

Bush's Immigration Trap

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

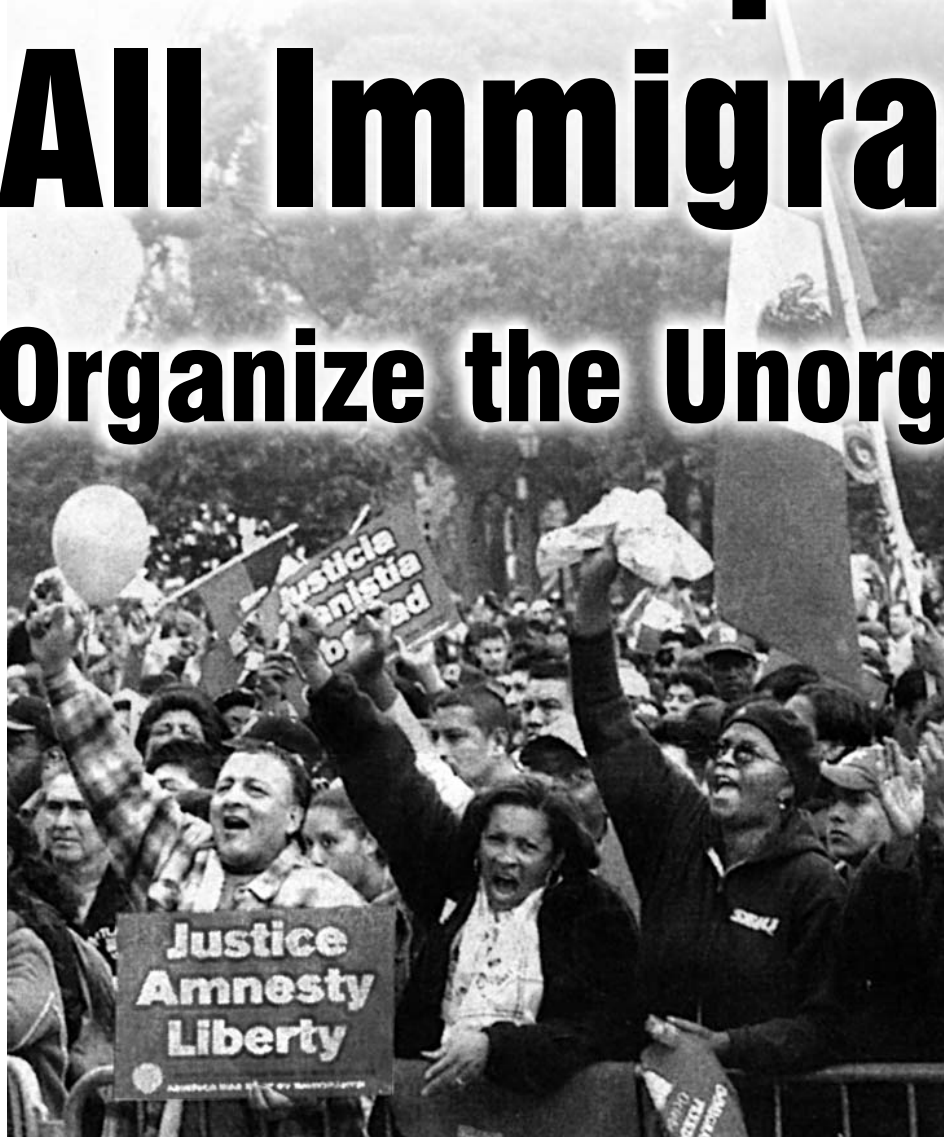
Labor: Organize the Unorganized!

George Bush has begun his run for re-election in earnest. Much of what he offers is a continuation of ongoing themes. The Iraq war was great, we are told, although just maybe the "Weapons of Mass Destruction" were nonexistent, with the intelligence "community" currently being set up as potential fall guys for bad information. Similarly, we are told that the current occupation is going swimmingly, and Iraq is on the verge of becoming a "great democracy," notwithstanding the continuing flow of body bags back to the States, the countless dead Iraqis and the murderous enmities—manipulated and inflamed by the U.S. occupiers—between the Sunni, Shi'ite and Kurdish populations of Iraq. As for the U.S. economy, Bush declares that it's really spectacular, with the jobs to come when the rich are assured that their tax cuts will be permanent. To the reactionary Christian fundamentalists, Bush has offered a campaign against homosexual marriage.

To this reactionary and fetid potpourri Bush has added a proposal to change the laws with regard to the estimated 8 to 14 million undocumented immigrants, mainly from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America, who currently reside here. They eke out a wretched underground existence—picking fruits and vegetables on farms, cleaning bed pans in nursing homes, laundering sheets and towels in hotels, washing dishes in restaurants—and all the while living in constant fear of deportation.

Bush's proposal would in no way improve their conditions or give them greater security. If anything, the opposite would be the case. Bush made it perfectly clear that he intends to more effectively organize and enforce the exploitation of immigrant workers, not to extend them democratic rights. Undocumented immigrants who register as "guest workers" would be given no special right to permanent residency, eventually leading to citizenship. "America's a welcoming country," Bush pontificated, "but citizenship must not be the automatic reward for violating the laws" (*New York Times*, 8 January).

The bill would give an employer near-



New York Times

Over 100,000 rally in New York City as part of AFL-CIO-organized Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride on 4 October 2003.

total control over those undocumented workers who register for legal status. Such workers would have little defense against slave-labor working conditions imposed by their "co-sponsor" employers. Any attempt to change employers could result in deportation. Moreover, by binding the worker to an employer, the

Feds will be able to keep tabs on immigrants who today might evade their scrutiny. As one undocumented worker put it: "The job I hold is one that no Americans, black or white, want to do. But this program makes us all scared. It seems to put the power in the hands of the employer, not the employee. You



Arizona cops round up immigrants, part of escalating crackdown in U.S./Mexico border region.

might be better off taking your chances as an undocumented worker" (*Newsday*, 8 January).

The liberal academic economist Robert Kuttner pointed out:

"Employers already enjoy great leverage over low-wage workers—witness how Wal-Mart has no trouble attracting workers despite dismal pay—but this plan would make immigrant workers something close to indentured servants. Unlike workers with green cards, they would lose their guest-worker status if they lost their jobs. And Bush's plan denies these guest workers the ability to apply for permanent resident status, much less citizenship."

—*BusinessWeek*, 9 February

No doubt Bush and his advisers figured that any proposed "reform" of immigration laws would lead to further inroads into the Latino vote come next November. But Mexican Americans and other Latinos, many of whom have relatives among undocumented immigrants, easily see through the repressive and reactionary nature of Bush's measure. While Bush's proposal has been welcomed by many capitalists, especially in California agribusiness, every major Mexican American organization has voiced opposition to it. "They're asking people to sign up for a program that is more likely to ensure their departure than ensure their permanent residency," was the immediate response of Cecilia Muñoz, a vice president of the National Council of La Raza (*New York Times*, 7 January).

Meanwhile, Bush's immigration plan has been welcomed by Mexican president Vicente Fox. Upon taking office, Bush promised Fox some substantial immigration reform. This was shelved by the September 11 attacks and the subsequent "war on terror." The current Bush plan, however—Fox's enthusiasm notwithstanding—has been received with widespread disgust and anger in Mexico.

Over the past few decades, large-scale immigration—undocumented as well as legally sanctioned—has been used by the capitalists to increase the rate of exploitation of labor in the U.S. Currently, over 25 percent of those hired into new jobs are foreign-born, who now make up over 12 percent of the total workforce. But when the economic and/or political needs and interests of the American ruling class change in this regard, the spigot of immigration can be slowed to a trickle and substantially reversed.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the federal, state and local

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Hands Off Anti-Fascist Protester Ines Weiner!

The following letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Martha Coakley, District Attorney for Middlesex County, Massachusetts, on February 17.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the legal railroading of Ines Weiner for her actions in protesting fascist, white-supremacist World Church of the Creator thugs on 14 September 2002. Weiner, a black immigrant, was uniquely targeted out of the hundreds of protesters against the fascists that day.

This particular fascist outfit, the World Church of the Creator, openly declares its aim of driving Jews and non-whites “off the planet.” It is responsible for murderous assaults such as the killing spree of its member, Benjamin Smith. In a Fourth of July rampage in 1999, Smith shot

down blacks, Jews and Asians. He killed Ricky Byrdson, the former coach of the Northwestern basketball team, and a Korean American student and wounded three others. Other thugs linked to this same group were charged with the murder of a gay couple in Northern California.

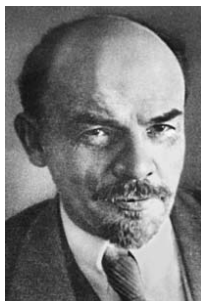
It is grotesque that Ines Weiner, an anti-racist activist, is now charged, in addition to trumped-up counts of assault and battery and disorderly conduct, with violation of the fascists’ “civil rights.” Rather, it is the prosecution of this courageous opponent of fascist terror that constitutes a violation of First Amendment rights. Ines Weiner’s participation in a protest against the World Church of the Creator was not a crime but an act of basic defense of working people and minorities. We demand all charges against her be dropped.



TROTSKY

Proletarian Unity and Defense of Immigrant Workers

Intransigently opposed to national chauvinism, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he built championed the rights of immigrant workers, a tradition we continue to fight for today. This is in stark contrast to the protectionist chauvinism of the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy, which serves to further the capitalists’ aim of dividing the working class along national and ethnic lines. In the midst of renewed attacks against foreign-



LENIN

born workers in the U.S., we call on the labor movement to organize the unorganized and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers thus wander hundreds and thousands of versts. Advanced capitalism drags them forcibly into its orbit, tears them out of the backwoods in which they live, makes them participants in the world-historical movement and brings them face to face with the powerful, united, international class of factory owners.

There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameless manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the *progressive* significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of the working people of the *whole* world, breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany, and so forth....

The bourgeoisie incites the workers of one nation against those of another in the endeavour to keep them disunited. Class-conscious workers, realising that the breakdown of all the national barriers by capitalism is inevitable and progressive, are trying to help to enlighten and organise their fellow-workers from the backward countries.

—V.I. Lenin, “Capitalism and Workers’ Immigration,” 29 October 1913

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 17 February.

No. 820

20 February 2004

SYC Leads Protest at CCSF:

Military Recruiters Off Campus!

