No. 800 28 March 2003

Down With U.S. Imperialism! All U.S. and Allied Troops Out of the Near East Now!

Defend Iraq Against U.S./British Attack!

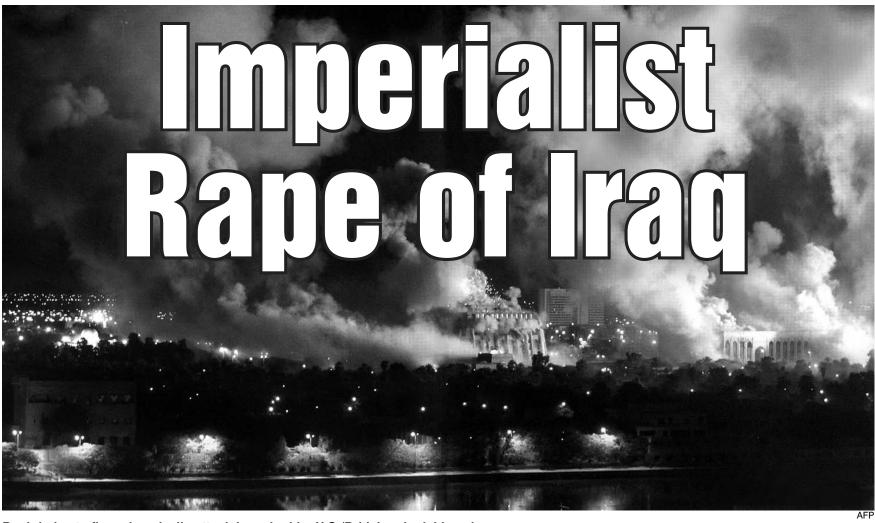
Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.

MARCH 19—The rape of Iraq has begun. American missiles and bombs are slamming into Baghdad and southern Iraq, while an American and British invasion force is poised to move in from the south. The human cost in lost lives and displacement that the rapacious

American capitalist class has in store for the longsuffering Iraqi people will be measured in the millions. This is nothing but a colonial war of naked imperialist aggression to be followed by a colonial occupation of this oil-rich Near Eastern country. The U.S. rulers prattle about bringing "democracy" and "liberation" to the Iraqi people—like the Zionists "liberated" the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The gruesome devastation planned for Iraq is the true face of U.S. imperialism—wading in blood and dripping with filth,

a roaring beast devastating culture and humanity.

It is in the class interest of the international proletariat to clearly take a side in defense of Iraq without giving any political support to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every victory for the U.S. imperialists can only encourage further military adventures. In turn, every humiliation, every setback, every defeat they suffer will serve to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed around the globe. The U.S. continued on page 6



Baghdad set aflame by missile attack launched by U.S./British colonial invaders.

MARCH 25—All of Baghdad is now Ground Zero. Streets are littered with burning skeletons of buildings; bitter smoke and stench hang in the air. More cruise missiles and 2,000-pound "smart bombs" slammed into Baghdad and other cities in a matter of hours on Friday than in the whole six weeks of bombardment in the first Gulf War. The intended effect of this "Shock and Awe" blitzkrieg, according to one of its architects, is "rather like the nuclear weapons at Hiroshima." The city which gave birth to modern algebra in the ninth century is being razed to the ground by rulers with the

mindset of "born again" biblical primitives and the technology of 21st-century industrial capitalism.

More than 100 civilians have been killed in Basra alone, where the population has been without water or electricity for over three days, and scores more in Baghdad and other cities. As one man in Nasiriya bitterly remarked after his son was dragged away from his home by American troops, "Is this your liberation?" Stray cruise missiles have already hit Iran and Turkey. A missile attack on a bridge at the Syrian border destroyed a bus, killing five Syrians. Reporting on a hospital ward filled with civilian casualties in Baghdad, London Independent (23 March) reporter Robert Fisk headlined his article: "This Is the Reality of War. We Bomb. They Suffer." The current number of civilian dead will pale in comparison with what will come once the siege of Baghdad begins in earnest.

The number of Iraqi troops slaughtered while defending their country may already number in the thousands. Reporting on one of the war's first battles, the Sydney Morning Herald (22 March), citing a U.S. officer, stated that Navy aircraft "dropped 40,000 pounds of explosives and napalm," conjuring images of American atrocities in Vietnam. While the Pentagon has issued a denial, an official at the Red Cross in Geneva noted that the U.S. never signed a 1980 United Nations agreement banning the use of napalm.

An Iraqi spokesman aptly labeled the columns of American and British troops heading toward Baghdad as "columns of colonization." In a stirring statement to a mass antiwar rally in Hanoi on March 15, a leading Vietnamese official declared, "Once victims of aggressive wars, trade embargoes and blockades ourselves, the Vietnamese people understand the difficulties and suffering of the Iraqi people."

The first act of "Operation Iraqi Freedom" was to secure Iraq's oil fields for the freedom of untrammeled exploitation by ExxonMobil and British Petroleum, symbolized by the planting of an American flag in the southern desert. Already, the Bush administration has been handing out contracts to its cronies in Halliburton and other American companies to "rebuild" Iraq.

The corporate media dutifully acts as public relations pimps for the Pentagon, retailing the lies of Bush's Ministry of Disinformation and smothering what news one might get from Arab stations like Al Jazeera. The war buildup has been accompanied from the very beginning by a Big Lie campaign, from the report of Iraqi nuclear material purchases in Africa that turned out to be a forgery to claims of weapons of mass destruction by a touted Iraqi defector who was later

continued on page 8

Remembering **Stephen Jay Gould**

15 February 2003

Dear WV,

I very much appreciated the excellent article honoring Stephen Jay Gould ("Science and the Battle Against Racism and Obscurantism," WV No. 797, 14 February 2003). It was indeed disheartening to see Gould near the end of his life trying to reconcile science and religion, in contradiction to the whole thrust of his life's work debunking racist religious obscurantism.

In 1999 Skeptical Inquirer, which bills itself as "the magazine for science and reason," had a special issue on "Science and Religion" which included Gould's article, "Non-Overlapping Magisteria." His piece was answered sharply by scientist Richard Dawkins' article, "You Can't Have It Both Ways: Irreconcilable Differences?" Dawkins said in part:

"It is completely unrealistic to claim, as Gould and many others do, that religion keeps itself away from science's turf, restricting itself to morals and values... Religions make existence claims, and this means scientific claims...

"There is something dishonestly selfserving in the tactic of claiming that all religious beliefs are outside the domain of science. On the one hand miracle stories and the promise of life after death are used to impress simple people, win converts, and swell congregations. It is precisely their scientific power that gives these stories their popular appeal. But at the same time it is considered below the belt to subject the same stories to the ordinary rigors of scientific criticism: these are religious matters and therefore outside the domain of science. But you cannot have it both ways.

This prompted me to write a letter to the editors of Skeptical Inquirer, and though I never sent it to them, it seems a *propos* to present it here:

Dawkins has the decisive edge over Gould when he writes, "Religions make existence claims, and this means scientific

claims"—and hence inevitable conflict between science and religion. This raises the age-old question of why religion persists, and so I hoped to find an answer in Steven Pinker's article, "Whence Religious Belief?"

Pinker notes that polls show sixty-nine percent of Americans believe in angels, and "ninety-six percent believe in a God or universal spirit." He then goes on to offer a shallow psychological explanation having to do with a "demand for miracles." But this fails to explain why America, the leading industrial country in the world, is particularly plagued by religious obscurantism.

It is very instructive to contrast the U.S. with the former East Germany. Even a decade after the fall of the Berlin wall, "80 percent of the population is unchurched" (ChristianityToday.com, August 9, 1999). Polls show "73 percent of West Germans indicated they believed in God-while 65 percent of East Germans said they did not."

Evidently a planned economy did the East Germans some good. And even today, though they suffer high unemployment in the united capitalist Germany, they choose not to wallow in the "opium of the people."

Mark K.

On the American Civil War and the Taiping Rebellion

4 February 2003

Dear Comrades,

I wish to make a correction to the otherwise excellent article, "Marxism, War and the Fight for Socialist Revolution," (Part One, January 17, 2003). America's Civil War was not "the bloodiest conflict of the 19th century." The Taiping Rebellion in China, which began in 1850 and ended in 1865, took a toll of twenty million lives, making it the costliest conflict in human history until the imperialist slaughter of World War I. (See Jonathan Spence, God's Chinese Son.)

The distinction between the two conflicts goes beyond historical body counts. Marx wrote some perceptive articles (did he write any other kind?) for the New York

Daily Tribune on the Rebellion, pointing out that no matter how violent, the uprising against the Imperial government had to take the form of a messianic peasant revolt, and therefore was doomed to fail. China's bourgeoisie, on the other hand, was too weak, and unwilling—being a servant of British imperialism—to overthrow the Empire. At the same time, Marx considered the concurrent U.S. Civil War "The Second American Revolution," a bourgeois revolution against the Southern slavocracy. An unfinished revolution, as WV has always pointed out, but one that demonstrated American capitalism could still play a progressive role.

> Best regards, J.C.P.



Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

As U.S. imperialism launches its bloody invasion of neocolonial Iraq, it is imperative to understand what strategy is needed to put an end to imperialist war. We print below a statement by the Workers Party, then the American Trotskyist organization, written after the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia. As opposed to the Stalinists who sought alliances with imperialist forces like France's Laval or the League of Nations, Trotskyists



stressed the importance of international class struggle for defense of Ethiopia, as well as of the Soviet degenerated workers state, underlining the necessity of a workers party to fight to sweep away the imperialist order that breeds war.

The Workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the U.S.S.R., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples—not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian Emperor and semifeudal chieftains. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of finance-capital and its puppet states....

The struggle against war is not and cannot be conceived as an "independent" struggle, having a special status above class conflicts. It is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for workers' power....

