitalist society fundamentally riven by conflicting class interests between exploiter and exploited. Hebrew-speaking workers would do well to consider that more Jews were killed by the greed of Israeli capitalists in last week’s collapse of a wedding hall in Jerusalem than died in the Tel Aviv terror bombing.

The murderous drive against the Palestinians poses the alternatives pointblank to the Hebrew-speaking proletariat: either embark on revolutionary struggle against their exploiters or the Israeli bourgeoisie will increasingly move toward a Nazi-like “final solution” of the “Palestinian question.” If the Israeli Jewish proletariat is to pursue its class interests against its own bourgeoisie, it must champion the defense of the Palestinian people.

No matter how bloody the repression meted out by Israel’s rulers, it will not and cannot end the underlying national antagonisms which have helped make the Near East a cockpit for war throughout the past century. If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew-speaking 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-speaking and the Palestinian Arab people be assured.

A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the internationalist unity of all the working people, would have an enormous impact on the Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel. But if Arab, Persian and Kurdish workers are to break the chains of exploitation and oppression, they must be won to a relentless struggle to extirpate the influence of the Islamic fundamentalists who now pose as the enemies of Zionism and imperialism. We look to the legacy of the Iranian proletariat that struggled for power in 1953, of the Iraqi workers who sought to make a socialist revolution five years later. To seize on such opportunities when they arise, and lead them to victory, requires above all the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all variants of religious fundamentalism. *Defend the Palestinian people! For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

Border...

(continued from page 1)

There have been numerous documented cases of beatings, shootings, rapes and deaths at the hands of *migra* thugs. The government's racist crackdown has emboldened fascistic "posses" organized by ranchers, which "deputize" themselves in order to arrest and terrorize immigrants with impunity.

Even as repression is intensified along the border, major sections of the American bourgeoisie recognize that cheap immigrant labor has kept wages down in a period of relatively low unemployment and are now calling for an easing of anti-immigrant laws. In the past two years, the INS has slowed down the pace of workplace raids, and there have been moves in Congress to set aside some of the more draconian features of Clinton's 1996 "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act," which calls for deporting even longtime permanent residents ("green card" holders) for trivial offenses committed years ago. Where *la migra* hasn't slowed its efforts is in fighting unions, raiding hotels and factories where immigrant workers have joined organizing drives.

The defense of immigrant rights is a crucial task for the labor movement and is integrally linked to the fight against black oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism. Anti-immigrant racism has long been used by the capitalist rulers to divide the working class and as a wedge for attacks against the black masses. The passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in 1994, which sought to



Bisping/Minneapolis Star Tribune

Minneapolis protest against 1999 arrest of eight Mexican hotel workers. While staging fewer workplace raids overall, INS continues to target undocumented workers involved in union organizing.

trade unions, we seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and INS raids through class-struggle means and to organize such workers into the unions with full rights and protections. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism in the working class and especially among black workers, while the immigrant-derived proletariat must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country."

NAFTA Misery and the Flight to El Norte

A powerful three-part article in the *Village Voice* (24 April, 1 May and 8 May) by Michael Kamber traced the experience of an immigrant from a village in the state of Puebla, who hired

Senator Phil Gramm, a virulent immigrant-basher, met with Mexican president Vicente Fox to discuss expanding "guest laborer" programs. U.S. agribusiness, meatpacking and nursing home corporations have come out in favor of such a plan. The U.S. and Mexico are also discussing increasing the number of seasonal farm workers permitted to enter the U.S. from 40,000 to 250,000 per year.

Fox was the first head of state Bush visited as president. The two pledged a "full, mature and equitable partnership of prosperity." But there is not and cannot be anything "equitable" in the relationship of capitalist Mexico to the U.S. imperialist bloodsuckers, who consider Latin America their exclusive sphere of domination, to be used as markets for their products and pools of cheap labor to exploit.