Young Spartacus

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting “*Military recruiters off campus now! Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq!*”, “*War abroad, racism at home—military recruiters go home!*” and “*Military recruiters we say no, capitalism has got to go!*”, the SYC led an impromptu protest on January 29 against recruiters for the U.S. Army, who were setting up a table on the City College of San Francisco (CCSF) campus. Ten members of the campus Anarchist Library group joined us in protest, bringing with them plastic drums and a megaphone that they lent us. Their participation helped make it a lively, spirited protest. Another 20 students, mostly black, gathered around, some chanting with us. This protest was an opportunity for students to take a stand against U.S. imperialism. It is the job of campus recruiters to lure youth into becoming fodder for the imperialists in their wars against neocolonial countries like Iraq. *ROTC and military recruiters off campus!*

We proposed the protest to the anarchists at the start of our weekly campus sale after a pair of U.S. Army recruiters appeared. Some of the anarchists argued that there was no point in protesting the recruiters since they had permits from

the administration. The week before, one of the anarchists had gone to the dean of student activities with a complaint that the recruiters hadn’t filed paperwork to get a table. These anarchists, who claim to be opponents of “authority,” actually defended calling on the administration to enforce its rules, which it would all too gladly use against the left. During the protest, some anarchists remained on the sidelines, while others *politely chatted with the military recruiters!*

Last year, liberal pacifists and most anarchists opposed the war but refused to defend Iraq against the biggest imperialist power in the world. Revolutionaries stood for the military defense of Iraq, while giving no support to Saddam Hussein’s brutal nationalist regime. *Down with U.S. imperialism!*

As we said at the united-front demonstration we initiated against the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) at UC Berkeley last spring: “The best way to defend the victims of imperialist war abroad as well as blacks, immigrants and working people from the war on them at home is through class struggle against America’s capitalist rulers” (WV No. 802, 25 April 2003). We welcome more united-front protests to get the recruiters off the CCSF campus and campuses across the nation. Join us in this fight! ■

Spartacist/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Down With the U.S. Occupation of Iraq! All U.S. Troops Out Now!

Saturday, February 21, 2 p.m.

First Parish Church, 3 Church Street
Harvard Square, Cambridge

For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

BOSTON

Victory to Grocery Workers Strike! Picket Lines Mean Don’t Cross!

Friday, February 20, 6 p.m.

Caffe Pergolesi
418 Cedar St. at Elm St.

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

SANTA CRUZ

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m.

February 26: **The ICL’s Fight Against Counterrevolution in East Germany and the Soviet Union**

University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, 5811 S. Ellis Ave., Room 204
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

TORONTO

Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

February 26: **The Spanish Revolution: The Betrayals of Stalinism and Anarchism and the Trotskyist Alternative**

York University Student Centre
Room 311C
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Visit the International Communist League Web site:
www.icl-fi.org

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, 2 p.m.

February 28: **Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution**

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

NEW YORK CITY

Tuesday, 8 p.m.

February 24: **Capitalism and “Globalization”: Smash Imperialism! For Global Workers Rule!**

Columbia University
Fayerweather Hall, Room 302
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Thursday, 6 p.m.

February 19: **The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power**

Simon Fraser University
Maggie Benston Centre, Room 2290
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tltl@look.ca

Strange Postings on Iran

Mullahs, Monarchists, Neocons and Zionists

Imagine our surprise when we read under the headline “Tehran Terrorfest” in Rupert Murdoch’s *New York Post* (26 January) that “Spartacists” would be among the participants in the “Ten Days of Dawn” celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Ayatollah Khomeini’s return to Iran. The *Post* article was penned by one Amir Taheri, an Iranian monarchist and former executive editor in chief of Iran’s largest daily, *Kayhan*, during the last decade of the despised Shah’s murderous rule. As Marxist opponents of Islamic reaction, we energetically fought for the independent interests of the proletariat during the 1978-79 upheaval against the Shah, participating in struggles internationally with our signature slogans on signs, banners and newspapers (including in Farsi) proclaiming: “Down With the Shah! Don’t Bow to Khomeini! No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution in Iran!” It would be very odd indeed for any “Spartacists” connected to the Spartacist League or the International Communist League (formerly international Spartacist tendency) to be guests at the Iranian clerical regime’s fete.

On February 10, the *Post* ran another article by Amir Taheri which expanded upon his false amalgam of Marxists with Islamists. Headlined “Tehran Tyranny’s 25th,” the article cites as “terrorists” in league with Khomeini in 1979 in Iran: the “People’s Mujahedin,” the “People’s Fedayeen Guerrillas, one pro-Moscow, the other pro-Beijing,” and adds, “There were, as well, the Trotskyites, the Spartacists, the Guevarists and countless other leftist terrorist gangs.” Taheri then notes, “Once in power he [Khomeini] began destroying his former allies one by one.” Taheri’s articles are the newsprint equivalent of three-card monty: shuffling names and time sequences faster than the eye can follow. In the first article (26 January), he claims “Spartacists, Trotskyites and Guevarists” are in Tehran today celebrating Khomeini’s rise to power. In the next article (10 February), he says these very forces were wiped out by the ayatollahs two decades ago. To paraphrase Trotsky, even slander should make some sense.

We don’t know exactly why these smears were run (and widely picked up by other print media and Web sites), but Taheri, the *Post* and the archreactionary think tanks and foundations that back him have plenty of reasons to hate us for our ideas. We are energetic defenders of the Palestinian people against the genocidal policies of the Zionists; we proudly took a side in defense of Iraq against the one-sided slaughter waged by U.S. imperialism; we unconditionally defend the North Korean deformed workers state’s right to possess nuclear weapons to defend itself; we are champions of the rights of black people, immigrants and workers against the capitalist rulers. What stands behind Taheri and his slander machine are the architects of U.S. imperialist mass murder, braintrusters for Zionist terror against the Palestinian people and racist, anti-labor media magnates like Rupert Murdoch and Conrad Black.

Taheri’s association of “Spartacists” with the Iranian ayatollahs is so demonstrably false that he is convicted by his own pen as a liar whose word on anything is not to be believed. In addition to our publicly documented 25-year history of opposition to Islamic fundamentalism in Iran, we rallied to the defense of our political opponents on the left who were tortured, jailed and killed by the mullahs they foolishly tailed against the Shah back in 1979. In 1989, we launched an international united-front campaign of protest against the massive wave of killings of leftist political prisoners and other dissidents in Khomeini’s prisons.

We are proud to be the only political tendency on the planet which *hailed* the 1979 Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan in the war against CIA-backed Islamic cutthroats. We condemned Gorbachev’s withdrawal of the troops, which signaled the rollback culminating in the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolu-

tion in the Soviet Union itself. We raised over \$40,000 in a 1989 worldwide campaign of humanitarian aid for the civilian victims of the CIA’s *mujahedin* reactionaries in the Afghan city of Jalalabad.

Taheri is not merely a tool of the ousted monarchists, the displaced plumes of the peacock throne, which the neocons in and around the Bush administration seek to reinstall by crowning the son of the last hated monarch Iran’s next ruler. No, Amir Taheri is himself a veritable Weapon of Mass Regurgitation (WMR). Numerous articles under his name have appeared in slightly varied form in newspapers around the world, including the

pursuit of our own democratic rights, we have defended the rights of the entire left and workers movement by energetically fighting such deadly slanders. We’ve fought violence-baiting and “terrorist” smears from publications, including the *New York Post* before, as well as more formidable forces than that Murdoch rag. The Spartacist League sued the FBI over its false targeting of us as “terrorist”—and won. In 1984, the FBI was forced to recast its definition of the SL to exactly what we are: a Marxist political organization. This was a modest but important victory against the new McCarthyism of the Reagan years. We also noted at the

tions” firm called Benador Associates, whose client list is a veritable “who’s who” of the architects and apologists for the terror and destruction for which U.S. imperialism is infamous worldwide. The neocons’ mission is to get the Bush administration to bring “democracy” to Iran and redraw the map of the Near East in the interests of U.S. imperialism and “Israeli security.” Notably, a Pacific News Service report (19 June 2003) states that Taheri is now a paid employee of the U.S. government, a director of a new satellite television channel which broadcasts Farsi-language U.S. propaganda into Iran.

Like the late Shah, for whom he apologizes with mild criticisms, Taheri views Marxists as criminals. “Fanatical Journalism,” an 18 July 2003 article on the Payvand Web site, which specializes in news about Iran, states:

“At the height of his power, the late Shah of Iran dismissed the assertion that his regime held any political prisoners, retorting that the people whom the interviewer were referring to ‘happened to be Marxist,’ an outlawed political ideology. He was basically trying to say that being a Marxist was tantamount to being a criminal. This mentality permeated the psyche of his loyal subjects as well, including Mr. Taheri.... It is unfortunate that a ‘journalist’ should find it necessary to falsify and vilify in order to score political points. We know from experience that ideologues of this kind, when in power, would no longer need the service of words.”

When in power, the Shah “spoke” through the torture and execution of thousands of political prisoners. Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was installed by the CIA in 1953 in a coup against the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq government which planned to nationalize Iran’s



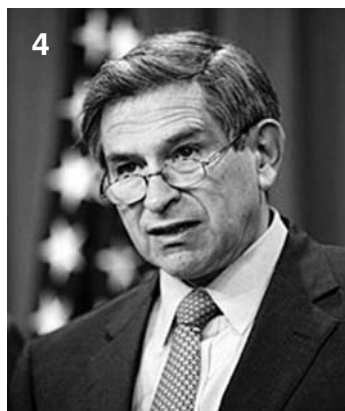
Benador Associates



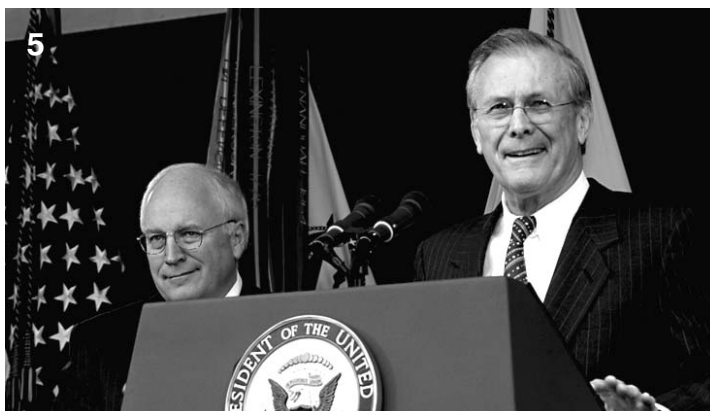
Benador Associates



Bob Guzzardi



Ward/Department of Defense



Stikkel/Department of Defense



Columbia Pictures

Neocon rogues’ gallery: (1) Amir Taheri with Eleana Benador; (2) Richard Perle with Eleana Benador; (3) Reza Pahlavi (son of deposed Iranian monarch) with Eleana Benador; (4) Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz; (5) Vice president Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. We have not yet confirmed what relationship Dr. Strangelove (6) has with neocons and Benador.