More clearly than any other phase of revolutionary activity does the struggle against war attest the international character of the revolutionary movement. It is an international struggle and must be conducted in terms of an international strategy, through an integrated international organization. Thus the struggle against war poses, in the most intense form, the central task of the present period: the building of the Fourth International, the dynamic generator to drive forward the revolutionary advance of the working class.

> —"Statement on the War Situation," Workers Party of the United States (1935)



Mid-19th-century Chinese peasant rebellion shown in painting titled "Taiping Army Occupying Nanjing.'

For a Class-Struggle Program in the ILWU!

17 February 2003

Comrades,

Wanted to thank you, personally, for the fine article, in WV #797 [14 February 2003], "IG on ILWU and NYC Transit: Worthless Pilots in Stormy Weather."

Like i told Gene, in our phone conversation last evening, it pulled me up short and gave me pause about political tact in a period of great need for movement but no motion of the labor movement. Lack of consciousness is pretty extreme and no sense yelling fire when no one is ready to put the fire out but you.

What i had wanted to raise with Comrade Gene, and neglected to, is about the state of the ILWU [International Longshore and Warehouse Union]. What is happening in the ILWU is what happened to the NMU [National Maritime Union]. You have a union that is controlled by senior personnel, many with more than decent salaries and perks galore (only in

relation to other organized industries), while the industry could not function without the labor of thousands of 2nd, 3rd and 4th class citizens as far as the democratic life of the union (not to mention that these "lower class" workers are foregoing many benefits and, in some cases less money per hour and job, than their senior brothers and sisters). It is my opinion that until the ILWU squares this away they will not be facing the PMA [Pacific Maritime Association] & U.S. Government with any kind of unity and strength capable of winning a battle. In fact i don't give the union a hell of a lot more time under the present political makeup.

Certainly it is no easy matter but would think that the struggle for political and economic equality for the "lower class" longshoremen of the ILWU coupled with the demand for no doubling out and "20 and Out" for all dock workers would be

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Fight Rollback of Abortion Rights!

On March 13, the Senate voted to ban the safest procedure for extremely rare late-term abortions, intact dilation and extraction. The bill is expected to pass the Republican-controlled House and be signed into law by George Bush. This is nothing short of a major assault against legalized abortion established by the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision. If this bill becomes law, it would be the wedge for overturning all abortion rights, which the antiwoman bigots have sought for the last three decades through both legislative and judicial means and the unleashing of "god squads" that have bombed abortion clinics, terrorized patients and even murdered doctors. Just last week, a New York State court convicted James Kopp for the 1998 murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian.

The fight to defend abortion rights must be redoubled as the drive to overturn legalized abortion threatens to throw women back to the days of humiliation, degradation, maining and death.

A sizable percentage of the women who seek late-term abortions are poor, desperate young women, often black or Hispanic, who have virtually no access to health care, contraceptives or even any real sex education. As one clinic counselor said, "By the time they get their Medicaid straightened out and can come in, they are at 27 weeks." Teens



WV Photo

October 1998: NYC protest against murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian by antiabortion terrorist.

face the added constraints of parental consent laws, and many endure mandatory waiting periods with state-imposed anti-abortion "counseling." The Bush administration is determined to make "virginity pledges" the sole form of

"birth control" for teenagers.

The Bush gang is certainly a scary bunch, rife with Christian fundamentalists who want to impose their reactionary "morality" on every aspect of everyone's life. Well aware that a majority of the population supports the right to abortion, Democratic Party presidential hopefuls have been cynically playing the "prochoice" card. But it was the Democrats who paved the way for the reactionary domestic agenda of the Bush White House. Playing to the Christian right, "born again" Democratic president Jimmy Carter in 1977 intoned in regard to the ban on federal funding of abortions for poor women, "There are many things in life that are not fair." Under "pro-choice" Bill Clinton, well over 200 state measures were passed restricting access to abortion, while the elimination of welfare forced poor women onto slave-labor "workfare" or into starvation.

The strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party and the capitalist government pursued by NARAL Pro-Choice America (formerly the National Abortion Rights Action League) and the National Organization for Women (NOW) effectively demobilized the struggle to defend abortion rights. Carrying this strategy to absurd lengths, today NOW urges the Bush administration to use the "antiterror" USA-Patriot Act-which massively bolsters the state's repressive powers against immigrants, minorities, labor and any perceived opponent of the government—against right-wing clinic attackers! The bourgeois state is not a "neutral" body but a machinery of violence that enforces the class interests of the capitalists against the working people and minorities. Abortion rights, like other crucial democratic rights, were wrested from the capitalist class through tumultuous class and social struggle, not through lobbying the government.

The Spartacist League has fought for mass mobilizations, backed by the power of labor, to defend the abortion clinics against the "pro-life" bigots. To defend the right to abortion and contraceptives particularly for poor and minority women means a struggle for free abortion on demand as part of free, quality medical care for all. As Marxists, we recognize that women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family which, along with religion, serves the capitalist class as a bedrock of social conservatism, bourgeois morality and submission to authority. The fight to defend women's rights, including the right to abortion, must be generalized and broadened into a struggle against the entire capitalist system. Only socialist revolution can begin to lay the material basis for the full liberation of women from economic dependence and for their complete social integration.

the way to unify the ranks for a full frontal attack. Just some thinking on my part and, as you should know, thinking has been dangerous to my health.

Comradely Freedom Now For All Class-War Prisoners & A Socialist World! Charlie M.

WV Replies:

Brother Charlie brings up several issues which affect an increasing number of unionized workers in the U.S. today. The pro-capitalist bureaucracies often run unions as job trusts for a small percentage of the most skilled workers, and have allowed employers to institute tiers where workers with higher seniority are pitted against newer hires who are often paid less and have fewer benefits though they work the same jobs. It is a matter of elementary defense for workers to fight for a common, democratic and militant unionized workforce, which requires "a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy," as Leon Trotsky spelled out in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940).

Brothers Gene and Charlie were both members of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, which fought for such a class-struggle approach within the National Maritime Union, from 1968 until 1981 when the erosion of U.S. shipping and the corrupt chicanery and betrayals of the NMU bureaucrats reduced the union to a fraction of its former strength. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus put forward a program to guide the struggle of the working class for political power, including an intransigent opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam at a time when the NMU and International Longshoremen's Association leaders were organizing *pro*-war parades in New York City. The caucus also stood for organizing the lower-paid foreign seamen into unions in counterposition to the NMU bureaucrats' protectionist policies denouncing "foreign flag shipping."

A key demand of the caucus was for the abolition of the "group" system that divided the union into different classes. It organized a formal committee to fight the discrimination against the lower-seniority Group 2s that attracted younger seamen, demanded equal shipping status for all and helped to win full union rights for the Group 2s. The caucus also raised the need for an increase in jobs at the expense of the employers through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for extended vacation time to promote a continuous rotation of jobs, and for an end to the "homesteading" setup in which some seamen got a permanent job with one company on a single ship.

For a presentation of our understanding of the tasks before the ILWU, readers are referred to "West Coast Longshore Contract: Threat to Union's Future" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 795 (17 January).

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Oakland, September 2002: Longshoremen picket docks after bosses declare lockout.

Protest Exclusion of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey!

On February 21, veteran Irish Republican militant Bernadette Devlin McAliskey was detained and then deported by U.S. immigration officers zealously carrying out the government's "war on terror." On her way from Dublin to New York for a family visit, McAliskey had been cleared for travel by U.S. immigration officials in Dublin. But upon arrival at Chicago's O'Hare airport, she and her daughter Deirdre were singled out by immigration agents, then bullied, threatened and interrogated for hours. When McAliskey protested this outrageous violation of her civil rights, one of the immigration officials retorted. "After 9/11, nobody has any rights." We say: Let Bernadette McAliskey into the U.S.!

While Deirdre was finally allowed to continue on to New York, Bernadette was photographed, fingerprinted and immediately put on a plane back to Ireland. The INS claimed that she had an "expired visa waiver" and that the State Department had declared that she "poses a serious threat to the security of the United States." This blatantly political exclusion is part of the sweeping rollback of democratic rights being carried out by the warmongering U.S. government, ultimately targeting black people, labor and all those who speak out

against the capitalist state.

Perhaps the exclusion of this famous Irish activist was a U.S. payback to British prime minister Tony Blair for his loyal service to American imperialism. In the late 1960s, Bernadette Devlin became a symbol of the struggle of the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland, first as a leader of the social-democratic People's Democracy and later as a founding member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. At 21, she became the youngest person ever elected to the British Parliament, and three years later she witnessed the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre by British paratroopers of 13 civil rights marchers in Derry. In 1981 she and her husband, Michael McAliskey, survived an assassination attempt by right-wing Loyalist (pro-British) thugs.

Upon hearing of her exclusion, New York's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 offered a symbolic invitation to Bernadette McAliskey to address the union's annual commemoration of Irish socialist James Connolly and historic TWU leader Mike Quill, who was a supporter of the Irish Republican movement. The labor movement and all potential victims of government repression must mobilize to defend civil liberties against the capitalist rulers' onslaught.

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Young Spartacus

Join the SYCs!

The U.S. imperialists' longplanned wholesale destruction of Iraq is a cruel colonial war carried out by the bloodiest ruling class in the world. As the rape of Iraq began in earnest, high school and college students around the country streamed into the streets in protest. Already unions internationally have carried out actions aimed at impeding the U.S.-led war. The anger in this country against the impoverishment of working people as Bush's cronies grow richer, the widespread hatred and fear of war and the opposition of youth who do not want to be cannon fodder and the seething anger in the ghettos and barrios against racist oppression must be welded together into a struggle against this system of exploitation, racism and war.

We young communists in the Spartacus Youth Clubs are building revolutionary internationalist contingents at antiwar demonstrations based on the demands: All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers! We take a side with Iraq against U.S. imperialism. We look to the working class as the only force in society with the power and objective interest to stop imperialist war and call

The naked U.S. imperialist military might on display in Iraq is meant also as a warning to America's imperialist rivals, who compete for control of markets, raw materials and spheres of exploitation. The imperialist order can only plunge the world deeper into misery, degradation and death. Imperialist war is a concentrated expression of the normal workings of capitalism, exacerbating the tensions of class society to a fever pitch. Unem-

for it to mobilize in class struggle to

defend Iraq.