Fox, leader of the right-wing clerical National Action Party and a former Coca-Cola executive, is an even more overt tool of U.S. imperialist interests than his predecessor Ernesto Zedillo of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Before losing last summer's election after 70 years in power, the PRI had dutifully enforced the dictates of the NAFTA treaty and unleashed military terror against the peasant insurgents in Chiapas with full U.S. backing. From the outset, we denounced NAFTA as the "free trade rape of Mexico." Combined with U.S.-dictated austerity measures, NAFTA has meant the plummeting of real wages in Mexico by 75 percent over the last 12 years. In sync with the U.S. militarization of the border, deportations by Mexico increased more than 65 percent in the past five years (*La Jornada*, 11 April), and Mexican interior secretary Santiago Creel boasts that the country detains 150,000 Central American "illegal" immigrants every year.

Fox initially called for an "open border" with the U.S., portraying himself as a defender of Mexican migrants. This stance is a deception designed to mask his plans to open the Mexican economy to even greater penetration by U.S. corporations. Fox boasts that his policies will integrate Mexico into the "First World." The true face of such "integration" was shown by Citigroup's recent purchase of the Mexican bank Banamex, which placed fully 70 percent of the country's banking assets in foreign hands. At the behest of the World Bank, Fox aims to further impoverish workers and peasants—privatizing state-owned industries, imposing taxes on food and medicine and dissolving the state public housing program. Meanwhile, Mexico continues to make enormous debt payments to the imperialists.

The Mexican bourgeoisie is aware, however, that attempts to implement such austerity measures may backfire—the Mexican proletariat is very combative and will not just sit and take it. The flood of foreign, especially U.S., investment in recent years has enormously expanded the numbers and power of the Mexican working class. At the same time, this means that the economic downturn in the U.S. has already led to mass layoffs in Mexican tire, auto and other industrial

plants. Our comrades of the Grupo Esparquista de México fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, in opposition to all variants of nationalism, to lead the proletariat in breaking the yoke of imperialist subjugation, solving the agrarian problem and emancipating women, the indigenous peoples and all the oppressed. As the GEM wrote in *Espartaco* No. 14 (Autumn-Winter 2000): "It is up to the proletariat to satisfy these democratic demands by establishing its own class rule through a socialist revolution, rallying behind itself the masses of the poor and oppressed of the city and countryside and fighting to extend the revolution internationally, particularly to the powerful multiracial proletariat in the U.S."

For Internationalist Class Struggle!

As U.S. history demonstrates, foreign workers brought into the country during times of economic boom are always made the scapegoats for unemployment and low wages when the boom inevitably goes bust. Looming recession and rising unemployment pose the threat of renewed immigrant-bashing and increased deportations. This underscores the need to mobilize the unions in defense of immigrant rights.

Last year, the AFL-CIO leadership called for a general amnesty for undocumented immigrants and for protections for the right to organize, dropping its longtime support for sanctions against employers who hired "illegal aliens" and its collusion with INS workplace raids. In large part, this shift is animated by the labor tops' need to shore up their shrinking dues base and reflected as well the bourgeoisie's current dependence on immigrant labor. It is also meant to advance the fortunes of the capitalist Democratic Party, as baldly expressed by HERE hotel and restaurant workers president John Wilhelm, head of the AFL-CIO's immigration committee: "The Democratic Party can rely on the votes of African-Americans today because some people in it supported the African-American freedom movement. Those who didn't are still paying the price. It's going to be the same with the votes of immigrants" (*L.A. Weekly*, 9 March).

Even as it voted to demand an amnesty, however, the AFL-CIO called on the government to "maintain efforts to keep illegal immigrants out of the country" (*New York Times*, 17 February 2000). This amounts to a call to bolster the militarization of the border. And in pushing "America first" protectionism, the entire AFL-CIO hierarchy serves to pit U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters abroad. The campaign of the Teamsters tops to pressure Bush into closing the border to "unsafe" Mexican truckers, which has been endorsed by several Democratic Congressmen, exemplifies the chauvinism of the labor bureaucracy, whose loyalty at bottom lies with the American capitalist rulers against those they exploit and against their imperialist rivals.