Jerusalem Post, the Canadian *National Post*, the *National Review*, the *New York Times*, major bourgeois weeklies and dailies in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, as well as *Arab News*, mouthpiece for the reactionary Saudi regime, and *Gulf News*, published out of the United Arab Emirates. The virulently racist right-wing McCarthyite David Horowitz propagates Taheri’s columns on college campuses. Zionist Web sites pick up Taheri’s columns as part of their worldwide crusade to bash opponents of Israeli state terror as “anti-Semites.”

Bad things tend to happen to people who are called “terrorist,” especially in Bush’s America where many fundamental democratic rights have been abrogated by the so-called “war on terror.” In

time that we have “no illusions that the government’s secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government” (“FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists,” WV No. 368, 7 December 1984). Consistent with our purpose to defend the workers movement from capitalist repression, it is necessary to expose Amir Taheri and the dangerous forces behind him.

Not Merely a Pundit but a Provocateur

Amir Taheri is not only a prolific writer; he is also a scribe for the cabal of neocons represented by a “public rela-

oil industry. To prop up the Shah’s rule, U.S. and Israeli intelligence officers helped found the “intelligence” agency SAVAK to round up members of the outlawed Communist party (Tudeh) and “neutralize” all opponents of the regime. All facets of life were monitored, censored and repressed, from journalists’ articles, to classroom discussions, labor and peasant organizations and even Iranians living abroad. SAVAK ran a network of informers which monitored some 30,000 Iranian students on U.S. college campuses alone (Intelligence Resource Program Web site, 13 January 2000). In the late 1970s, Iranian students protested the U.S.-backed Shah in massive demonstrations, wearing masks to

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Racist Campaign Escalates Against Aborigines

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!

Australia

On the night of February 15 the Aboriginal ghetto known as “the Block” in Redfern, Sydney exploded in anger over the death of 17-year-old Thomas “TJ” Hickey. Thomas Hickey died in the early morning hours of that day from injuries sustained after being impaled on a metal fence, having fallen from his bicycle while fleeing cops who were scouring Redfern on Saturday after a bag was snatched at the local train station. Thomas Hickey had plenty of reason to flee—he’d been beaten by the police only a few weeks after arriving in Redfern last December, in what the cops claimed was a “mistaken identity” arrest.

Thomas Hickey’s family and friends in the Aboriginal community of Redfern had barely begun to grieve his death when the notoriously racist Sydney cops piled on their provocations: at midday patrolling officers taunted Aboriginal youth with racist epithets, by 1 p.m. they had shut down the Redfern station entrance nearest the Block, and by 5 p.m. they sealed off traffic on the street leading to the Block. A resident described the scene: “There were hundreds of them, arms locked, visors down. I’ve never seen so many police. Finally the kids started yelling, ‘C’mon, bring it on’.”

Throughout the night up to a hundred Aboriginal youths, many of them friends of Thomas Hickey, battled phalanxes of riot cops, 40 of whom were injured. Fed up with years of racist terror from the Carr state Labor government’s cops, Aboriginal residents mobilized to defend themselves. The following day lampposts in Redfern displayed wanted posters featuring photos of police under the heading “Child Murderers” and a young woman spray-painted “Redfern cops are child-killers” on the road.

Five people have already been arrested and the police are threatening to arrest more. We say: Drop the charges! Free all those arrested! In solidarity with the besieged Aboriginal people, supporters of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League, went to Redfern on Monday evening. They distributed their newspaper, *Australasian Spartacist* No. 185 (Summer 2003/04), featuring the article we print below, slightly edited.

**Australasian
SPARTACIST**

In this racist hellhole, where desperate refugees are incarcerated for years in concentration camps if they are not pushed back out to sea in leaky boats, the brutal capitalist oppression of the Aboriginal population continues to intensify. Aboriginal people are systematically denied decent health, education, housing and employment and are imprisoned at a rate 15 times the national average. Today the life expectancy for Aborigines is some 20 years less than other Australians.

It is truly sick then that the White Australia capitalist exploiters are now on a heightened ideological offensive to brand blacks as deserving of their own oppression. For this purpose the bourgeoisie and the right-wing Howard government [Liberal Party/National Party Coalition] are

seizing on the existence of domestic violence and other problems within communities like alcoholism—problems that exist throughout society but which are exacerbated by racist oppression and enforced marginalisation. West Australian Labor premier, Geoff Gallop, told Aboriginal parents and elders to stop making excuses for Aboriginal juvenile crime, railing that historical considerations should not be blamed for current problems (*Sunday Times*, 21 November

created by the Hawke and Keating ALP [Australian Labor Party] governments to coopt outspoken Aboriginal leaders and make Aborigines complicit in their own subjugation is not enough for today’s federal Coalition and state ALP governments. The main target has been the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the government’s leading indigenous body. ATSIC has been stripped of its spending power and its leaders, despite their loyal service to

on 1 May 2002 when Aboriginal people had, for the first time, been admitted to the members enclosure of the Warrnambool races. On that day Clark was hosting people from his community in a marquee [large tent] rather than the tin shed normally reserved for Aborigines. Soon however Clark and his friends would run smack bang into the vicious social reality of White Australia.

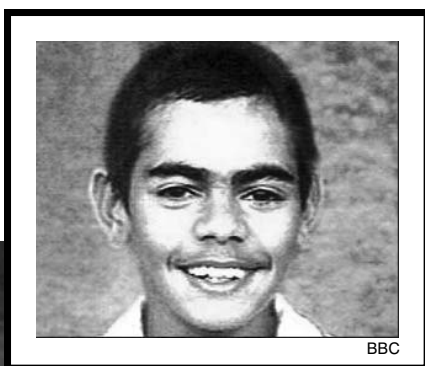
On leaving the races they went to the Grand Hotel where the racist publican closed his hotel down rather than serve Aborigines. The group then moved on to the Criterion Hotel where another racist publican again confronted them and cops were quickly called to remove some of Clark’s friends. When Clark protested and called on his friends to “Stand firm and stand your ground” he and others were set upon by police and attacked with capsicum spray causing Clark to be taken to hospital. The cold hard facts are that Geoff Clark was targeted by the cops and courts of Bracks’ [Victoria] state ALP government and then suspended from ATSIC by the federal Tory minister because he stood against the barbaric enforced denial of Aboriginal people to equal access to amenities. Overturn the remaining conviction! Down with the racist suspension of Geoff Clark!

What is needed is the broadest action of trade unionists, Aborigines and anti-racist youth to protest the witchhunt of Clark and combat the racist exclusion that Aboriginal people face. In the early 1990s, the Spartacist League brought trade unionists, including Maori building workers and members of local Aboriginal communities together with students to break a racist exclusion which had prevented Aborigines from drinking at the Student Prince Hotel near Sydney University (see “Racist Ban Defeated at Student Prince Hotel,” *Australasian Spartacist* supplement, 2 June 1993). This small but powerful action gives a taste of the struggle that a mass revolutionary party would wage to mobilise the power of the working class in defence of Aboriginal people and all the oppressed.

The potential for politically advanced workers to be won to such a fight is linked to the fact that the increasing levels of degradation of Aborigines are part of all-sided capitalist attacks on the working class and the poor. Union-busting, such as attempted against the CFMEU [Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union] today, goes hand in hand with speedups and other attacks on working conditions resulting in escalating numbers of workers killed on the job. On 16 October, a 16-year-old Sydney plumber’s apprentice, Joel Exner, died after his boss failed to supply him with a safety harness.

Indeed since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago, capitalist governments worldwide have been slashing public health care and education, eroding the living standards of the working class and effectively throwing “unprofitable” sections of the population overboard. In Australia, this is coupled with virulent racism to scapegoat indigenous peoples, Asian and Arab minorities and refugees in a divide-and-conquer tactic aimed at deflecting the anger of the working class away from the attacks of the bosses.

The fight for an uncompromising working-class defence of Aboriginal peoples is thus an important part of the strug-



Aboriginal youth Thomas “TJ” Hickey died impaled on fence while fleeing racist Sydney cops. Below: Police in riot gear lay siege to Aboriginal community in Redfern, confronting youth enraged by TJ’s death.



The Australian

2003). Meanwhile a spate of additional anti-drinking bans has been foisted on Aboriginal communities. These new laws have been met with just opposition from angry residents, for example in the far northern Cape York town of Aurukun. The laws are patronising, racist constrictions of democratic rights. And like the broader anti-Aboriginal ideological campaign, they provide convenient pretexts for even greater police harassment.

Indigenous youth in country towns face night curfews by local councils and mandatory detention by state governments. Fuelled by legal violence, extra-legal terror is also on the rise. In the north Queensland town of Mossman, Ku Klux Klan gangs have attacked Aborigines in their homes, while Aboriginal residents of Townsville have received repeated death threats. Not surprisingly Darwin and Townsville, the military staging grounds for Australian imperialism’s occupation forces abroad, are particular hotbeds of redneck racism.

Down With the Witchhunt of Geoff Clark!

The anti-Aboriginal ideological offensive also serves to justify government attacks on Aboriginal organisations. The ruling class is on a warpath against these organisations because they want to crush even the most minimal pretence of an independent Aboriginal voice. The fact that many of these organisations were

the Howard government, have been witchhunted.

In August, Phillip Ruddock, the then federal minister for immigration and indigenous affairs, suspended the elected chairman of ATSIC, Geoff Clark, for “misbehaviour.” Ruddock, who is widely hated for spearheading the racist internment of refugees, used as his pretext Clark’s recent conviction on charges of “behaving in a riotous manner” and “obstructing police” over an incident last year at the Criterion Hotel in the Victorian coastal town of Warrnambool. In fact Clark carried out the courageous and decent act of defending Aborigines—including women and elders—against a racist publican [barkeeper], notorious for refusing to serve blacks, and police wielding capsicum [pepper] spray guns. While Clark’s conviction for “riotous behaviour” has been overturned in a court appeal, the other conviction and a \$750 fine stands, and he has been banned from the hotel.