Spartacist/SYC built Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent calling for defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack in Washington, D.C., March 15.

ployment and union-busting, detention of immigrants and deportations, attacks on civil liberties go hand in hand with the war. Under capitalism, most youth face a future of no education and no jobs, or worse for the sons and daughters of black, Hispanic and other working people who the ruling class are sending off to die in the desert along with countless Iraqis.

Nothing short of workers revolution across the globe can shatter the imperialist order. But on the ground all the protest organizers (International ANSWER, Not In Our Name, United for Peace and Justice) push anything and everything except revolution as the way to "stop the war." They work to turn the demonstrations into platforms for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the alternate ruling party of imperialism—of Hiroshima/Nagasaki and the escalation of the Vietnam War. Dissident Democrats and the Green Party talk peace only to get antiwar youth off the streets and back to the ballot box.

Ludicrously, the reformist "antiwar leaders" endlessly appeal to the UN, under whose starvation sanctions half a million Iraqi children have died and

whose "weapons inspectors" were spies preparing Iraq for the slaughter. Now they hold up as "pacifists" imperialist France, the mass torturers of the Algerian War, and Germany, whose ruling class put Hitler into power. We say: No to "unity" with the defenders of the capitalist order of racism and war! Break with the Democrats—Build a revolutionary workers party!

The SYCs intervene into social struggles armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. The Spartacist League and SYC have built labor/black mobilizations to stop Klan and Nazi provocations, as in New York City on 23 October 1999. We have initiated actions against ROTC, which trains the officer corps for the bourgeois military, and campus military recruiters. We have exposed and protested racist ideologue David Horowitz and joined in actions in defense of abortion clinics. Demanding "Free Mumia!" we join in united-front demonstrations defending death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The SYCs support workers strikes and on 9 February 2002 we helped build

the labor-centered mobilization in Oakland in defense of union and immigrant rights.

To prevail against the might of the capitalist state requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the working class supported by all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist party that will unite the working class in struggle against capitalist imperialism. We seek to build a nationwide revolutionary socialist youth movement. Join us in the fight for socialist revolution!

Spartacus Youth Clubs Ten Point Program

- 1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized—unionize the South! Down with multitier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!
- **2** Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!
- **3** For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Defeat the racist assaults on affirmative action! For an end to tracking! 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! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!
- **4** For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, laborbacked mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims-prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!
- **5** Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!
- **6** Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all classwar prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up!

- No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!
- **7** Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!
- **8** Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with U.S. terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one

- man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!
- **9** For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!
- **10** Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevikled workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

4 WORKERS VANGUARD

Mass Arrests at Antiwar Demos Free Them Now! Drop All Charges!

As soon as news broke of the U.S. attack on Iraq, antiwar protests swept across the country. Many of the rallies and marches condemning the war were met by cop attacks and widespread arrests. Thousands of people nationwide, from Austin, Texas and Asheville, North Carolina to San Francisco, Chicago and New York City, were arrested over the four days following the initial bombing of Baghdad. Labor unions, especially those who are on record as opposing the war, must now use their social power in defense of the antiwar protesters.

Since Thursday, more than 2,270 activists have been arrested in San Francisco alone, where the liberal City Council was hailed for passing an "antiwar" resolution. The cops shoved demonstrators and routinely surrounded small groups of activists on all sides and then arrested them for "failure to disperse." At a March 21 protest at the Federal Building, U.S. Marshals struck a 75-year-old wheelchair-bound man in the face, and later a federal park ranger truck gunned its engine and hit a protester who was narrowly pulled to safety. At the Bay Bridge, the California Highway Patrol beat demonstrators with their nightsticks and then pepper-sprayed those who did not flee fast enough.

In Chicago, where more than 600 have been arrested, city police mobilized en masse on March 20 to block a 10,000strong antiwar march. As protesters began to disperse, cops in riot gear trapped over 1,000 people at a downtown street intersection and proceeded to arrest over 540—from high school students to press reporters to passersby. The next day, thousands of police in riot gear formed a



San Francisco, March 21: Antiwar protest was met by sweeping arrests.

wall four deep at an antiwar protest at the Federal Plaza.

The crackdown on antiwar protest extends to the campuses. At Pasadena City College in Los Angeles, a student walkout on March 20 turned into a fullscale cop rampage. When some students returned to classes to recruit others to their walkout, campus cops attacked the activists, kicking, punching, pepperspraying and striking them with batons. Enraged by the cop attack, students broke into the room where their classmates were being detained. City police in riot gear were then called in. As 150 students marched through the campus chanting antiwar slogans, ending at the campus police station, two students were arrested.

Many youth are outraged at the mass slaughter the U.S. has unleashed. What is necessary is to direct this outrage into a revolutionary fight to get rid of the system that butchers Iraqis, sets cops on antiwar protesters and carries out an allsided attack against working people, minorities and immigrants.

We reprint below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, on March 20 to the office of the District Attorney in San Francisco.

The Partisan Defense Committee again strongly protests the mass arrests of antiwar demonstrators, numbering more than 1,300 today in the streets of San Francisco alone. The mass arrests of protesters who seek only to exercise their democratic rights is part and parcel of the government's campaign to criminalize dissent as it wages war abroad and ravages the working class, blacks and immigrants at home.

In a grotesque and dangerous assault early this morning, 15 youthful demonstrators who linked arms through lengths of plastic tubing were forcibly separated by four dozen riot police wielding chain saws. As sparks flew, serious injury was only prevented by firefighters who covered protesters with their jackets. Early mass arrests had already filled county jails so that police commandeered a Muni bus to transport arrested demonstrators to an abandoned warehouse at Pier 27 and to jails as far away as Santa Rita. While most of these demonstrators were charged with "jaywalking" or "blocking traffic," according to the National Lawyers Guild at least one organizer of the protests is being held on felony "incitement to riot" charges.

As U.S. cruise missiles and "bunker buster" bombs rain down death and destruction on Baghdad and occupation forces pour into Iraq, the SFPD shreds the democratic rights of those who wish to lend their voices to the millions around the world protesting this savage imperialist aggression. We demand: Free all protesters now! Drop all the charges!■

Honor Rachel Corrie...

(continued from page 12)

opponents of Zionist terror must draw on her bravery; her death must not be in vain. At the March 22 antiwar protest in New York City, there was a contingent of pro-Palestinian activists carrying placards and large banners honoring Rachel and building for a march and rally to "Defend Iraq and Palestine" on March 29. With most antiwar protest organizers looking to appeal to the pro-Zionist Democratic Party, the Palestinian cause has been largely buried at protests against the war in Iraq. But defense of the Palestinian people must be a central call of the millions across the world who mobilize in opposition to U.S. imperialism's rape of Iraq. Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories!

We fight for the mobilization of the tre-

mendous social power of the international working class in defense of the Palestinians, especially the proletariat of the

Near East. Today, protests are erupting throughout Near Eastern cities against the American onslaught against Iraq and the venal Arab rulers who are going along with it. It is the task of revolutionaries to intervene into such movements to forge Marxist workers parties to fight for workers revolutions against all the capitalist regimes of the region. The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through workers revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. The Zionist state must be shattered from within through a socialist revolution uniting the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers against the bloody Zionist rulers. The deep anti-Arab chauvinism of the Hebrew proletariat can be broken by a historic event, most favorably a workers revolution in one of the Arab countries proclaiming the international unity of all working people. But if the workers of the Near East are to break their own chains

Palestinian medical workers honor Rachel by carrying mock coffin in protest outside UN headquarters in Gaza City, March 17.

of exploitation, they must be won to a relentless struggle against the Islamic fundamentalists and nationalists who may pose as enemies of Zionism and imperialism. The urgent task at hand is the construction of internationalist workers parties committed to sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. For a socialist federation of the Near East!■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes and Events

BOSTON

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. March 31: Black Oppression Is the **Bedrock of Racist American** Capitalism: For Revolutionary Integrationism! For Black Liberation **Through Socialist Revolution!**

BU School of Education, Room 212 605 Commonwealth Avenue Information and readings: (617) 666-9453 or e-mail: bostonsvc@vahoo.com

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. April 8: Socialism and War University of Chicago, Cobb Hall

5811 S. Ellis, Room TBA Information and readings: (312) 563-0441 or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, 2 p.m. March 29: Black Liberation Through **Socialist Revolution**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215 (Vermont/Beverly Red Line station) Information and readings: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsvcla@cs.com

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. April 1: For Women's Liberation **Through Socialist Revolution!**

Columbia University Hamilton Hall, Room 306 Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

SANTA CRUZ

Friday, 6 p.m. April 4: Marxist Readers' Circle: Lenin's State and Revolution

Cafe Pergolisse (at Cedar and Elm) Information: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: slbayarea@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, 6:30 p.m.

April 2: No Illusions in the Pro-Imperialist NDP! Build a **Revolutionary Workers Party!**

University of Toronto Sidney Smith, Room 1088 100 St. George Street Information and readings: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

28 MARCH 2003 5

SL/U.S. Statement...

(continued from page 1)

imperialists intend to pulverize Iraq, planning to drop some 3,000 "smart bombs" in the first 48 hours of this onesided slaughter. The United Nations inspectors did their job, setting Iraq up for the kill by verifying that it had no means to defend itself. With the world's mightiest empire arrayed against neocolonial Iraq, it could not be clearer that the chief means of defending Iraq is through international class struggle, particularly in the United States.

Workers in Italy, Scotland and elsewhere have already staged labor actions against the war, including blocking military goods destined for the Persian Gulf. Such actions point the way to the kinds of labor struggles that are necessary, especially in the belly of the American imperialist beast. The obstacle to this is the AFL-CIO labor officialdom, which pits American workers against their class brothers and sisters around the world by promoting national chauvinism and subordinating workers to the dual parties of capitalist rule, the Democrats and Republicans.