Defense of immigrant rights and organizing these workers into the unions is crucial for the revitalization of the American labor movement after decades of union-busting attacks and capitulation by the union tops. But this task is hamstrung by the bureaucracy's ties to the Democratic Party, the political expression of an all-sided program of class collaboration.

There needs to be a new, class-struggle leadership of labor based on the understanding that the international proletariat has common class interests counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy. We noted in our Programmatic Statement:

"The vast numbers of immigrant workers now toiling in U.S. factories can be a powerful leaven to the class struggle here, as many of them come from countries with stronger traditions of labor militancy and anti-capitalist struggle. Likewise, these workers are a natural pool for recruitment to the revolutionary party and such recruits can constitute a nucleus for organizing Trotskyist parties in their native lands. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán and throughout the Americas!" ■



Star/SABA

Teamsters tops push "America first" chauvinism in protests against NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers on U.S. roads.

ban access to social services, health care and public education for undocumented immigrants, set the stage for Clinton's ending of "welfare as we know it," which consigned millions to even more desperate poverty. Prop. 187 fueled the racist forces that two years later pushed through Prop. 209 in California banning affirmative action in education and government contracts. As we state in the SL/U.S. Programmatic Statement:

"The Spartacist League demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We stand for full equality of all languages in all spheres of public life and defend bilingual education against 'English only' bigots. We stand unalterably opposed to the bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant laws and regulations. Against the capitalists' attempts to use undocumented, low-wage immigrant workers as a club against the

coyotes to cross the desert wastes along the border and eventually made it to the Bronx. Things are so desperately poor in his village that "if Antonio does return, he will be a man very nearly alone.... Fully one third of Antonio's village—including nearly all of the working-age males and 20 percent of the women—is in New York City." Antonio sends the bulk of his earnings back home. Such remittances, now estimated at more than \$6 billion annually, are, Kamber notes, "the third largest factor in the Mexican economy."

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has long been the motto of American capitalists. Thousands of "temporary" Mexican workers were brought in under the "bracero" contract-labor program between 1942 and 1964 to slave on railroads and in agribusiness, lacking the most elementary rights. When the need for this labor dried up, over a million Mexican nationals and many Mexican Americans were targeted for mass deportations in the 1954 "Operation Wetback." The original *braceros* are still owed money! A class-action suit filed in California in March against the U.S. and Mexican governments seeks to recover millions of dollars in back pay that was deducted from their paychecks but not sent them as promised when they returned to Mexico.

The Bush administration is proposing a vast expansion of contract-labor programs—a new *bracero* program—that, along with sealing off the border, will allow the bourgeoisie to more effectively match the flow of immigration with their need for cheap labor. In January, Texas

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Texas “Sex Offender” Witchhunt: Cruel and Barbaric

On May 18, a judge in Corpus Christi, Texas ordered 21 people to post signs in their yards and put bumper stickers on their cars reading, “DANGER: Registered Sex Offender.” The judge might just as well have ordered them to put up signs reading, “Free Fire Zone,” because this is nothing but an incitement to mob murder. A defense lawyer for two of those targeted said, “It’s frightening, as if we’re going back to the times of scarlet letters, public hangings and witch hunts” (*New York Times*, 29 May). One of the 21 has already committed suicide, two have been evicted from their homes and the others have been subjected to a rash of vandalism and threats. The Texas judge must have been inspired by Afghanistan’s Taliban rulers, who dictate that Hindus wear an identifying patch and threaten women who venture outdoors without their head-to-toe *burqas* with death.

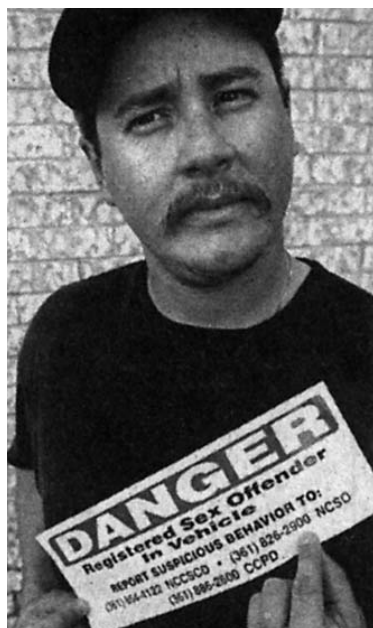
The sadistic aspects of the public humiliation of “sex offenders,” like the Puritans’ branding of transgressors with burning irons or locking them in stocks in town squares to be pelted with stones, are bad enough. But this is part of an ongoing, conscious attempt by both the Democratic and Republican parties of the ruling class at intimidation and social regimentation, aimed at the entire population. The term “sex crimes” covers a wide swathe, from “anti-sodomy” laws based on religious and anti-gay preju-