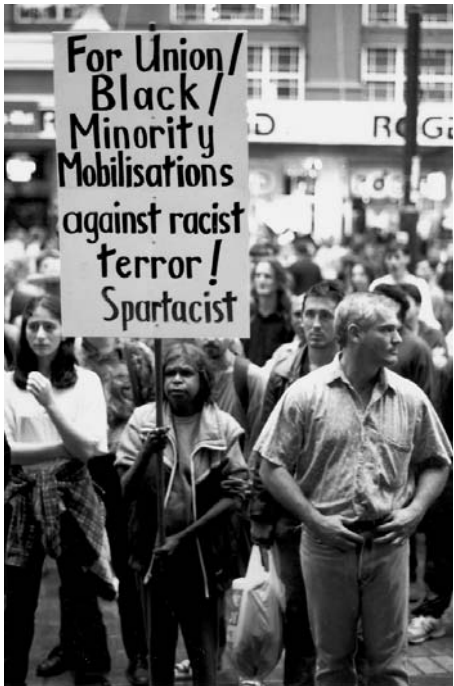
Clark is also the subject of recently revived murky rape allegations, dating back decades. While we are not in a position to judge his guilt or innocence in this case, his conviction stemming from the Warrnambool incident was a racist outrage which underlines the bourgeoisie’s impulse to drive all Aboriginal people back to the desperate poverty-ridden fringes of outback towns.

Clark’s convictions stem from events

gle to politically arm the proletariat into a force that can take on the capitalist rulers and win. Proletarian-centred actions would fight to enforce equal access to public and private amenities. They would demand jobs for all and equal wages; and for massive health, housing and education programs to begin to address the marginalisation and oppression of the Aboriginal people in remote areas, in the wretched fringes and inner-city ghettos. The SL supports any attempts by Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of the land which has been stolen from them. Where Aboriginal land rights come up against socially useful developments like hydroelectric projects or railways, the Aboriginal peoples should receive generous compensation for any deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement. However, elementary justice—not only for Aboriginal people, but for all the exploited and oppressed—demands not some limited, ultimately reversible concessions from the bosses but the expropriation of industry, mining and agriculture from the greedy exploiters through proletarian revolution.

Bourgeois Reaction and Aboriginal Women

The capitalist media have been triumphantly lauding Aboriginal “leaders” like Noel Pearson and Mick Dodson who have obscenely called on the racist government to “help” Aboriginal people stop doing harm to themselves. Their statements have embellished the cynical platitudes of concern for Aboriginal women and children recently mouthed by some elements in the white ruling class. Such platitudes from the racist exploiters are the most revolting hypocrisy! This is the same ruling class who used brutal violence and repression to force Aboriginal children into being domestic or agricultural slaves of the squatters [white farmers] last century and who denies recognition, let alone redress, for the Stolen Generations



Australasian Spartacist

Spartacists call for labor-centered fight against racist terror at 1993 Melbourne protest against cop killing of a young Aborigine.

[Aboriginal children taken from their families by the government]. This is the ruling class which presides over one of the highest infant death rates in the world for Aboriginal children and which imprisons refugee children in desolate hellhole camps from Baxter to [the South Pacific island of] Nauru.

Aboriginal women, particularly those in poverty-stricken communities, are triply oppressed by race, gender and class. Capitalist Australia is an extremely misogynist society where the anti-woman cult of “mateship” is glorified. A survey in 1988 found that 20 percent of the general population condoned wife-beating. Aboriginal women in particular are subject to the harshest conditions of capitalist rule. They are systematically shut out of employment, having to bring up children in the broiling outback heat often without a semblance of decent education, health or

**August 2002:
Protest against
Queensland state
Labor Party
government
by Aboriginal
workers and
families who had
their wages
stolen for
decades.**



Christine Howes

child care, housing, electricity or even running water. And with the fabric of Aboriginal communities torn asunder by colonial dispossession and brutalised by daily state terror, indigenous women confront high rates of violent assault, rape and murder. It is within this context that many Aboriginal people have made heart-felt appeals within their communities for an end to the endemic violence and abuse. But the feigned “concern” for indigenous women and children coming from the capitalist rulers is purely aimed at vilifying Aborigines as “violent” and providing an excuse for even more racist state repression.

Given the ongoing state terror it is understandable that many Aboriginal women refuse to call authorities when confronted with violent abuse of children or themselves because to do so places them, their men or children in the cross hairs of the state. While it is well known that detention can often be a death sentence for black men, it is not so well known that indigenous children are today removed from their families at six times the rate of non-indigenous children, or that nearly one-third of the NSW [New South Wales] female prison population is Aboriginal! *Indeed the great instigator of violence against indigenous women is the capitalist state itself.*

The brutality of police and prison in black lives is bitterly captured in a story from the women’s peace protest outside the Pine Gap [joint U.S./Australian] spy base 20 years ago. In November 1983 protesters were dragged en masse to Alice Springs’ police lock-up. The next morning, a delegation of local Aboriginal women thanked the mainly white city women for filling up the prison. No Aboriginal woman had been raped by cops or screws in the jail, they said, for the first night in living memory.

Break with Laborism!

The road to liberation for indigenous women, for all Aboriginal peoples and all the oppressed lies in the struggle to mobilise the social power of the multiracial working class *against* the capitalist rulers and their state. While the history of working-class defence of indigenous peoples in Australia is all too slender, such events when they occur reverberate powerfully, including throughout the Asian region. The spectacular storming of parliament in Canberra, August 1996 by militant Aborigines, unionists and youth is one example. This action, at a 35,000-strong demonstration protesting against the Howard government’s attacks on welfare and union rights, was sparked when cops attacked an Aboriginal contingent at the head of a march of Aborigines and unionists, and the building workers, miners and others rushed to defend the Aboriginal protesters.

In Brisbane on 8 August this year, the Queensland Council of Unions held a small but significant protest against the Beattie ALP state government’s insulting offer of \$4,000 or \$2,000 to Aboriginal workers whose wages were “held in trust” by governments and looted for decades.

The protest called for full reparation to all workers fighting to reclaim stolen wages, which even the Queensland government admits amounts to at least \$500 million in that state alone!

Standing in the way of unleashing the power of the integrated working class in defence of themselves and all the oppressed is the current pro-capitalist Laborite leadership in the unions and the racist backward consciousness it transmits to, and reinforces within, the proletariat. Following the 1996 storming of parliament, the traitorous ALP/ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] leadership collaborated with a vicious state witch-hunt, fingering militants to the cops and carrying out an internal purge of the anti-racist unionists. This was a pledge by key union bureaucrats to prevent the organised workers ever again defending Aboriginal people from racist state terror. Today, while unions have protested the Queensland government’s refusal to hand back stolen wages to Aboriginal workers, they have not mobilised union power in the necessary strike action to win the back pay for the workers and their families. Instead, Queensland CFMEU leaders for example have told Aboriginal people to look to the thieving state’s own Industrial Relations Commission.

Acting as the labour lieutenants of capital, the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy demobilises the union ranks, preaches submission to the bosses’ courts and channels proletarian struggles into the dead end of ALP parliamentarism. An internationalist revolutionary workers party—a tribune of the people—must be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP from the nationalist leadership.

But this is not the perspective of the various reformist and centrist left groups. A case in point is the centrist Workers Power (WP) group. While building illusions in the bourgeois state, for example through their *ritual* call to vote for the racist ALP (which in power administers the capitalist state), they simultaneously push rhetoric opposing national, sexual and racial oppression. This is highlighted with regard to the Aboriginal struggle, where in one breath WP calls for the implementation of the recommendations of the Hawke/Keating ALP’s whitewash Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, and in the next declares that Aborigines have “the right to be free of the police and judicial oppression.” WP also calls for Aborigines to have “the right to administer justice within the communities, because whitefellas’ justice in the indigenous communities is nothing more than the business of keeping people in place while the theft [of lands and resources] goes on” (*The Socialist Solution to Market Madness*, May 2001).

While we defend whatever political autonomy Aboriginal people (with a land base) can wrest from governments, including the right to govern their land and control its resources, we also understand that as long as the capitalist exploiters hold state power, any “justice” will necessarily be subordinate to the white racist ruling class and its state. This capitalist

state—which at its core consists of the police, courts, military and prisons—was created and is reinforced and perfected daily for the very purpose of enforcing capitalist class rule over the exploited and oppressed masses.

WP’s verbiage notwithstanding, the bottom line is that, in pushing for implementing the findings of the bourgeois court’s Royal Commission, they sow illusions in and tie Aborigines and workers to the main force for Aboriginal oppression—the capitalist state. And while WP fatuously declares that the “police must be held to account for every death” they don’t breathe a word that the Royal Commission into deaths in custody *endorsed* the police and coroner verdicts of “suicide” and “death by natural causes” in all 99 cases it reviewed. In other words all the killer cops walked! It was the SL that warned from the start that the Royal Commission would result in a whitewash.

It is no accident then that WP, who also “call on the labour movement to support every demand of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders,” don’t address the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats who are the key obstacle to proletarian-centred struggle for indigenous rights.

In contrast to WP, genuine communists fight to combat illusions that the capitalist state can act on behalf of the oppressed and fight to expose the role of the Labor traitors within the workers movement. This is key to preparing and training the proletariat for the workers revolution that alone can free itself, Aboriginal people and all the downtrodden from racist capitalist state terror while opening the road to the eradication of poverty, the liberation of women and the ending of racial oppression. As we explained in our programmatic statement:

“Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those Aboriginal people who desire it, and the fullest possible autonomy for those who do not, and make it possible to address the special needs created by more than two centuries of injustice and oppression.”

—*For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!*, October 1998

Racist Australian Imperialists Groove on Aboriginal Dispossession

The publication in 2002 of *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, by right-wing ideologue, Keith Windschuttle, sparked just outrage. Windschuttle seeks to disappear the attempted genocide of the Aboriginal peoples. Henry Reynolds, a historian who has meticulously documented the more than two hundred years of dispossession of Aboriginal peoples, noted in one *Sydney Morning Herald* review (23-24 August 2003), that Windschuttle’s “critique” is an attempt to resurrect the concept of *terra nullius*, the lie that Australia was “vacant property” at the time of British landing. Such lies are *continued on page 10*



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Mexican Trotskyists Say: For Workers Mobilizations Against NAFTA, FTAA!

Part One of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV No. 819 (6 February). This article is reprinted from *Espartaco* No. 20 (Spring-Summer 2003), newspaper of the *Grupo Espartaquista de México*, section of the *International Communist League*.

ESPARTACO

PART TWO

In Mexico there are more than six million indigenous people. Only a workers and peasants government will guarantee fundamental rights to these dispossessed masses, such as the right to govern their own lands and resources, introducing bilingual education into their communities and laying the basis for the complete integration into society of the indigenous peoples who desire to do so, on the basis of the fullest equality.