Defense of Iraq is inescapably tied to defense of the Palestinian people against Zionist terror. The right-wing Sharon government, which is currently slaughtering Palestinians at a rate of up to a dozen a day, could very well use the cover of war to implement a genocidal program of forcible expulsions of the Palestinians. The deliberate murder of a young American student, Rachel Corrie, is a message to all defenders of the besieged Palestinians that it's open season on them, too. Antiwar protesters must take up the call to defend the Palestinians and demand: All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories now!

To the millions of workers and antiwar youth who have marched in cities around the world, now is the time to redouble your efforts. But what is crucial is to understand what's wrong with the antiwar movement. You were told by all the organizers of antiwar protests-from International ANSWER to Not In Our Name and United For Peace and Justice—that to stop the war from happening what was needed was the broadest possible movement. This can only mean a movement built in alliance with "antiwar" Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson. You were told lies! To build an antiwar movement with bourgeois politicians is to build an antiwar movement with representatives of the very class in whose





Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent at massive NYC antiwar protest, March 22. Left: ICL sign in Chinese reads: "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!" Arabic placard demands: "Defend Iraq! All U.S. Forces Out of the Near East Now!'

interest imperialist war is waged. And it is precisely now that the war has begun that these "respectable" liberal politicians will rally around "our troops," even as they carry out a colonial slaughter in Iraq.

The protests of millions around the world are a welcome expression of defiance and opposition to American imperialism. But to put an end to war, one must start with a perspective that challenges the very basis of the capitalist system. War is not simply a policy but the logical outgrowth of this irrational capitalist order. The question facing antiwar activists and workers is not merely one of more militant tactics. If there is one lesson to be drawn, it is the absolute necessity of fighting to get rid of this deeply inhumane system through workers revolution. Only socialist revolution can put an end to imperialist war!

Fighters against imperialist war must

look to mobilizing the social power of the multiracial American proletariat in struggle. There is plenty of anger at the base of American society. The bloated American ruling class and this particularly grotesque government are lording it over working people and minorities, showering tax cuts on the rich while millions are homeless or losing their jobs and pensions. There is widespread fear and loathing of this Christian fundamentalist government that wants to extend its oppressive reach into every aspect of people's lives. It is little wonder that despite all the pro-war jingoism of the media, a good chunk of the population still opposes the war. Indeed, within the imperialist military itself, many black, Latino and working-class soldiers do not want to kill and be killed for this racist government rife with admirers of the Confederate slavocracy.

The domestic reflection of the U.S. war on Iraq is the Bush administration's broadside against workers, minorities and immigrants. This government is tearing up the rights that have been won through decades of militant struggle for black freedom, for union rights, for women's equality. Now they are threatening to round up over 11,000 people of Iraqi descent, including American citizens. Following 9/11, they detained Near

Eastern and South Asian immigrants. Then they declared that anyone Bush determines to be an "enemy combatant" could be stripped of all constitutional rights. They now want to expand the USA-Patriot Act to strip citizenship from anyone deemed to be aiding "terrorists." In the name of the "war on terror," the government wants to squash any expression of dissent. This must be met with defiant mass protests, centered on the social power of labor, against the Iraq war, in opposition to the roundups, detentions and deportations and in defense of all our rights. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

In pursuing its ambitions for unchallenged world domination, the American bourgeoisie increasingly sees no further use for the UN. The UN was created at the end of the Second World War as a creature of the imperialist powers centrally the U.S.—to provide a cover for their wars and interventions. Today, American imperialism's open talk of "preemptive" strikes, including nuclear first strikes, has served to sharpen tensions and hostilities between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals, centrally Germany and France. This is the shape of the "New World Order" emerging from the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, whose military might helped to stay the hand of the American nuclear madmen.

The Soviet Union was the homeland of the 1917 October Revolution, which overturned capitalist rule in Russia. Despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, it was a workers state embodying enormous gains for the working class, women and diverse national and ethnic minorities. Carried out in the midst of World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution pulled Russia out of the war and showed how imperialist depredation and war can be defeated. We fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, just as today we fight for the defense of the remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—including their urgent right to develop nuclear weapons.

The increasing hostilities between the imperialist powers portend future interimperialist wars to be fought out with nukes. And the U.S. imperialists have clearly proven themselves capable of plunging humanity into a nuclear holocaust. The only way to prevent that catastrophe from happening is through international socialist revolution. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, fights to build a Bolshevik workers party in this country committed to the defeat of U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution. Writing on the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed "the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace...which inevitably engenders imperialist war, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution." Defend Iraq! All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! Down with $U.S. imperialism! \blacksquare$

قاوموا القمع الداخلي و"الثّأر" الأميريالي

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TEBOLCHEVIK (4)

Spartacist League/TLC Forums

Defend Iraq! All U.S. Troops Out of the Near East Now!

Iraq: Women's Liberation and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

Speaker: Amy Rath, Spartacist League/U.S., former editor of Women and Revolution

Saturday, March 29, 2 p.m. 322 W. 48th St., 1st floor

(Take E or C train to 50th St. stop, between 8th and 9th Avenues)

For more information: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

NEW YORK CITY

Down With U.S./Canadian Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

Saturday, March 29, 7 p.m. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

252 Bloor St. W., Room 2211 (above St. George Station) For more information: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

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Wednesday, April 2, 7 p.m. Boston University College of the Arts and Sciences, Room B-12 725 Commonwealth Ave. For more information: (617) 666-9453 or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

BOSTON

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Translation of 30 March 2002 Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Spartacist League/Britain Statement

Defend Iraq! All U.S./British Troops Out of the Near East Now!

The following statement was issued on March 21.

With the loyal backing of Blair's "New" Labour government, the nuclear madmen in the White House have unleashed the military might of U.S. imperialism for the bloody slaughter of Iraq. This is nothing but a colonial war of naked imperialist aggression to be followed by a colonial occupation of this oil-rich Near Eastern country. We stand for the military defence of Iraq against U.S. and British attack. Every setback for these imperialist forces abroad is a blow in defence of the interests of the working class and oppressed masses around the world. It is the job of the working people of Iraq, and throughout the Near East, to get rid of the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein and all the colonels, sheiks and dictators, including the Zionist butchers who are using the cover of this war to ratchet up their daily killing of Palestinians with the aim of forcible expulsion. It is our job here to build the revolutionary leadership that can mobilise the only force with the social power and class interest to challenge the rule of capitalist imperialism: the multiethnic working class.

The working class in Britain and the Iraqi people face a common enemy in the British imperialist rulers today represented by Blair's Labour Party. To unleash more troops for the slaughter of Iraq, Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott has announced he will enforce a settlement on the firefighters who have been baited as "Saddam's friends" for struggling to better their miserable wages and working conditions. But just as the imperialists want to enforce class peace at home in order to wage their dirty colonial wars abroad, every successful fight in defence of the workers' interests breaks a cog in the imperialist war machine. In bringing munitions trains to a grinding halt in Scotland, ASLEF [Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen] train drivers demonstrated the social power of the working class that can and must be mobilised against this war. But to mount such a class-struggle opposition requires a policy of uncompromising opposition to, and independence from, all the institutions and agencies of capitalist class rule.

The Stop the War Coalition makes much of uniting the broadest forces possible against the war. But unity with whom and for what? Socialist Worker (22 March) demands that the "Labour rebels" who voted against war turn their words into actions by "building the anti-war movement." But what were their words? Arguing that "the case for war against Iraq has not yet been established, especially given the absence of specific UN authorisation," the amendment put forward in Parliament by "antiwar" Labour MPs ended by declaring "total support will be given to British forces if hostilities do commence"! Needless to say, "total support" to the military forces raping Iraq renders impossible any effective class-struggle mobilisation against war. Here is the real face of "unity" based on a programme of bourgeois pacifism, one which sows illusions in capitalist "democracy" as the road to peace while rallying behind "god, queen and country" when the bombs start dropping.

And when the bombs started dropping on Baghdad, the Stop the War Coalition was not far behind, decrying: "This war is a travesty and tragedy. There is no UN mandate and no justification." For the past 12 years there has been a UN mandate for sanctions which have taken the

Break with Labour "Old" and "New" —Build a Bolshevik Party!

lives of over one and a half million Iraqis, far more than were killed in the 1990-91 Gulf War! Bob Crow, the left-talking leader of the RMT [National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers], likewise declaims that Blair has taken "illegal action" (i.e., without the authority of the United Nations) to argue that "we should also take illegal action." Vaguely referring to civil disobedience, Crow certainly isn't talking about anything so "illegal" as trade union action in defiance of the government and its antiunion laws. On the contrary, the trade union tops in Britain could not even summon up the nerve to participate in the 10minute work stoppage called by the European trade unions on 14 March.

imperialism and its allies in backing the very forces of counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union.

In his classic antiwar book *Socialism* and *War*, written in the midst of the carnage of the first imperialist world war, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote:

"Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution."

Lining up as the loyal lap dog of American imperialism has caused great embarrassment for Blair's "New Labour" govern-

try" (*Workers Power*, March 2003). In 1974, the Tories were voted out of office and the Labour Party was voted in!

The Labour Party has always loyally served the interests of British imperialism. It went along with the imperial carve-up of the Near East after World War I which created the artificial state of Iraq and left the Kurds without a homeland. The Labour Party joined in a coalition government with Winston Churchill's Tories during World War II that maintained the relentless subjugation of colonial India. The post-World War II government of Clement Attlee marshalled British troops and bombers for the slaughter of over three million Koreans during the UN-sanctioned Korean War. It was the Labour government of Harold Wilson which sent British troops into Northern Ireland to back up the Orange statelet and its subjugation of the oppressed Catholic population. Not a word in opposition to these troops is today uttered by the Stop the War Coalition.