dices to “statutory rape” laws based on reactionary definitions of sexually active teenagers as children.

People are rounded up and thrown behind bars for “pedophilia” and “child abuse” for nothing more than viewing pictures of young children in the privacy of their homes. Nearly 900 “sex offenders” nationwide are currently in prison for indefinite terms of “one day to life,” many of them convicted of nonviolent offenses yet treated like they had committed murder. And if they do manage to get out of prison, they face being perpetually hounded and persecuted.

The *Times* reports that one of the Corpus Christi men had been arrested “on charges of indecency with a child in 1999 after a night of drinking ended in an encounter with a 15-year-old girl.” After the sign went up outside his father’s apartment, where the man was staying, his father was evicted. Texas, like many other states, already has a law requiring public “registration” of those convicted of “sex offenses,” itself an incitement to mob violence. You can log onto the Internet and get to signposts pointing to registries with access to over 1,800 databases.

The rape and murder of children is a horrible thing, but from the White House and Supreme Court on down, this government is in no way concerned with protecting the interests of youth. Most



Spaulding/NY Times

“Sex offender” signs ordered by Texas judge are an incitement to vigilante violence.

violence against children takes place within the confines of family life, and victimizing someone down the street who got entangled with the law serves to cover this up. Meanwhile, the ruling class is moving to ensure the ignorance of youth by replacing sex education with “abstinence” programs.

These government policies are a poiso-

nous brew of vicious terror and ignorance, serving to bolster the authority and powers of the capitalist state. The U.S. already has a grotesquely huge prison population, with the largest percentage of citizens in jail of any advanced capitalist country. The racist death penalty, carried out overwhelmingly against poor and black prisoners, has taken the lives of 716 people since 1977 (Texas alone being responsible for over one-third of those executions).

Ironically, as it drives to deny the right to privacy to the population as a whole, the White House is now caught pleading for “respect for privacy” in the case of President Bush’s 19-year-old twin daughters, who got caught buying booze in Texas. If Jenna Bush gets busted for underage drinking again, she faces 180 days in prison under a law signed by her father when he was governor of Texas.

As communists fighting for proletarian revolution to sweep away repressive capitalist rule, we are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights for the population as a whole. We are for abolishing all laws against so-called “crimes without victims,” e.g., pornography, gambling, prostitution, drugs, drinking. We are also for significantly lowering the “age of adulthood” and oppose reactionary “age of consent” laws. We have consistently defended NAMBLA, which has been viciously persecuted for its advocacy of the right of consensual sexual relations between men and boys. The guiding principle for sexual relations should be “effective consent,” that is, that the parties involved understand and agree to whatever’s happening. It’s nobody’s business what people agree to do in private. Government out of the bedrooms! ■

Mexico

Full Democratic Rights for Gays!

We reprint below an article translated from *Espartaco* No. 15 (Spring-Summer 2001), newspaper of the *Grupo Espartacista de México* (GEM), section of the *International Communist League* (-*Fourth Internationalist*).

On February 14, hundreds of people congregated outside of [Mexico City’s] Palacio de Bellas Artes to celebrate what they called “solidarity unions,” where gay, lesbian and heterosexual couples were married and received a symbolic marriage certificate. This same day at UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico], a march of more than 100 demanded “democratic rights for homosexuals and lesbians.”