The inseparable link between the unresolved broad democratic demands and the international and socialist struggle of the proletariat is at the heart of the theory of permanent revolution, formulated by Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky and confirmed in practice by the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. At that time, the Russian working class took in its hands the tasks of the democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime hadn't been able to solve: it repudiated the foreign debt acquired by the tsar and the bourgeoisie, granted full equality to women and passed laws against any kind of discrimination against homosexuals and ethnic minorities. It also abolished private ownership of land and called on the poor peasantry to begin an *agrarian revolution* to destroy the large rural estates and the remains of feudal peonage. But to make all this a reality, it was necessary to expropriate *all* the property that the bourgeoisie had and to establish a collectivized and planned economy and a monopoly on foreign trade. These measures laid the first foundations for the socialist reorganization of society.

The agrarian program of the Mexican workers state must culminate in a voluntary collectivization of the land, which

gradually transforms small ownership into highly industrialized collective farms. This would transform peasants into rural proletarians on the basis of productivity and abundance impossible under capitalism, and would in this way overcome the gap that currently exists between life in the countryside and life in the city.

For Marxists, imperialism is not only an immoral policy that the American rulers like Bush decide to engage in because they are very bad (even though they are). Imperialism is a concrete historical category which describes an unavoidable phase in the development of capitalism. In Lenin's words, imperialism is "the parasitism and decay of capitalism." Lenin explained that:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital [the fusion of industrial and banking capital] is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

—*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916)

Having reached a certain degree of development in the most industrialized capitalist countries, finance capital requires the militarization and national subjugation of the more backward capitalist countries. So-called "globalization" in reality is nothing more than a quantitative increase in the export of capital, and in the case of Mexico, NAFTA and privatizations are ways of sweeping away the last restrictions on this export.

That is why the imperialist system of war and subjugation cannot simply be changed by a change in the ruling elite. Nor can it be changed through the mere pressure of the masses: it will exist as long as capitalism exists.

As one of the founding documents of Trotsky's Fourth International stated:

"The 'good neighbor' policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid block wielded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the

United States seeks to conclude with the Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market....

"The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it....

fall into the hands of leaderships which do not question bourgeois rule either. These leaderships, generally composed of PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] leaders, resort mostly to ideological means to keep their positions at the helm of the unions, and they can afford the luxury of a relative degree of union democracy. But, in the final analysis, their function is the same: to derail the power of working-class struggle into support for



AP
August 2001: Trade-union demonstration in Buenos Aires demands unemployment benefits. Masses of workers and poor in Argentina took to streets in opposition to IMF austerity measures.

"Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism."

—"Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (1938)

The Political Struggle to Forge a Leninist Workers Vanguard

To achieve this program, it is not enough to proclaim it; it is necessary to identify the obstacles to it and declare an implacable political war on these in order to place the revolutionary program at the head of the proletarian movement. Currently, a significant portion of the Mexican proletariat is organized in unions which have the power to stop virtually the entire production process and force the bourgeoisie to its knees. The problem is that the current leaderships of these unions act as real transmission belts for bourgeois ideology and consciously obstruct any development of a revolutionary class consciousness. For decades, the Mexican bourgeoisie has used the corporatist structure to keep the powerful labor unions tied to bourgeois politics and in particular to the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]. Today, the biggest union federations, like the CTM [Mexican Labor Federation], the CROM [Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers], etc., are still affiliated with the decrepit PRI, with pro-capitalist leaderships accustomed to keeping themselves at the helm of the unions through gangsterism against their members, corruption and the tutelage of the bourgeois state.

But there are also the so-called "independent" unions, like the SME [Mexican Electricians Union] and the ones affiliated to the UNT [National Union of Workers], which were able to free themselves of the corporatist chains only to

one or another party of the bourgeoisie.

We communists fight to strengthen the organization of workers and for the unionization of all workers, and we stand for the defense of the existing unions against any attack by the bourgeois state. Our guiding principle in the fight to replace the current pro-bourgeois union leaderships with an internationalist and revolutionary leadership, both in the corporatist and the "independent" unions, is achieving and defending the *political independence* of the workers' movement from the state and the bosses' parties. We Spartacists have been unique in our principled opposition to the bourgeois state persecuting union leaders (as in the case of the oil workers union during "Pemexgate" [when in 2002 the state intervened in the oil workers union under the pretext that the union had given funds borrowed from PEMEX to the PRI for the 2000 presidential elections]) even when we do not have any sympathy whatsoever for their politics. Cleaning up the unions is exclusively the business of the workers (see "Estado Bugués: ¡Manos fuera del STPRM!" [Bourgeois State: Hands Off the STPRM!] *Espartaco* No. 18, Spring-Summer 2002). *Bourgeois state: hands off the unions! The CTM belongs to the workers—break with the PRI! No illusions in the PRD and its union stooges!*

The ideological glue the union misleaders use to keep the workers faithful to their exploiters' dictates is nationalism, the main obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness among the workers. According to this false consciousness, the national interest that supposedly unites all Mexicans against all non-Mexicans must prevail over any internal conflict. In fact, this bourgeois ideology seeks to politically subordinate the exploited to their brutal local exploiters and to separate them from their



Viktor Bulla

Bolshevik Revolution brought working class to power in Russia. Putilov factory workers meet for Petrograd Soviet elections, 1920.

real allies, the workers in the rest of the world. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained:

“Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the ‘most just,’ ‘purest,’ most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers’ association.”
—“Critical Remarks on the National Question” (1913)

For Class-Struggle Leadership of the Unions!

Many see union leaderships such as that of the SME as a consistent opposition to the bourgeoisie. But the SME leadership is a bureaucracy with a *pro-capitalist program*. Its strategy against privatization seeks to pressure the bourgeois parties and keep the ranks demobilized. Thus, last September SME’s Ramón Pacheco and José Almazán met with Madrazo, the president of the PRI, to invite this decaying bourgeois party to commemorate with the SME the nationalization of the electrical industry. Pacheco used the meeting to “acknowledge” the participation of the PRI senators in the rejection of Fox’s privatizing schemes. But Fox is merely pursuing the course laid out by his PRI predecessors de la Madrid, Salinas and Zedillo!

As we wrote in the middle of the combative UNAM student strike in 1999:

“The entire campaign against privatization by the SME has been based on bourgeois nationalism and consciously designed by the union leadership to avoid class-struggle mobilization. Thus, the SME called for a strike several months ago demanding a salary increase. However, the bureaucracy accepted the crumbs offered by the company and withdrew the strike call, as *Lux* [SME’s journal] itself states, so as to ‘not add this conflict to the actions pursued by the union against privatization,’ as if the workers’ living standards had nothing to do with the privatizing onslaught!... [The bureaucrats] want to appear ‘radical’ and ‘combative’ in order to have greater pressure power on the bourgeoisie and thus maintain their privileges, while they keep the working class tied. That is the reason why the electricians are *not* on strike.”

—“¡Forjar un partido obrero revolucionario!” [Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!], *Espartaco* supplement, 22 July 1999

In a speech delivered last August 21 at a rally in front of the senate, SME’s secretary general Rosendo Flores said, in the middle of pretentious odes to nationalism:

“How can anybody say that this Initiative [Fox’s privatization plan] indeed maintains the state’s control and safeguards the country’s sovereignty, when it buries the essence of the nationalization that in 1960 led president López Mateos—yes, *Señor Presidente* Adolfo López Mateos—to break the pressures and blackmailing by the foreign owners of the electrical industry at that time.”

“*El Señor Presidente*” López Mateos, object of Flores’ pretentious sappiness, was the perpetrator of the crushing of the great railroad strike of 1958-59. López

Mateos sent the army to repress the combative strikers with blood and fire, even putting their neighborhoods under siege, in what was one of the major historical defeats inflicted on the Mexican proletariat. As a result of breaking the strike, “*Señor Presidente*” laid off over 10,000 railroad workers and jailed their leaders, among them Demetrio Vallejo and Valentín Campa. Freedom for the imprisoned railroad workers was one of the demands of the 1968 student movement. The vengeful government kept some of them, like Campa, in jail, until 1970!

Having accused the striking railroad workers of being “anti-patriots,” López Mateos called for help from the CIA, which sent one Dean Stephanski to map

misleading them toward reformist politics, centrism is particularly dangerous and, therefore, it is particularly important to unmask it. The Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo-ContraCorriente (LTS-CC) and the Internationalist Group (IG) are, each one in their own way, perfect examples of centrism in Mexico.

The LTS claims to be Trotskyist, but the motivation behind all their politics is a systematic adaptation to the current nationalist leaderships of the workers movement, which always orbit around the bourgeois PRD. That is the case with the leadership of the SME. The LTS laments that the SME leadership is linked to the PRD and has an entirely nationalist program. But in deeds the LTS seeks to act



Mexico City, February 16: Workers carrying pictures of Lenin, Engels and Marx march against government plans to privatize Mexico’s energy industry.

out the strategy. The government accused two Soviet diplomats of leading the strike! Valentín Campa quotes American journalist Dean Pearson in October 1959:

“‘On this occasion [he is referring to the railroad strike] the ex-Labor Secretary and friend of the workers [López Mateos—GEM] imprisoned the agitators and accused them of ‘promoting social dissolution,’ a crime stipulated in Mexican codes. At the same time he ordered the expulsion of the Soviet Embassy attachés, because he considered them the instigators of workers’ unrest. Since then [Pearson continues] El [“*Señor*”—GEM] presidente López Mateos has considerably strengthened the Mexican currency’ (with the help of the U.S. Treasury Department and the International Monetary Fund).”

—Valentín Campa, *Mi testimonio* [insertions in brackets are the author’s unless otherwise noted]

As Fidel Velázquez [historic CTM leader] would say, thank you *Señor Presidente*!

To unchain the power of the working class, what’s required is to *sweep away* the current pro-capitalist leaderships, such as the SME’s, which sow suicidal illusions in the bourgeoisie and its government, and to replace them with revolutionary leaderships. To achieve that, it is necessary to wage a sharp political struggle to win the ranks over to the program of revolutionary Marxism. As Trotsky wrote in his unfinished article, “The Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay” [1940]:

“The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat... In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution.”

The Fake Revolutionaries

Between those with overt impulses toward class collaboration, who make up the right wing of the workers movement, and we revolutionaries who make up the left wing, there is an intermediate tendency which talks like the revolutionaries but acts like the collaborationists at every decisive juncture. This tendency is what we call *centrism*. Capable of winning youth, workers and others who honestly want to fight for socialist revolution and

as a “left” adviser to the bureaucracy, helping it maintain its “combative” credentials in front of the membership, and thus helps to perpetuate the bureaucracy’s position.