Far from advancing a struggle for "peace," those putative leftists who peddle illusions in parliamentary "democracy" promote the chauvinism of the capitalist rulers. They denounce Blair for joining "Bush's war," yet it was Blair's Labour Party government which launched a "war on terror" at home, outlawing immigrant and refugee organisations more than a year before the U.S. imperialist rulers seized on the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to launch its own draconian witch hunt against immigrants. Organisations like the Turkish leftist Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) have been outlawed, their offices raided and a number of people now face criminal charges. British troops out of Northern Ireland! Down with the anti-terrorism laws! Full citizen-

ship rights for all immigrants! Millions of people around the globe have poured out in protest against U.S. imperialism's drive to war against Iraq. The mammoth demonstration in London on 15 February was a stunning measure of the increasing hatred of Blair's "New Labour" party. But none of this stayed the hand of the mad bombers in the White House or their toadies at 10 Downing Street. If there is one lesson that can and must be drawn by workers, antiwar youth and others who genuinely oppose this naked colonial war of imperialist aggression it is the absolute necessity of splitting with the social chauvinists and fighting to end the entire system of capitalist imperialism which generates war and the ideology which justifies it. Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war! Defend Iraq! All U.S./British troops out of the Near East now! Break with Labour "Old" and "New"-Build a *Bolshevik Party!* ■



Workers Hamme Spartacist League/Britain contingent at London February 15 antiwar protest.

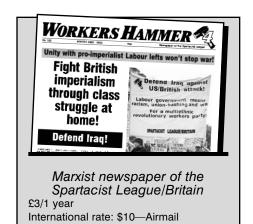
To mobilise any genuine proletarian opposition to the war, workers must understand that war is simply the concentrated expression of a system based on the exploitation of labour; that for the imperialists guns are butter; that the United Nations since it was established at the end of World War II has operated solely to perpetuate and enforce the world's domination by the imperialist powers, centrally the United States. That this den of imperialist thieves, their satraps and victims is now being flouted by American imperialism is simply testimony to the U.S.' emergence as the world's unrivalled military power following the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the former Soviet Union. The Labourites who run the Stop the War Coalition do not strive for the abolition of capitalism but simply want to align British imperialism more independently from the Americans.

Although bureaucratically degenerated and undermined by Stalinist misrule, the Soviet Union continued to embody gains for the working class achieved through the overthrow of capitalist rule by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The International Communist League fought until the bitter end to defend those gains against imperialist attack and the forces of internal counterrevolution. Today we continue this fight in defence of the remaining workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—including their urgent right to develop nuclear weapons. In contrast, most of those leftists who now protest the nuclear cowboys in the White House for throwing their military might around the world, lined up behind U.S.

ment with the resignation of government ministers and opposition of backbenchers reflecting the increasing fractures between the overtly pro-capitalist leaders of the party and its working-class base.

We fight to exacerbate these contradictions, to split the working class from the grip of Labourism which has long served to tie the proletariat to the interests of capitalist class rule. Our purpose is to build a genuine workers party, one which fights for a thorough-going social revolution culminating in the class rule of the proletariat. But for the rest of the selfproclaimed "socialist" left, aligning themselves behind "left" Labour MPs like George Galloway, Blair's troubles in time of war are seen as the opportunity to breathe life back into the politics of "Old" Labour-where "Her Majesty's Parliament" was promoted as the "road to socialism" and public welfare programmes were offered to console those at the bottom of this system of brutal exploitation of the many by the few, and particularly to ward off the possibility of any serious social struggle.

With its calls for a "global general strike" Workers Power merely seeks to put a bit of left gloss on this project of "reclaiming Labour." This is all so much idiotic hot air. A general strike poses the question of which class shall rule. But for Workers Power it merely poses a parliamentary regime change. Arguing that a general strike could "easily develop into a battle over who rules the country" they point to 1974 when, "faced with a strike over pay by miners, the government turned it into a struggle over who rules the coun-



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28 MARCH 2003

Iraq...

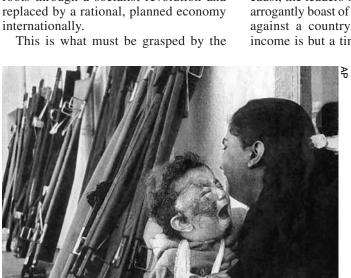
(continued from page 1)

revealed to be a "consummate liar."

"Stock Prices Rise as War in Iraq Appears Inevitable," announced the New York Times (18 March) after George W. Bush's prime-time ultimatum last Monday, which catapulted the stock exchange to its best week in 20 years (only to plunge as soon as the U.S. began suffering military setbacks). "Profits rising, proletarians falling," proclaimed Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jew who led the revolutionary wing of the German workers movement, amid the slaughter of World War I. Speaking of an imperialist system that was to claim over 20 million lives in four years, she wrote in her "Junius Pamphlet" (1916): "Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth—thus stands bourgeois society. And so it is. Not as we usually see it, pretty and chaste, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, ethics and culture. It shows itself in its true, naked form—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity."

This is the face of imperialism, of the irrational, anarchic, profit-driven capitalist system made even more irrational in its epoch of decay. Mass slaughter is the concentrated expression and ultimate logic of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial murder.

If there is to be a choice for coming generations of working-class and minority youth other than one of grinding exploitation, joblessness, mass imprisonment or military servitude, if the impoverished masses of the world are to have a future other than starvation and slaughter, this whole system must be torn up by its roots through a socialist revolution and replaced by a rational, planned economy internationally



Iraqi child, victim of U.S. terror bombing of Baghdad.

workers and youth who have poured out into the streets from San Francisco and New York to Paris, Rome and Cairo in anger and defiance against the American imperialist beast. There can be no unity of the exploiters and exploited in the struggle against imperialism and war. As the first bombs fall, the pacifism of the liberal capitalist politicians and their social-democratic and trade-union lieutenants reveals itself, as always, to be nothing more than window-dressing for national chauvinism. Bourgeois pacifism serves not to restrain the warmakers but to pacify the working masses.

The United Nations, having done its best to disarm Iraq and starve its people into submission, now waits to volunteer its "humanitarian" services in a post-Saddam Iraq. Capitalist governments in Europe and the Near East that sanctimoniously intone "no to war" turn their police batons and water cannon against antiwar protesters. Congress votes with near-unanimity to give its full backing to the Commander in Chief of this rapacious bloodbath. Al Sharpton and other "antiwar" Democrats embraced by self-proclaimed Marxists like the Workers

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U.S. spends every year on arms. Yet the fact that this small country, bled white by 12 years of United Nations sanctions and saddled with a bloody, U.S.-installed regime, has succeeded in mounting any military resistance to the American juggernaut is a measure of the Iraqis' hatred for the colonial invaders. It is now widely reported that thousands of Iraqis living in Jordan and elsewhere are returning to "fight against the Americans."

The U.S. hoped for a quick seizure of Basra, a lightly guarded city right near the Kuwaiti border with a predominantly antiregime Shi'ite population, as a photo-op of American "liberation." It has still not fallen. There has been heavy fighting outside a number of towns, and one U.S. officer was killed by an American GI who threw a couple of grenades into a command tent at a base in Kuwait. While far fewer Iraqi soldiers have surrendered thus far than the 9,000 "reported" by the media days ago, the Iraqis have managed to capture and display a number of American POWs, provoking Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld to rant about violations of the Geneva Convention. This is imperialist hypocrisy of the highest degree: for more

지역문부 소파구지부
Reuters
Top: Antiwar protest by South Korean trade unionists

Top: Antiwar protest by South Korean trade unionists on International Women's Day. Right: Athens demonstration outside U.S. embassy during four-hour general strike, March 21. Below: Civilian workers at U.S. air base in Spain, March 14.



World Party (WWP) and its International ANSWER coalition scramble to pledge their oath of allegiance to U.S. imperialism, affirming their "respect" and "support" for "our troops," the army of colonial slaughter and occupation.

Antiwar Protests Sweep the World

Wielding an arsenal of high-tech holocaust, the leaders of American capitalism arrogantly boast of their military successes against a country whose total national income is but a tiny fraction of what the than three days, American newspapers and TV gloatingly ran pictures of bound and blindfolded Iraqi POWs. As for the Geneva Convention, this is rich coming from a government that is obliterating entire city neighborhoods, that kidnapped hundreds of Afghans and others and spirited them off to a concentration camp in Guantánamo, that has arbitrarily imprisoned over a thousand immigrants and even its own citizens without charges, labeling them "enemy combatants."

We welcome every blow struck against the imperialist invasion forces as a blow in the interests of working people and the oppressed around the world. But as one Iraqi colonel who surrendered said, "I've got a rifle from World War II. What can I do against American airplanes?" As we have stressed from the outset of the drive to war, the chief means of defending Iraq lies in class struggle against the imperialist rulers.

Italy has seen continuous strikes since the bombing started. While the country's main trade-union federation called for a two-hour strike on Thursday afternoon, workers spontaneously poured out from factories, offices and schools to join the protest demonstrations, effectively extending the strike in many regions. Workers chanted, "The only general we like is general strike." In Greece, there was a fourhour protest strike on Friday, while some 150,000 marched on the U.S. embassy in Athens and the U.S. base in Soudas on Crete was blockaded. Those engaged in labor actions against the war must broaden their struggle into one against capitalism itself.

While largely symbolic, an ILA long-shore union local in New Brunswick, Canada passed a resolution promising to "hot-cargo" military goods destined for the Persian Gulf. A 20 March protest statement by the COSATU trade-union federation in South Africa denounced the "invasion and mass murder of the defenceless people of Iraq" and noted, "We are now tasting the full consequence of unipolar power following the collapse of the Soviet Union." Labor actions against the war must be intensified and extended internationally, including and especially in the United States.