We Spartacists fight for full democratic rights for gay men and lesbians, including their right to marriage, to any kind of union, and to adopt children. We oppose all types of discrimination; we defend all consensual sexual relationships and we sharply oppose any intervention of the state in people’s private lives. State and church out of the bedroom! We struggle to forge a workers party of professional revolutionaries that is the tribune of all the oppressed, that knows how to react against all manifestations of oppression and arbitrariness, regardless of the social sector that it affects. This is, in a few words, the Leninist conception of the vanguard party, the indispensable instrument to lead the proletariat to state power by means of a socialist revolution. In Mexico, a merciless struggle against homophobic and *machista* [male-chauvinist] ideology is key to the forging of such a proletarian party.

In this overwhelmingly Catholic country, where a murder of a homosexual is committed every three days, the struggle for democratic rights for homosexuals, like the struggle for the elementary right

of women to abortion, is a particularly explosive social question. This is precisely because it goes against bourgeois “family values” and organized religion, which serve to defend brutal oppression through propagation of the most backward prejudices. The demonstrations for the rights of homosexuals, in the wake of the proposed law that would guarantee same-sex unions, have detonated a polemic at a national level. And there have been growing attacks by the church, the PAN [National Action Party] government and various bourgeois politicians, which incite the brutal homophobic violence that occurs daily in Mexico. With the ascension of the rightist clerical PAN to power, increasingly effective attacks have been carried out against the workers, women and all the oppressed, while the doors are opened to the Catholic church as a political force and to reactionary and misogynist organizations such as Pro-Vida [Pro-Life]. So while Cardinal Norberto Rivera compares homosexual partnerships with “criminal acts such as assault and robbery” (*La Jornada*, 15 December 2000), the PAN mayor of Veracruz, Ramón Gutiérrez de Velasco, led a terror crusade “to clean immorality out of the city,” brutally attacking homosexuals and prostitutes to remove them from tourist sites (*La Jornada*, 26 January). For his part, the secretary of labor, Carlos Abascal, called on women “not to make themselves masculine” and to carry out their function as women in the home (*La Jornada*, 25 March).

Wanting to take advantage of the situation, the bourgeois-nationalist PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] tried to pose as the “friend” of homosexuals by presenting a proposal to legalize unions between homosexuals in the DF [Federal District], by the legislator Eduardo Quintero. But the PRD with-

drew the proposal when inside their own party a heated public debate broke out, making use of the most backward arguments, indistinguishable from those of the church and the PAN, such as that “the proposed law goes against the family and other values characteristic of being Mexican” (*Reforma*, 19 December 2000). There exists no progressive wing of the bourgeoisie. As with the elementary right of women to abortion, the capitalists deny democratic rights for homosexuals as a spearhead in defense of the institution of the family and organized religion, which are strategic, fundamental institutions of the system of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained in the *Communist Manifesto* that the dominant ideology in every society is the ideology of the ruling class. Furthermore, *machismo* and anti-gay bigotry (and other backward ideologies like anti-Semitism) are so ingrained throughout Latin America in part because there were no successful bourgeois revolutions. With the weak proletariat not capable of acting in its own interests at the head of all the oppressed, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 ended with the bloody suppression by bourgeois reaction of the massive peasant insurrection, leaving the material conditions of life for most of the population little changed. This was true despite the anti-clericalism of the revolution, which the bourgeoisie raises, when convenient, to legitimize its rule. In fact, pre-capitalist “tradition” and religious obscurantism survive to this day and are reinforced to assist in subordinating the toiling masses to the interests of their “own” bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism.

The Mexican left is not exempt from the backward, *machista* and homophobic ideology and methods of the ruling class. For example, it is not rare to see leftist



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students from the CGH [1999-2000 UNAM student strike council] use anti-gay epithets to insult representatives of the bourgeoisie. It is an example of the adaptation of the Mexican fake left to its “own” bourgeoisie that organizations, including those that call themselves “Trotskyist,” evade, at best, the issue of homosexual rights, as is the case with the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS), or directly reflect bourgeois homophobic prejudices, as is the case with the Partido Obrero Socialista (see “POS-Z, Caboose of Bourgeois Nationalism” in *Espartaco* No. 5, Spring 1994).