In reality, the LTS tails the nationalist politics of collaboration with the bourgeoisie which drive the bureaucracy, and the LTS serves as the bureaucracy’s “left” cover. Thus, the LTS raises the hypocritical call: “the existing unions and worker organizations such as the Frente Nacional de Resistencia contra la Privatización de la Industria Eléctrica [FNRCPIE—National Front of Resistance Against the Privatization of the Electrical Industry] and the currents inside the different unions which consider themselves democratic must lead this struggle, trusting neither any bourgeois politician nor the treacherous mechanisms of the regime” (*Estrategia Obrera* No. 21, 6 November 2001). But the FNRCPIE itself includes the PRI’s Corriente Democrática [Democratic Current], the PRD and even PAN [National Action Party] leaders in Mexico City! (*La Jornada*, 27 February 1999).

Claiming a Trotskyist orthodoxy that has little to do with its real political practice, an LTS manifesto correctly states that “the denial of the role of the working class [as a vanguard] is the preamble to a policy which renounces the struggle against the bourgeois and bureaucratic leaderships and, on the contrary, is subordinated to the PRD and its ‘oppositional’ bureaucracy.” In the same way, the manifesto criticizes the reformist POS [Partido Obrero Socialista] for its capitulation to the Zapatistas: “The POS, meanwhile, unfortunately called on the EZLN [Zapatistas] to lead the struggle for a workers and peasants government and defined it as an ‘*independent*’ (that is, *independent from the bourgeoisie*) leadership, just as it was about to negotiate with the regime.” This denunciation becomes a tasteless joke when spoken by the LTS, which during the UNAM strike distinguished itself for, among other things, its call to build a National Coordinating Committee Against Repression to unite all the forces on the left and the workers movement...under EZLN leadership! In a typical flyer, published in August 1999, the LTS-ContraCorriente wrote:

“We must fuse our struggles to confront the regime’s attack in a National Coordi-

nating Committee Against Repression. It is essential that the EZLN lead the call to create it, to organize the resistance at a national scale. The [Zapatista] demo the 23rd in San Cristóbal de Las Casas is an example to follow.”

As Oscar Wilde said, “Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue.”

In *Estrategia Obrera* No. 30 (22 January 2003), the LTS polemicizes against an article by Sergio Rodríguez Lazcano and criticizes the EZLN for not wanting to seize power, and concludes: “The author [Rodríguez Lazcano] intends to lay the foundation for a reformist practice that refuses to fight for power. The struggle of Zapata was, instead, direct combat against the state without confidence in the powerful and their representatives.” In fact, the peasant armies of Zapata and Villa *occupied* Mexico City in 1914 only to withdraw soon after, incapable of satisfying their own demands. The narrow demands for more democracy and land distribution in their towns, such as the Plan de Ayala, were not sufficient to give Villa and Zapata a national political program and to keep power in the urban centers. Like the EZLN, Zapata’s was a movement based on the peasantry and, correspondingly, it was limited by that same ideology.

While in the same paper the LTS says that “it is fundamentally the unity with the industrial and service workers which can give strength to the demands of the countryside and make possible their solution,” their rejection of the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution is rendered transparent in their assertion that “the best way to guarantee triumph is to put the leadership in the hands of the great mass of poor peasants, which already showed its revolutionary potential in 1910.” But in his “Basic Postulates” of permanent revolution, Trotsky explained that “no matter how great the revolutionary role of the peasantry may be, it nevertheless cannot be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois.” Trotsky expanded:

“3. Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry...an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie. “4. No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic revolution.”

—*The Permanent Revolution* (1931)

Another centrist group which tries to pose as revolutionary is the so-called “Internationalist Group,” a handful of renegades that defected from our organization in 1996. But the content of this group’s politics could not be any further away from revolutionary politics. In its appetite to adapt to the pro-PRD “left” milieu, this group has even come up with the union-busting position of rejecting all the struggles by the unions which are not led by the PRD. Treacherously manipulating the hatred many workers feel toward the truly rotten PRI leaderships of the corporatist unions, the IG has stubbornly maintained that the CTM unions “represent the *class enemy*” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, May 2001), and that, instead of defending them against attacks by the state, a “class fight” must be waged against them (a slogan the Fox government is following to the letter). Curiously, the IG does not maintain this position regarding corporatist unions in other countries (such as Algeria, Argentina and even Venezuela, where the CTV [Confederation of Venezuelan Workers] bureaucracy is infamous for its pro-CIA politics), because it still has to find a

continued on page 11

ESPARTACO
NUMERO 22
Publicación del Grupo Espartaquista de México
Revista de la Izquierda
México D.F. 2004

China: ¡Derrotar la campaña imperialista de contrarrevolución!
El imperialismo mundial se esfuerza por derrotar a la revolución china. En este número de Espartaco se analiza la campaña imperialista de contrarrevolución que se está llevando a cabo en China. Se trata de una campaña que busca destruir la revolución china y reemplazarla por una revolución imperialista. En este número de Espartaco se analiza la campaña imperialista de contrarrevolución que se está llevando a cabo en China. Se trata de una campaña que busca destruir la revolución china y reemplazarla por una revolución imperialista.

¡Defender, extender las conquistas de la Revolución de 1949!
La revolución china es una revolución socialista. Su objetivo es la construcción de una sociedad socialista. En este número de Espartaco se analiza la campaña imperialista de contrarrevolución que se está llevando a cabo en China. Se trata de una campaña que busca destruir la revolución china y reemplazarla por una revolución imperialista.

¡Por la revolución política obrera para echar a la burocracia estalinista!
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Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México
No. 22, Winter 2004
\$.50 (20 pages)
Subscription: \$2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
Order from/make checks payable to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
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Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

governments (especially in California) effected, by one means or another, the repatriation of almost half a million Mexican immigrants, some of whom were naturalized U.S. citizens. With unemployment skyrocketing, displaced farmers and workers from the Midwest and South filled the positions of the deported Mexican workers in the fields.

With the labor shortages during World War II accompanied by the internment in concentration camps of Japanese Americans, many of whom worked in agriculture, liberal Democratic president Franklin Delano Roosevelt initiated the *bracero* program. This program, which lasted for two decades, placed millions of Mexican farm workers under conditions of virtual bondage to their American agribusiness employers. Part of their wages was typically withheld, to be supposedly paid when they returned to Mexico. *Braceros* from the 1950s and '60s are still suing the U.S. and Mexican governments for wages that they never got. It is little wonder that Latino rights activists have dubbed Bush's current immigration plan the "Wal-Mart Bracero Program."

In the mid-1950s, however, the Eisenhower administration launched a military-style campaign, Operation Wetback, commanded by a retired army general, in which 1.3 million Mexican men, women and children were rounded up and deported. With Bill Clinton's signing of the "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act" and the "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" in 1996, by 2000 the number of immigrants dying as they tried to cross the southern U.S. border had more than quadrupled.

We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants; all those who arrive here, by whatever means, should have the full rights available to all Americans. Thrown together in large-scale industry, workers have the power not just to redress the depredations of exploitation and improve their lot through class struggle but also, as an organized social force, to lead the struggles against all oppression and injustice and overturn capitalist oppression and exploitation through social revolution.

Working-Class Unity and the Struggle for Immigrant Rights

Throughout American history, this country's rulers have repeatedly used ethnic and racial chauvinism, including anti-immigrant demagoguery, to intensify domestic repression and to maintain their dominance. More importantly, with the growth of industry, the bosses have used such campaigns to set worker against worker, thus vitiating united labor struggle. This is particularly expressed in the racial oppression of black people, the bedrock of American capitalism, which serves to keep the proletariat divided and politically backward.

At the same time, working-class struggle is systematically sabotaged from within by the labor bureaucracy, dubbed



AP photos

Bush with Mexican president Vicente Fox in Monterrey, January 12. Impoverished immigrant day laborers seek work in Dallas, a scene repeated daily in cities across the country.



a century ago "the labor lieutenants of capital" by the socialist leader Daniel De Leon. These types constitute the very top stratum of the aristocracy of labor, that small portion of the working class that feeds off the crumbs from the sumptuous tables of their imperialist bosses.

In particular, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and his generation of union tops are heirs to those recruited by America's rulers after the end of World War II to drive the reds, who had played a key role in building mass industrial unions in the 1930s, out of the labor movement. If not inspired currently by the frothing anti-Communism of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, they are no less committed than their predecessors to the American imperialist order and to labor-management collaboration schemes. Politically, this unholy marriage of counterposed class interests is maintained by their integration into and subservience to the Democratic Party, the supposed left wing of the U.S. ruling class.

The Democratic Clinton administration greatly intensified the militarization of the U.S./Mexico border. Clinton's 1996 immigration reform act called for deporting even longtime permanent residents ("green card" holders) for trivial offenses committed years before. Since the rise of the right-wing Bush administration, the Democrats have if anything baited Bush for being insufficiently zealous in prosecuting the "war on terror," which is in the first place aimed at immigrants, particularly those from predominantly Muslim and Arab countries. In fact, most of the immigrants currently detained by the Bush regime are being held not under the draconian USA-Patriot Act, but rather under Clinton's 1996 "anti-terrorism" act.

The labor tops attempt to appeal to the bosses through their advocacy of "America-first" protectionism. This has been, for example, the main approach of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in its opposition to the NAFTA and FTAA free-trade agreements. The union tops argue that by "protecting" American industry from foreign competition, American workers will benefit and the outflow of jobs from the U.S. will be stopped. This is false; the capitalists will do what they need to do in order to increase their profit margins—either by intensifying exploitation of workers at home or by moving jobs to

countries where labor costs are cheaper. Protectionism is deadly poison for workers in the U.S. because it spreads the illusion that their enemies are the workers of other countries and not the American capitalist class at home. In opposition to protectionism, the labor movement must fight for international labor solidarity, linking the economic and other struggles of workers in the U.S. with those of workers around the world, particularly in such Third World countries as Mexico. This is how the labor movement must struggle against NAFTA and the FTAA.

As a corollary of their sellouts and as a component of their chauvinist protectionism, the union tops have normally been in the forefront of anti-immigrant campaigns, hoping to direct anger in their ranks away from their betrayals. How-

The many millions from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America who have crossed the border to work in this country in recent years bring with them traditions of labor and union militancy. Witness the situation in Los Angeles, which in just over a decade has been transformed from an open-shop employer's paradise to the center of labor strikes and class conflict in the U.S.

Although some union organization has gone on among immigrants, the union bureaucracy is not disposed to greatly expand these minimal efforts. Last year, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy organized the "Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride," mobilizing thousands of immigrant workers and their allies in order to pressure Congress to provide an undefined "road to citizenship." But the whole thrust of

Union contingent at 9 February 2002 Oakland united-front protest in defense of immigrant rights.