But this requires a sharp struggle against the social-democratic and reformist misleaders of the labor movement. In Italy, the reformist Rifondazione Comunista, which has organized many of the antiwar protests, seizes this moment to declare its support for a new popular-front Olive Tree coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left, whose government in 1999 prosecuted the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia on behalf of Italian imperialism. In Australia, the promised shutdown of construction sites in Sydney by the building workers bureaucrats turned into a handful of spontaneous actions, while Green "antiwar" leader Bob Brown denounced protesters for burning an American flag and declared that "we" should now hope that Saddam Hussein is removed quickly.

In their turn, the AFL-CIO labor officialdom under John Sweeney, having mildly criticized Bush for circumventing the UN, now proclaims it is "unequivocal in our support of our country and



Egyptian protesters battle riot police in Cairo during antiwar demonstration, March 21.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Italian Trotskyists at Milano Protest:

"For Workers Strikes Against the War!"

We print below the translation of a March 20 speech, slightly edited, by a comrade of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, at the State University in Milano during a day of mass protests following the start of the bombing of Iraq.

The war against Iraq is an imperialist war of murder and robbery by the U.S. imperialists and their allies, but a just and defensive war on the side of Iraq. We are not pacifists, and we call on the workers to take a side in defense of Iraq without giving an inch of support to the nationalist, anti-working-class regime of Saddam Hussein. Defense of Iraq means mainly class struggle at home. We call for workers strikes against the war and to mobilize the social power of the working class in concrete actions against NATO bases and other military

infrastructure that is being used against Iraq.

We are not reformists, such as the Pantera Collective [a front group of the Falcemartello organization associated with Ted Grant's Militant tendency] who just spoke. We know that if the bourgeoisie keeps in its hands the means of production, the means of destruction and the state, it can always find a way to push people into a war when needed. War can only be stopped through a series of socialist revolutions that uproot the capitalist system that breeds war. This is why we need a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in a conscious fight to overthrow capitalism.

The precondition to this fight is a break with those forces that support capitalism. Rifondazione Comunista

(RC) is opposing this war from the standpoint of social-chauvinism: they call for the "national sovereignty" of Italy, and they present the European imperialist powers Germany and France as "pacifists" while they are sending their troops to the Balkans and Ivory Coast and waging a war against immigrants at home. RC said today that the Pope is the "prophet and living icon in a future free from the sin of war" (Liberazione, 20 March). This won't stop the war but will forge new chains for women, gays, immigrants. Anti-imperialism means class struggle against one's own capitalist class. It means opposing Italian militarism in the Balkans, where it was sent by the former government of the "left" with RC support. We call for Italian troops out of the Balkans and Afghanistan! We have to fight against the racist war that the Italian bourgeoisie is waging on immigrants.

Falcemartello here says that they are against "this war." But they support the capitalist state and the reformist parties that rule it, like the Labour Party in Britain. They have just stated that "the right wing accuses the Marxists of wanting to leave the nation undefended. This is entirely false. We are not pacifists and accept the need for an army" (www.marxismo.net, 6 February). Defending the nation just means supporting the aims of your own bourgeoisie. Those who "defend the nation" are not socialists but petty-bourgeois reactionaries, as Trotsky said. The capitalists are threatening all civilization. Thus the task to build a revolutionary workers party to overthrow them is all the more urgent.

America's men and women on the front lines" and urges the labor-hating racist in the White House "to redouble the administration's commitment to bolstering our security against terrorist attacks here at home." These labor lieutenants of American imperialism not only endorse the bloodbath of Iraqis but demand that Bush and Ashcroft—who have already unleashed up to 5,000 FBI agents to hunt down Iraqi nationals and others-"redouble" the roundups of immigrants, shredding of civil liberties, surveillance of left and labor activists and crackdown on union struggle which are carried out under the rubric of the "war on terror."

The interests of the international working class, especially in the U.S., are the exact opposite of those promoted by Sweeney & Co. The proletariat must stand firmly in defense of Iraq against the U.S./British attack.

In the countries dominating the imperialist invasion force, the U.S. and British sections of the ICL issued immediate statements in defense of Iraq against this colonial war. There and in other countries our contingents stood out for our aggressive championing of immigrant rights and our defense of the Palestinians against Zionist terror. In Rouen, France, a group of Kurdish workers joined our contingent in agreement with our call for defense of Iraq. In Toronto, a contingent of the Trotskyist League punctured the prevailing "left" unity behind the socialdemocratic New Democratic Party (NDP) with chants of "Who's next after Iraq? Defend North Korea against imperialist attack!" and a sign reading "NDP Says \$ Billions for Canadian Army—We Say Not a Person, Not a Penny for the Imperialist Military!" In San Francisco, our contingent at the March 22 protest chanted: "Imperialist war, we say no, the whole damned system's got to go!"

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

A new generation of youth is today having its eyes opened to the savagery of imperialist capitalism. Seeking to appeal to such sentiments, Workers World (20 March) declaims on its editorial page: "If there were a dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S. today, instead of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, this war would never happen." Perish the thought that Larry Holmes or any other Workers World Party spokesman would utter such a statement while sharing an ANSWER platform with the Democratic Party representatives of that dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Because in the real world, WWP's purpose is precisely to hoodwink young activists into thinking that this war could be stopped if only the movement becomes "broad" enough so that a sufficient number of Democratic politicians find it expedient to



Italy: Placard depicts Bush and Prime Minister Berlusconi as "the new Hitler and Mussolini." Italy has been rocked by strikes and mass protests since launching of war.

bleat "No to Bush's war." Only weeks earlier, *Workers World* (27 February) enthused that the huge February 15 protests had dealt a "body blow" to the Bush administration's "strategy for world domination." Try telling that to the people of Baghdad.

Many antiwar youth are coming to see that even the most mammoth peace marches, while expressing opposition to American imperialism, will not deter the capitalist government from waging war. While the mainstream of the antiwar movement embraces calls like "Peace is patriotic," many youth understand that this is a colonial war and that Iraq has every right to defend itself. At the March 22 protests, many youth took up our chant "Defend Iraq against U.S. attack!" and welcomed our slogans against the Democrats. But the self-styled communists of the Progressive Labor Party steadfastly refuse to take a side in defense of Iraq even as U.S. imperialism invades the country!

In the days since the bombing began, thousands of protesters in cities across the U.S. have courageously defied the cops and faced arrest in civil disobedience actions against the war. But no amount of militant direct actions can put a dent in the U.S. war machine, as was demonstrated at the time of the Vietnam War. As we wrote in "From Protest to Power," a major 1967 statement that was distributed in the hundreds of thousands: "Personal sacrifice can never substitute for a mass movement, and it is necessary to understand this in devel-

oping a perspective for the anti-war movement." It is necessary to go from a perspective of endless protests to a program for proletarian power aimed at sweeping away the imperialist system as a whole.

That means tapping the fundamental discontents and conflicts in American capitalist society—the anger of the oppressed black masses; the glaring disparity in wealth between the many at the bottom and the few at the top; the fear of joblessness, homelessness, loss of health insurance and pensions that plagues tens of millions of American workers. To do so requires a struggle to break workers and minorities from the stranglehold of Democratic Party "lesser evil" politics, which is reinforced by the labor bureaucrats and the petty-bourgeois black preachers and politicians. And for radical youth looking for a program of class war against this entire system of racist oppression and imperialist war, that means breaking as well with the class-collaborationist unity-mongering of the reformist left.

The black Democratic mouthpieces and labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie embrace the armed forces of American imperialism as "our troops." But the capitalist rulers spit on the black, Latino and working-class ranks of the military, who are just so much expendable cannon fodder to kill and be killed in the interests of General Motors, General Electric and ExxonMobil. The father of a black Marine killed in a helicopter crash in Kuwait held up a photo of his son to the TV cameras and declared bitterly, "George Bush, take a good look at this man, 'cause you

took my only son away from me."

Support for the war among blacks runs some 30 percent lower than among whites. "The reasons are obvious," writes black columnist Derrick Z. Jackson in the *Chicago Tribune* (3 March). "African-Americans are 12 percent of the general population but make up 21 percent of military personnel and 30 percent of Army enlistees." And, he might have added, some 50 percent of the overall prison population.

Key to labor struggle against imperialist militarism is breaking the classcollaborationist "national unity" pushed by the bourgeoisie and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Working-class struggle can and indeed *must* change the reactionary political climate. To reverse the one-sided war against labor and the oppressed, to oppose the U.S. rulers' wars of depredation and to defend civil liberties demands the independent class mobilization of working people on behalf of all the oppressed. The multiracial U.S. working class must be won through Marxist education and its own experience and struggle to the perspective of building a workers party that fights for socialist revolution.

"New World Order" Nightmare

As with the massive use of sophisticated weaponry against benighted Afghan tribesmen last year, the enormous firepower being deployed against Iraq is a gratuitous show of imperialist military force. Asia Times (19 March) correspondent Pepe Escobar wrote, "The European Union, China and Russia beware: the continued on page 10

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28 MARCH 2003

Iraq...

(continued from page 9)

Shock and Awe demonstration that is about to be unleashed on Iraq is pure *theatrical militarism*." "This is just the beginning," said an administration official (*New York Times*, 23 March). "I would not rule out the same sequence of events for Iran and North Korea as for Iraq." And Pentagon aide Richard Perle proclaims that France is no longer an ally and that NATO "must develop a strategy to contain our erstwhile ally" (quoted by Escobar).

As we assert in the 19 March statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.: "This is the shape of the 'New World Order' emerging from the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, whose military might helped to stay the hand of the American nuclear madmen." The U.S. bourgeoisie seized on that world-historic defeat for the proletariat, the final undoing of the first workers revolution in history, to proclaim a "one-superpower world" in which no challenge to American imperialist hegemony would be countenanced.

As far back as 1992, right on the heels of the destruction of the Soviet Union, leading elements of what is now the White House/Pentagon inner circle called for "deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role," in the words of a Defense Policy Guidance draft produced by current Vice President Richard Cheney and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz. This is today official government policy, enshrined in the National



March 25: Massive funeral procession in Baghdad following six days of U.S. terror bombing.

out by Islamic fundamentalist creatures of U.S. imperialism—is nothing more than an "opportunity"!