We base ourselves on the experience of the October Revolution of 1917 which, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, began to establish the material basis to replace the family and made a gigantic step forward for the rights of women, homosexuals and all the oppressed. Our struggle for full democratic rights for homosexuals is an integral part of our struggle for new October Revolutions throughout the world. ■

Defend the Palestinian People!

Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians



Castelnuovo/NY Times

Palestinian refugee camp in Gaza razed by Israeli army in April.

JUNE 4—Defense of the Palestinian people against the capitalist rulers of Zionist Israel is posed with utmost urgency for working people and minorities around the world. The use of U.S.-supplied F-16 fighter bombers to blast Palestinian Authority (PA) sites two weeks ago was a bloody statement of intent by the government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Responding to pressure from the U.S. in the wake of the F-16 assault, Sharon cynically announced a “limited cease-fire,” during which the Israeli military proceeded to kill nearly a dozen more Palestinians and invade supposedly “autonomous” areas of the Occupied Territories, demolishing homes and destroying farms. Now, even that sham cease-fire has come to a shattering end, as the Zionist rulers plot retribution for the reprehensible bombing at a crowded Tel Aviv dance club Friday night.

Faced with the threat of “a very severe air strike” by Israel, which now officially declares the Palestinian Authority to be a “terrorist organization,” PA president Yasir Arafat bowed to U.S. and Israeli ultimatums to impose a cease-fire on Palestinians and round up supposed “terrorists.” But as one Palestinian militant in Ramallah said, “Arafat gave orders many months ago to stop shooting, but it’s not up to Arafat.” While the Israelis are holding back for the moment, largely to placate their American patrons, one security official described this as “a stay of execution for the PA.”

As the military tightened its strangulation of the besieged Arab ghettos in the West Bank and Gaza, a frenzied mob screaming “Death to the Arabs!” surrounded a Tel Aviv mosque, and Israelis

talk of an imminent “apocalypse” against the Palestinians. In the U.S., rabid Zionist William Safire screams in his column in the *New York Times* (4 June), “Let Sharon Be Sharon.” This is a barely veiled call for a replay of Sharon’s 1982 massacre of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon.

Israel’s rulers have made it clear that they will stop at nothing to suppress the Palestinian masses. Even before the Tel Aviv bombing, former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu demanded military strikes against “radio, television, media, transportation, gas, and weapons

reserves, and the PA’s economic infrastructure,” railing: “We have not yet used 1 per cent of the power of the IDF [military]. If Arafat continues the terror we will make sure that his terrorist regime will collapse. It is to this end that a unity government was formed” (*London Observer*, 3 June).

After eight months of Palestinian defiance and an escalating war of terror by the Israeli military and its “settler” auxiliaries, the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions. Powerful international protest, including by the large number of workers of Near Eastern

descent who are integrated into key sectors of French industry, is vitally necessary. It is particularly crucial for the multiracial working class and all the oppressed in the U.S. to demand: ***Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! U.S. imperialism out of the Near East!***

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

Israel’s rulers responded to an earlier Palestinian uprising, the *Intifada* that began in late 1987, with “force, might, beatings to break bones,” in the words of then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin of the thoroughly bourgeois Labor Party. But lethal military terror has been the norm from the very start of the current *Intifada*, beginning with the deployment of missile-firing helicopter gunships and the massacre of Israeli Arab “citizens” by Sharon’s Labor predecessor, Ehud Barak. Where over 1,000 Palestinians were killed in the course of three years in the earlier uprising, more than 500 have been murdered in the past eight months alone, many of them young children shot through the head and chest. Some 1,500 others have been left paralyzed from bullet wounds, with upwards of 15,000 injured overall. This amounts to a casualty rate of ***one of every 200 Palestinians*** in the Occupied Territories.

Palestinian towns and villages have been subjected to a starvation blockade, cut off not only by a network of “strategic highways” but now also with trenches and blockades, increasingly resembling the Jewish ghettos of Nazi-occupied East

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AFP

Funeral march for 11-year-old Palestinian boy shot in the head by Israeli troops. Zionist terror has fueled Palestinian defiance.