WV Photo



ever, the current size of the immigrant labor force in the U.S. has compelled the union tops to tone down their anti-immigrant fulminations and to offer some union support to immigrants. Thus, in February 2000, the AFL-CIO issued a call for amnesty for six million undocumented workers, while not failing to simultaneously accompany this gesture with a call for criminal penalties against employers who recruit "illegals" and thundering against immigrant worker programs that "discriminate against U.S. workers."

the rallies held across the country was to boost the electoral fortunes of the Democratic Party. What is necessary is that the labor movement fight to organize immigrant workers into the unions, as part of the struggle for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The refusal of the labor tops to take up the fight for immigrant rights has been put in sharp relief during the four-month-long grocery workers strike against Safeway and others in Southern California, where the tops of the United Food and Commercial Workers have resisted pleas

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from their ranks for an organizing drive at Wal-Mart, where a large component of the workforce is immigrant. The unionization of Wal-Mart, the largest private employer in this country, would be a giant step forward for the labor movement and could ignite the struggle for union rights in all sectors of the working class.

The racist imperialist rulers of this country have promoted prejudice among workers, and the national chauvinism of the union bureaucracy serves to magnify such bigotry. Black people have been less than equal, indeed, considered less than human, for over 350 years in the U.S. From the days of slavery, through the years of Jim Crow and up to the present, anti-black racism has underpinned the whole structure of American capitalism. As waves of immigrants gradually assimilated into mainstream American society, black people, who had been in the Americas as long as anyone else with Old World antecedents, remained forcibly segregated. At the same time, they have long been a strategic part of the working class. The fight for the emancipation of labor through a socialist revolution in this country is impossible unless the working class as a whole actively takes up a fight for the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society.

As victims of racist oppression concentrated at the bottom of American society, blacks are that section of the American populace least supportive of flag-waving patriotism and imperialist militarism. Thus, opposition to the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq was substantially greater among blacks than among whites or, for that matter, than among Latinos. But while many immigrants adopt the anti-black sentiments that are prevalent in racist American society, many black people are not immune to anti-immigrant right-wing demagoguery.

Much of the black population views Latino immigrants in particular as competing with them at the low end of the job market. For example, in California in 1994, the notorious Proposition 187, which denied health care, education and social services to undocumented immigrants, passed with about 50 percent support from black voters. At the same time, black, Latino and white workers stand shoulder to shoulder during strikes, battling scabs and the scab-herding cops. And black working people are generally sympathetic to labor struggles involving mainly Latino workers, including immigrants. The social organization of labor and the impulse toward working-class unity in struggle are obstacles to the ruling class' attempts to manipulate and inflame national, racial and ethnic divisions.

It is we communists who are the most consistent champions of working-class unity in struggle against the capitalists and their state. Thus in February 2002, the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense organized a labor-centered, united-front protest in Oakland, California against the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act, which calls for "background checks" under which waterfront workers can be fired for any conviction in the past 10 years on any of 20 felony offenses. Called against the witchhunt of immigrants in the name of the "war on terror," the mobilization linked the struggles for labor, black and immigrant rights. As the Spartacist League speaker at the demonstration declared:

"In fighting every injustice and every oppression, we in the Spartacist League have the aim of making the working class as a whole conscious of its historic tasks: bringing down this whole system of greed, exploitation and war that is capitalism. It's necessary to fight, and in the process forge a party of professional revolutionaries that acts as a

tribune of the people—addressing questions like the oppression of women, the right to abortion; a party that fights against anti-gay bigotry; a party that recognizes the centrality of the fight against black oppression in the fight for socialist revolution."

Immigration and the Capitalist Nation-State

In opposition to our proletarian internationalist outlook and program, there are self-described "revolutionary" groups in this country who have adapted to a reactionary nationalist outlook. Such an adaptation is propelled in varying ways by their evaluation of the 1917 Bolshevik

rights, castigating the latter because it applies to immigrants "only when they get here." In reality, the call for full citizenship rights for immigrants is a central and longstanding tenet of Leninism. As Lenin explained in his 1916 document, "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party":

"In order that acceptance of internationalism by the Swiss Social-Democrats shall not remain an empty and non-committal phrase—to which the adherents of the 'Centre,' and Social-Democrats of the epoch of the Second International generally, always confine themselves—it is necessary, first, consistently and unwaveringly to fight for organisational rapprochement between foreign and Swiss



WV Photo

Predominantly immigrant SEIU Local 1877 (Justice for Janitors) rally in Oakland shortly before June 1996 strike.

Revolution in Russia, the first and only successful proletarian revolution to date. Representative of one path is the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). This grouplet is in the historical tradition of those who determined, conjointly with the Cold War mobilization against the USSR by their imperialist masters, that Stalin's rise to bureaucratic dominance made the Soviet Union reactionary in character and thus not deserving of defense against the imperialists. The scope of the betrayal contained in that position can be measured by the social holocaust that has followed the overturns of proletarian rule, however distorted by the bureaucratic overlords, in the USSR and in East Europe between 1989 and 1992. Others who have made such an adaptation are to be found among the ranks of today's anarchists, who share the imperialist analysis that the destruction of those workers states proves that proletarian revolution has no progressive content and thus that a different course (one not coherently described) must be charted.

With respect to the immigrant question, many anarchists call to "open the borders." This was a longtime slogan of the LRP, though they dropped it in 2002, pointing out, "'Open the Borders' is an ambiguous slogan at best and conveys a utopian confusion at its worst.... The idea that any state in the world—especially an imperialist state today—would even begin to tolerate open borders is an impossible fantasy" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Spring 2002). The LRP now calls to "End all Restrictions on Immigrants and Refugees." Of course, Marxists oppose reactionary restrictions on immigration by the imperialist states. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in a 1915 letter:

"In our struggle for true internationalism & against 'jingo-socialism' we always quote in our press the example of the opportunist leaders of the S.P. [Socialist Party] in America, who are in favor of restrictions of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers.... We think that one can not be internationalist & be at the same time in favor of such restrictions."

However, the LRP's call to "end all restrictions on immigrants" is nothing but the "open borders" slogan refashioned, as it promotes the illusion that the capitalist-imperialist state will end such restrictions—the very "impossible fantasy" the LRP supposedly rejected. In fact, the LRP raises its slogan in conscious counterposition to our call for full citizenship

deformed workers state have opened its borders to counterrevolutionary West German imperialism? (The LRP cheered the counterrevolutionary annexation of East Germany, labeling the workers state "state capitalist.")

In each case, deferring to the "rights" of the intruders resulted in historic injustices on a large scale. As Friedrich Engels observed, civilization has been constructed on a mountain of skulls.

Insofar as such leftists would argue that demands to "open the borders" and other such calls are only to be made on the major capitalist imperialist states, the only powers in the world capable of really defending their borders, it has a fatuously utopian quality. In fact, the only people upon whom no immigration restrictions are imposed by the U.S. are Puerto Ricans. And that is because Puerto Rico is a *colony* of U.S. imperialism. It is largely for fear of losing such privileges that many Puerto Ricans are today reticent about independence.

Since the turn of the 20th century, the main character of human migration has been the need for labor (or the lack of need for labor). In turn, imperialist countries are the only states that have the power to control the mass migrations of peoples. The imperialists will yield to the demands of the LRP and others only when they abjure their "right" to exploit workers, to oppress other nations and to engage in wars of conquest. This will happen just after pigs begin to lay eggs and fly.

The ultimate logic of such a stance is that social questions are to be resolved by the mass migrations of peoples, that is, by an ethnic rat race, rather than through workers taking power. By the LRP's logic, Lenin and the Bolsheviks made a mistake. Instead of fighting for workers revolution, they should have told the hideously oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire to pack up and move elsewhere. Fortunately for the workers (and unfortunately for the Russian tsar and bourgeoisie), the Bolsheviks organized the many captive peoples within the Russian empire as participants in the working-class revolution that overturned the Russian imperialist order.

The dissolution of the prerogatives of the nation-state can only occur in the aftermath of international proletarian revolutions that will unleash economic and social progress from the strictures of the capitalist profit system. The reorganization of society along socialist lines will provide the basis for a tremendous expansion of production minus, to the extent possible, obligatory labor, and thus end human want and establish for the first time the substratum for human freedom, material plenty. Then mankind will indulge in whatever pursuits and activities its individual components desire and, freed from the circumstances of economic scarcity, realize its true potential. Only then will all borders and states disappear. ■

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NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office will not be open on Saturday, February 21, due to our Black History Month forum. See page 8 for details.

Strange Postings...

(continued from page 3)

protect themselves and their families back home from SAVAK reprisals.

Today, the rule of the mullahs that topped the Shah in 1979 itself teeters toward the brink of collapse. Iran’s young population doesn’t want to live in a theocratic state; women chafe under the veil; students protest the all-sided repression. The historically militant workers movement engages in strikes, with wide popular support, demanding pay which has sometimes been withheld for *years*. The so-called “reformers” recently staged a mass walkout from parliament in protest of the banning by religious hardliners of the Guardian Council of more than 2,400 candidates from the February 20 elections. A massive boycott of the polls is anticipated. It is in this context of a regime on the rocks, the Islamic reformist movement discredited, and restive youth and workers looking for answers, that Taheri attempts to discredit the Marxists by smearing them as supporters of the mullahs.

No mere reporter, Taheri took his provocations to the streets at an antiwar demonstration in London last year. He went as part of an organized group of pro-war counter-demonstrators. In Taheri’s own words (*Jerusalem Post*, 21 February 2003): “The Iraqis had come with placards reading ‘Freedom for Iraq’ and ‘American rule, a hundred thousand times better than Takriti tyranny!’” Then, using the oldest trick in the book, this clique wedged its way forward to the podium using a small, elderly Iraqi grandmother as its prow and demanded that Reverend Jesse Jackson give them the microphone. With more than a trace of racism, Taheri concludes his account stating, “The reverend’s gorillas closed in to protect his holiness.”

To what purpose do the neocons rant? For “regime change” in Iran. On the one hand, there is Taheri, whose main purpose is to promote the monarchists, not direct American intervention, as the “democratic” force to overthrow the mullahs. In an article headlined “Iran Is No Iraq and the US Should Leave It Well Alone,” Taheri writes—with a whiff of the chauvinism for which the Persian ruling class is infamous—that “Iraq was a mere torture chamber for a brutal dictator,” whereas “the Iranian nation-state” is “one of the oldest in the world” (*London Times*, 18 June 2003).