U.S. Aided Saddam Hussein's Rise to Power

In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (14 March), former National Security Council staffer Roger Morris points out: "Forty years ago, the Central Intelligence Agency, under President John F. Kennedy, conducted its own regime change in Baghdad, carried out in collaboration with Saddam Hussein." Intent on eliminating the bourgeois-nationalist Qassim (Kassem) regime that rode to power on the back of a massive uprising against the

opened up a revolutionary situation in which power was increasingly in the hands of the ICP, which had enormous support among the working masses, national and ethnic minorities and even sections of the military (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," Part Two, WV No. 741, 8 September 2000). The U.S. drew up contingency plans for a counterrevolutionary invasion, with U.S. troops landing in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan. But instead of leading the Iraqi workers to power, the Stalinist ICP leadership tied them to Qassim's bourgeois nationalists. On orders from the Khrushchev regime in Moscow, which was pursuing the pipedream of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, the ICP moved to rein in its working-class base, and the revolutionary wave began to recede, paving the way for the Ba'ath party's bloody rise to power in 1963.

A workers revolution in Iraq, carried out under the banner of proletarian internationalism, would have had a profound impact throughout the Near East, inspiring revolutionary upheavals in other countries and helping to shatter the chauvinist consensus binding the Hebrewspeaking proletariat to the Israeli capitalist rulers. The beheading of the Iraqi proletariat had an equally profound effect in the opposite direction, allowing the imperialists to tighten their grip on the region. It also paved the way for the rise of reactionary Islamic fundamentalismparticularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union—which today postures as the true friends of the besieged Palestinians and the only alternative to corrupt nationalist regimes and their Western patrons. Even the supposedly secularist Saddam Hussein emblazoned the words "Allah Akbar" (God Is Great) on the national flag on the eve of the first Gulf War and regularly peppers his speeches with references to god and jihad.

It is testimony to the atomization of the Iraqi proletariat, its strength further sapped by 12 years of privation, that the warmongers in Washington could believe they would encounter little resistance in conquering Iraq and even hope to be welcomed as "liberators." To be sure, such cynical calculations are already beginning to fall apart and will most certainly go up in smoke in the course of a prolonged, brutal and uncertain occupation.

What turned the American invasion of Vietnam in the 1960s into a long, *losing* colonial war was mainly that the Vietnamese masses fought not only in a national struggle against the U.S. imperialists but for a *social revolution* to sweep away the indigenous landowners, military men, pimps and drug dealers who ruled on behalf of the imperialists. And this was greatly aided by the existence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the Americans.

In the face of this "people's war," the U.S. engaged in a war of annihilation against the Vietnamese people, slaughtering upwards of three million in the course of a decade. But the Vietnamese workers and peasants persevered and prevailed. The debt owed them by working people and minorities in the U.S. and around the world for their valor and sacrifice in humbling the blood-drenched American ruling class will only be repaid when U.S. imperialism is finally defeated for good through workers revolution in the belly of the beast.

The crimes of the Ba'athists against Iraqi workers, Kurds and Shi'ites serve to underline why the call for military defense of Iraq is counterposed to any political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. In this war, our position is one of revolutionary defensism toward Iraq: seeking to combine the struggle for national independence against American imperialist militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landowners. But to this day, the Iraqi proletariat suffers from the legacy of its defeat in 1958-59. This underlines the necessity for the most advanced elements of the Iraqi proletariat to draw the lessons of the 1958-59 betrayal and fight to cohere a Leninist-Trotskyist party committed to the political independence of the proletariat. Only through proletarian revolutions against all the bonapartist dictators, sheiks and Zionist butchers can the workers and oppressed throw off the yoke of imperialism and lay the basis for a socialist federation of the Near East.

There is enormous anger throughout the world against this bloody invasion. Hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets of London and Berlin, and upwards of 300,000 marched through New York City on Saturday. From Spain to Yemen, protesters clashed with riot police. In Cairo, defiant demonstrators chanted, "Down with the Arab leaders!" To harness this anger into a struggle against the capitalist system that breeds war, it is necessary to forge revolutionary workers parties to lead the fight for international socialist revolution. Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! ■



Mass demonstration in Baghdad, July 1958. Crushing of 1958-59 revolutionary upsurge beheaded Iraqi proletariat.

Security Strategy affirming a general policy of "pre-emptive" war that was adopted by the White House last fall, only months after the Pentagon released a Nuclear Posture Review openly avowing a nuclear first-strike policy. The current White House/Pentagon cabal of Christian evangelicals and Zionist "neoconservatives," who are connected with the sinister Project for a New American Century (PNAC), openly asserts its godgiven right to rule the world.

It is no accident that the Cheney cabal, which was a minority voice in the Bush Sr. administration, calls the shots under Bush Jr. The U.S. bourgeoisie has grown dizzy with success since the end of the Cold War, and Cheney & Co. are a distillation of this arrogant imperialist triumphalism. As Chalmers Johnson explained in an Internet article titled "Iraqi Wars" (10 January):

"After George W. Bush became president many of these men returned to positions of power in American foreign policy. For nine months, they bided their time. They were waiting, in the words of PNAC's 'Rebuilding America's Defenses,' for a 'catastrophic and catalyzing event-like a new Pearl Harbor' that would mobilize the public and allow them to put their theories and plans into practice. September 11 was, of course, precisely what they needed. Condoleezza Rice called together members of the National Security Council and asked them 'to think about "how do you capitalize on these opportunities" to fundamentally change American doctrine, and the shape of the world, in the wake of September 11th'."

For the bloody rulers of American imperialism, the slaughter of 3,000 New Yorkers in a criminal terrorist attack—carried

British-backed monarchy in 1958, the CIA organized a coup led by the anti-Communist Ba'ath party. Citing a former Ba'ath leader, Morris reports:

"Among party members colluding with the CIA in 1962 and 1963 was Saddam Hussein, then a 25-year-old who had fled to Cairo after taking part in a failed assassination of Kassem in 1958....

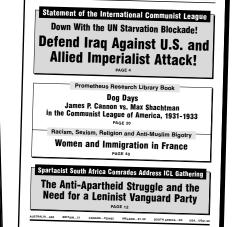
"Using lists of suspected Communists and other leftists provided by the CIA, the Baathists systematically murdered untold numbers of Iraq's educated elite—killings in which Saddam Hussein himself is said to have participated....

"Soon, Western corporations like Mobil, Bechtel and British Petroleum were doing business with Baghdad—for American firms, their first major involvement in Iraq."

Deposed shortly thereafter, in 1968 the Ba'athists staged another coup with CIA backing, which soon placed Saddam Hussein at the pinnacle of power. For years, U.S., German and French firms supplied Iraq with technology for the development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and in 1983 Rumsfeld himself went to Baghdad for a cozy chat with Hussein, the man now dubbed "another Hitler." It was only in 1990, when Washington no longer felt the need to counter Soviet influence in Baghdad and throughout the region, that the U.S. turned on the Iraqi strongman after he seized Kuwait from its billionaire oil sheik family.

The 1963 bloodbath was the price paid by Iraqi Communists, workers and Kurds for the betrayals of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) leadership in 1958-59. The overthrow of the monarchy





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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Bush to World: "Drop Dead!"



"Why of course the people don't want war.... But after all it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy, and it's always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship.... Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they're being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger."

—Hermann Goering (Gestapo/Nazi leader), Nuremberg, 1946

The world has witnessed the most massive antiwar demonstrations in global history, and the Bush Administration proposes to treat them as non-events.

This administration has, from its earliest days, acted with barely concealed contempt for the wishes of the world. The evisceration of the ABM treaty was one measure. The rejection of the International Criminal Court. The insults against German leaders who don't bow sufficiently when Americans stride in the neighborhood. The rampant Francophobia. The negation of the will of the United Nations.... These are but variant strains of an underlying theme: The United States, the Great, Mighty bastion of democracy, could care less what the majority of the world wants, not to mention what the majority of Americans want. War is dictated by the military-industrial-complex, and...so be it.

When a million people turn out in the capital of

the country of America's "closest ally" to oppose his policies, and the U.S. still loosens the reins of the mouth-foaming dogs of war, then "ally" is just a synonym for "servant," for surely, it cannot mean anything remotely like "friend." The beleaguered British Prime Minister, Tony Blair is facing an intraparty battle that threatens to topple its hold on power. What a queer duck this "democracy" is! It allows those in power to virtually ignore what the majority of the people (that they supposedly "represent") wants! Yet, Herr Bush, in truest dictatorial fashion, gives the nod to the army, and virtually promises to ignore whatever the UN does—unless they genuflect before His Imperial Majesty, King George II (or is it III?).

The Turkish Parliament boldly votes against the U.S. Empire's wishes to use its land as a planning table for massacre and war, and the Americans insist that they vote again! (Again—isn't this kind of, well, anti-democratic?)

"The Empire Strikes—First!"—and threatens to rip the world in half, unless all adore the Empire—New Babylon—and surrender before her all that she wishes.

We are all at the very brink of war, one which will not soon end. Truth be told, we are on the precipice of World War, if just a few small things go disastrously wrong.

Hundreds of cities, on all six continents, from Kuala

Lumpur to Ramallah, from Seoul to Seattle, from London to Leningrad, and beyond, the message went forth in a din that was deafening in its simplicity: "NO WAR!" But the White House is soundproof (except for the sound of coins jangling in the pockets of arms merchants or defense lobbyists) and the President of the United States is deaf. The government that Lincoln once claimed, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," won't hear the people—because they aren't saying what they want to hear.

What will it take?

What is clear is that it will take more than what has happened thus far.

Demonstrations are powerful indicators of popular consciousness, but is it enough when the State is profoundly undemocratic, and driven by other forces?

The answer may lie in that little-used social resource of union power. The recent statement of the AFL-CIO (a federation of trade unions in the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Panama and U.S. territories) against the war, while quite remarkable, was all but dismissed by the Bush Regime. What would happen, however, if a general strike were called among all member unions, against this imminent war?

It may take such measures to begin to put the dogs of war back in their cages, before, as Dr. Nelson Mandela suggested, a modern-day "holocaust" is unleashed upon the world.

4 March 2003

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Contributions are urgently needed for Mumia's legal defense. Checks made payable to "SEE Mumia Free" should be sent to: Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs, 20178 Rockport Way, Malibu, CA 90265.

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

Police State...

(continued from page 12)

conducted on the Internet or maintained in other computer databases, including the financial, medical, communication and travel records of everyone living in or entering the U.S. In other words, the labor-hating, anti-sex Bush administration, replete with admirers of the Confederacy, will know what books and periodicals you read, what music you listen to, what movies you watch, what cities and countries you travel to, who you sleep with and what type of contraception you use.

But that's not all. Patriot II would reward businesses that provide "information" to the government in "terrorism" investigations with immunity from lawsuits for slander and malicious prosecution. This is an invitation to the bosses to get rid of union militants by crying "terrorist." It also serves to revive Ashcroft's TIPS program calling on Americans to spy on one another, which was rejected overwhelmingly by Congress last year. Patriot II would also annul consent decrees entered into by police departments that purportedly limited their spying on political activists. These were adopted as settlements of lawsuits following exposure of FBI COINTELPRO and local police campaigns of surveillance, harassment and disruption of hundreds of organizations and hundreds of thousands of individuals engaged in legal political activity, particularly in the 1960s. Declaring that such decrees prevented the cops from "gathering information about organizations and individuals that may be engaged in terrorist activities and other criminal wrongdoing," this provision explicitly equates lawful political dissent with terrorism.

Anyone who thinks they have nothing to fear better take another look. In justifying its police state plans, government spokesmen rant that "terrorist sleepers" lead outwardly normal lives—students, businessmen, parents and soccer dads—and therefore everybody is suspect. Under the Patriot Act's definition of terrorism, the Feds' victims could include unionized government workers on strike or demonstrators protesting the U.S. military base in Vieques, Puerto Rico. Groups that have found themselves on Wash-



January 11: NYC protest against registration of immigrants from Islamic countries that led to detention of hundreds nationwide.

ington's "terrorist" hit list in the past included South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) and the Irish Republican Army. Had Patriot II been in effect at the time, donations by anti-apartheid protesters to ANC-run schools or contributions by Irish Americans to the defense of framed-up Irish nationalists like the Birmingham Six or Guilford Four would be a ticket to expatriation or residence in the American version of Robben Island or Long Kesh.

But Patriot II goes even further: one could find himself imprisoned for life for support to the entirely legal activities of organizations not even listed as "terrorist" by the government; all that has to happen is that the government decide at some future time that the organization is somehow linked to terrorism. At bottom, the government wants to treat American citizens as though they were subjects of an absolute monarchy, prey to the arbitrary whims of the crown.

Meanwhile, with the slaughter in Iraq underway, the Feds have begun interrogating hundreds of Iraqi Americans, many of whom recognize they may be interned like Japanese Americans during World War II. Abul Haider, spokesman for the Islamic Center of Beaverton, Oregon declared, "The feeling that someone could knock on your door at night and you could be taken away—that's a feeling I thought I left behind when I left Baghdad in 1979."

Patriot II would make the so-called "emergency" measures undertaken by the government following September 11—roundup and detention of immigrants,

summary deportations of any immigrant the government declares a threat to "national security," use of secret evidence in trials—into permanent fixtures of the American justice system, extending them to American citizens. What the government is implementing is a revision of the infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857; but rather than ruling that black people have "no rights which the white man was bound to respect," the government is declaring that citizens have no rights which the government is bound to respect.

The laws, measures and decrees being enacted by the Bush administration are ultimately no different from what a military dictatorship would use against its population—suspension of civil courts

on presidential command, unlimited powers of police to arrest and detain indefinitely without cause, etc. And it is all done within the framework of bourgeois democracy. As the communist Victor Serge explained in *What Everyone Should Know About State Repression* (1926): "For centuries, justice has been nothing but terror organised to the advantage of the possessing classes. To steal from a rich man has always been a greater crime than to kill a poor man."

But as sinister as the new "anti-terror" measures are, what the government is actually able to get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. It was the mass struggles against Jim Crow segregation that broke the back of McCarthyism. What is crucial is to mobilize labor's social power in defense of immigrants, which requires tearing through the straitjacket of "national unity" and the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers to weaken the labor movement and maintain their rule. On February 9 last year in Oakland, longshoremen were at the core of a labor-centered united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense in opposition to the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt and its "anti-terrorism" laws. More and larger such mobilizations, centered on the power of the working class, are needed to defend all our rights. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Palestinians! Israeli Blitzkrieg Claims American Victim

Rachel Corrie, a 23-year-old American supporter of the Palestinian people, has joined the mounting numbers of Palestinians being massacred daily by the Zionist state. A student activist at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, Rachel had been in Rafah, Gaza for about seven weeks as part of the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), a group composed mainly of Americans and Europeans who have dedicated themselves to "nonviolent direct action" against the bloody Zionist onslaught on the Palestinians, often acting as "human shields" against Israeli troops. In the seven weeks she was in Gaza, Rachel had taken part

Young Spartacus

in many actions to protect Palestinian homes from destruction by the Israeli army, which has destroyed the homes of over 90,000 Palestinians since September 2000. Rachel had also courageously taken part in actions to protect the Gaza water supply from Israeli attempts to destroy a local well.

On March 16, Rachel and several other ISM activists were at the Rafah refugee camp trying to stop the destruction of a Palestinian home. Standing directly in front of the bulldozer, wearing a bright orange jacket with reflective stripes, she and the other ISM supporters appealed over bullhorns for the driver to stop. Instead, he moved the bulldozer forward, crushing her. Then he backed up and ran over her again. She was pronounced dead upon arrival at a local hospital. Rachel Corrie was deliberately murdered by the same Israeli army that has slaughtered some 2,200 Palestinian men, women and children in the past 30



Rachel Corrie on March 16 courageously attempting to stop Israeli army bulldozer from razing Palestinian home shortly before its driver deliberately runs her over.

months. Her killing is an ominous signal from the Zionist rulers that it is now open season on the pro-Palestinian activists in the Occupied Territories, too.

An Israeli army spokesman grotesquely blamed Rachel for her own death, declaring that she was "acting very irresponsibly." Then in a manner evocative of their daily treatment of the Palestinians, Israeli troops attacked the mourners at Rachel's memorial service, firing teargas and stun grenades at Palestinian girls laying carnations at the spot where she was killed. They even went so far as to provocatively parade past the mourners a convoy of military vehicles, including the bulldozer that had killed Rachel days earlier.

The death of this courageous young woman marks the first time a member of the ISM has died in defense of the Palestinians against the U.S.-backed

Zionist state. Today, as U.S. imperialism launches its bloody invasion of Iraq, the threat to the Palestinians is more acute than ever. Under the cover of this war, the Sharon government, which includes parties openly committed to the forcible "transfer" of all Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, may well try to implement this genocidal policy. One of Sharon's cabinet ministers recently ranted: "Make their life so bitter that they will transfer themselves willingly." And this is exactly what the Zionist rulers have been trying to do with the daily massacres of Palestinians—100 in the last month alone-deprivation of livelihoods for an entire people and escalating destruction of homes and entire neighborhoods.

In powerful and moving letters, made public by her parents after her death, Rachel vividly described the horrific conditions she encountered in Gaza: "All of the situation that I tried to enumerate above—and a lot of other things—constitutes a somewhat gradual—often hidden, but nevertheless massive—removal and destruction of the ability of a particular group of people to survive. This is what I'm seeing here.... So I think when all means of survival is cut off in a pen (Gaza) which people can't get out of, I think that qualifies as genocide." In a remark foreshadowing her own death and placing it in context, she concluded: "If the Israeli military should break with their racist tendency not to injure white people, please pin the reason squarely on the fact that I am in the midst of a genocide."

Rachel Corrie was a manifestly courageous, intelligent and decent young woman who died for the just cause of defending the besieged Palestinian people. Activists against the Iraq war and

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Down With "Patriot II" Police State Measure!

Reuters

While U.S. imperialism carries out its Near East slaughter under the watchword "Operation Iraqi Freedom," the Bush administration is poised to push through a new law that would "free" American citizens from what little is left of the purported protections of the First, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth amendments, and in certain cases from citizenship itself. Developed in secret by Ashcroft & Co., the "Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003," a/k/a Patriot Act II, provides for a vast expansion of

powers for the president and his interior ministry ("Justice Department"). It is a bill that Haitian dictator Papa Doc Duvalier and Chilean butcher Pinochet could have embraced as their own. Just as 9/11 was the pretext for the Patriot Act, the administration could well use the invasion of Iraq to ram through Patriot II.

Under Patriot II, those who live in daily fear of the midnight knock on the door by the Feds would no longer be confined to immigrants from predomi-

nantly Muslim countries. Anyone who the thought police in Washington see as standing in the way of Wall Street profits and the U.S. drive to dominate the globe could be pinned with the "terrorist" label and hauled off in the dead of night. Patriot II calls for stripping citizenship from Americans who "provide material support" to an organization which at some time may be deemed "terrorist" by the U.S. government. Its victims would be locked away in military prisons, denied the right to legal

counsel and to even challenge their incarceration in court. The government is developing the right to disappear people—like hundreds of thousands of leftists and union activists in tinpot dictatorships that the U.S. imperialists have placed in power and supported around the world.

The new law seeks to fortify the Patriot Act, under which the government's secret police already have expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed. On top of this, the Defense Department has plans for a Big Brother "Total Information Awareness" project (TIA), a massive computer system designed to create a centralized database capable of mining and linking existing government and commercial databases. TIA would enable the Feds to access and identify all the transactions of everyday life continued on page 11

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