On the other hand, there is Michael Ledeen, a Zionist neocon who was a major figure behind the Iran-Contragate scandal (where Reagan administration officials and operatives sold weapons to Iran to finance the counterrevolutionary contras in Nicaragua). In his own demented words: “The official news service reported that Bush had threatened Iran

Right: Elite troops of Shah’s army parade in Tehran, 1978. Below: Iranian students protest in U.S. wearing masks to protect their identities from murderous secret police, 1977.



with the same treatment he had delivered to Iraq. I can hear the Iranians sighing, ‘oh, if only it is true.’... We must liberate Iran in order to win the terror war in Iraq.” “Total war” and “creative destruction” are other Ledeen visions: “Creative destruction is our middle name.... A total war strategy does not have to include the intentional targeting of civilians, but the sparing of civilian lives cannot be its first priority” (cited in *London Guardian*, 24 February 2003). Ledeen and his ilk are so far out that they denounce the U.S. State Department and Colin Powell personally as “appeasers.”

Eleana Benador: Stage Manager of Many Dr. Strangeloves

Benador Associates is fronted by Eleana Benador, a Peruvian-born media manipulator who got her start in the neocon world as an adviser to Daniel Pipes’ rabidly Zionist right-wing think tank, the Middle East Forum. (Daniel Pipes founded *Campus Watch* and is in the cockpit of the new McCarthyite drive to hound as “anti-Semitic” any professor, group or institution on an American campus which opposes U.S. aid to Israel or has the temerity to defend the Palestinian people.) After the September 11 attacks, Ms. Benador launched her PR business to promote the views of the neocons who shape Bush’s foreign policies and those of the right-wing media barons. The *London Financial Times* dubs Ms. Benador a “power behind the throne.” Benador’s mission is to market the depraved initiative of Condoleezza Rice, who convened a meeting of the National Security Council shortly after 3,000 people were incinerated in the World Trade Center, and told 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” (*Asia Times*, 30 March 2003).

To scratch the surface of the plethora of neocon pundits, professors and politicians reveals an amazing network of right-wing, union-busting, racist and pro-imperialist foundations, institutes and think tanks, directed and staffed by an interlocking cast of neocons, often related by family ties, and many of them stage-managed by Eleana Benador. In addition to Amir Taheri and the Zionist megaphone Michael Ledeen, Benador clients include blasts from the past like Cold

Warrior Alexander Haig and former CIA chief James Woolsey (who is active in the inner circle of the Bush gang)—their very names evoke memories of U.S. imperialism’s Murder, Inc. from Afghanistan to El Salvador.

Benador clients reach into the upper echelons and lower dungeons of today’s White House and Pentagon as well. Richard Perle (known as the “Prince of Darkness” for his conspiratorial schemes) is with the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board (until recently its chairman) and a Benador client. Like most of this generation of neocons, he got his start as a protégé of the late Democratic senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson, a staunchly pro-Zionist politician so embedded with weapons contractors he was known as “the senator from Boeing.” So, too, is Richard Perle who has been a lobbyist for and employee of Israeli weapons manufacturers. Perle is with the American Enterprise Institute, which pushes the Likud’s “greater Israel” plan to redefine the Near East, yet does

Australia...

(continued from page 5)

designed in the first instance to ridicule and stymie any future Aboriginal land rights claims.

The political climate over the Aboriginal question has shifted to the right. The ruling-class ideological offensive comes on top of their hoax of “reconciliation,” the notion, pushed especially by the ALP, that Aborigines should forgive and forget, resigning themselves to an existence of racist oppression while the ruling class absolves itself of its crimes (see *Australian Spartacist* No. 171, Winter 2000). Now seizing on the criminal World Trade Center attack and Bali bombing to whip up national chauvinism, bourgeois ideologues increasingly glorify Australian capitalism’s “triumph” at the expense of the indigenous peoples.

This campaign is part of the government’s efforts to whip up White Australian “national pride.” Such patriotic jingoism serves to prepare attacks against the multiracial working class at home while ideologically girding the population to support predatory military expeditions abroad. Today as George Bush rides roughshod over the world, the Australian imperialist military are part of the

not want the U.S. to lose sight of “the ultimate enemy;” China.

Richard Perle and Douglas Feith (the third-ranking civilian at the Pentagon and also a lawyer with a Washington firm representing Israeli munitions suppliers) co-authored a position paper in 1996 titled “A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm” for incoming Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This paper looks remarkably like the policies the neocons advocated for the Bush administration: topple Saddam Hussein, break the Oslo accords and restore martial law in the Palestinian territories. Perle and Feith are closely linked with Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz whose worldview is summed up as: “a kiloton of prevention is worth a megaton of cure” (*Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, April 2003).

Conveniently located on the fifth floor of the American Enterprise Institute in Washington is the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), another neocon initiative. In addition to Perle and Feith, PNAC associates include William Kristol (editor of the neocon *Weekly Standard*, son of Irving Kristol, the “granddaddy” of the neocons), Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, and Elliott Abrams, Middle East Affairs director of the National Security Council. According to Kathleen and Bill Christison, former CIA political analysts, Abrams, “this Iran-contra criminal has already been working since mid-2001, badly miscast as the director for, of all things, democracy and human rights” on the NSC (*CounterPunch*, 13 December 2002). Imagine Hannibal Lecter as National Director of the school lunch program in America and you get a measure of what it means to associate Elliott Abrams with anything “human.”

Plotting Armageddon is literally a family affair for Mr. Abrams. He is the son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz, the other granddaddy of the neocons, a veteran anti-Soviet nuclear first striker from the old “Committee on the Present Danger” who is also with PNAC. Norman Podhoretz and his neocon wife Midge Decter begat John Podhoretz who writes for the Moonies’ *Washington Times* and the *New York Post*. Daniel Pipes is the son of Richard Pipes, the fanatically anti-Communist Harvard historian and falsifier of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Zionists and their Anti-Semitic Christian Bedfellows

A fascinating article by Akiva Eldar titled “Perles of Wisdom for the Faithful” was published to too little notice in the

bloody U.S.-led occupation of Iraq and head up colonial interventions themselves in East Timor and the Solomon Islands. And in doing so they dish out to the peoples of East Timor and their other Pacific neocolonies like Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Fiji the same hideous oppression meted out to Aboriginal peoples at home.

What is desperately necessary is a fight within the workers movement to combine class-struggle opposition to union-busting attacks with the struggle against racist oppression at home and imperialist marauding abroad. We say: Smash the union-busting attacks on the CFMEU! U.S./Australia out of Iraq! Australian troops/cops out of East Timor, PNG and the Solomon Islands! Asylum rights for refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights! What is needed is the building of a Leninist party that can direct the many streams of opposition to capitalist injustice into a mighty force for socialist revolution that will sweep away racist bourgeois rule. We of the SL, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fight for a communist world in which the diversity of human cultures will not be an excuse for contempt and violence, but a source of enrichment. ■

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Israeli paper *Ha'aretz* on 1 October 2002. Eldar wrote:

“A few weeks ago, Richard Perle invited the Pentagon chiefs to a meeting with researchers from a Washington think tank with particularly close relations with the Defense Department. According to information that reached a former top official in the Israeli security services, the researchers showed two slides to the Pentagon officials. The first was a depiction of the three goals in the war on terror and the democratization of the Middle East: Iraq—a tactical goal, Saudi Arabia—a strategic goal, and Egypt—the great prize. “The triangle in the next slide was no less interesting: Palestine is Israel, Jordan is Palestine, and Iraq is the Hashemite Kingdom.”

Eldar’s article also reveals much more about Perle and Feith’s 1996 “Clean Break” position paper for Netanyahu. Eldar writes that “the position paper, which includes sections marked like crib sheets with TEXT for Netanyahu to use in his speeches, proposes some tactical methods the Israeli prime minister can use to foresee U.S. reactions and how to manage them. They give Netanyahu tips on how to maneuver congressmen, for example.” Eldar observes that Perle and Feith “are walking a fine line between their loyalty to American governments” and “Israeli interests.”

A generation ago, when Gore Vidal noted likewise about the bigot Norman Podhoretz who spit on the Civil War against black chattel slavery, which is the central event in American history, Vidal was besieged as an “anti-Semite” by the Podhoretz crowd. Gore Vidal fired back: “Although there is nothing wrong with being a lobbyist for a foreign power, one is supposed to register with the Justice Department” (*Nation*, 22 March 1986). We added:

“Podhoretz has been able to maintain his loyalty to both states because of a fanatical anti-communism as holy to him as Islam to the Ayatollah. But the imperialists’ strategic anti-Soviet consensus does not, much to Reagan’s chagrin, liquidate differences in national interest. Despite Israel’s complete reliance on American support, the Pollard affair yet again demonstrates that Israel is not simply a puppet of the U.S. The Zionist rulers know that their ‘goyishe’ senior partner in Washington and the rest of the world are anti-Semites who couldn’t give a rat’s ass for a ‘Jewish homeland.’ Has Podhoretz forgotten that the viciously anti-

Semitic Nixon didn’t trust Henry Kissinger, whom he called ‘Jew-boy,’ to deal with Near East affairs for years?” —“Gore Vidal: Bad Boy of the Bourgeoisie,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 40, Summer 1987

Former neocon Michael Lind, who broke with the fold because he couldn’t stomach their overture to Southern Christian fundamentalism, observes in the *Nation* (23 February), “As the enormity of the [Iraq] debacle became apparent, neoconservatives abruptly began avowing their own nonexistence. Not since Stalin ordered the US Communist Party to go underground has an American political faction pretended to dissolve itself in public like this.”

He concludes his piece, “A Tragedy of Errors,” noting, “There is no neocon network of scheming masterminds—only a network of scheming blunderers. As a result of their own amateurism and incompetence, the neoconservatives have humiliated themselves. If they now claim that they never existed—well, you can hardly blame them, can you?” Indeed, Wolfowitz—who dismissed reporters’ questions regarding the lack of any evidence to support his claims that Saddam Hussein had such weapons with, “It’s like the judge said about pornography. I can’t define it, but I will know it when I see it”—appears to be caught with a “wardrobe malfunction,” i.e., pants down.

Delusions of Empire

British novelist Martin Amis argues that god as foreign policy adviser is logical for an intellectually null born-again American president. Amis “jokes” that Bush’s particular vision of a far-flung American empire must seem downright homey. “We hear about the successful ‘Texanization’ of the Republican party. And doesn’t Texas seem to resemble a country like Saudi Arabia, with its great heat, its oil wealth, its brimming houses of worship, and its weekly executions” (cited in *Asia Times*, 30 March 2003).

John Foster Dulles crafted U.S. imperialist policy in the postwar years to cultivate and nurture Islam as a bulwark against Communism. In 1950 he said, “The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be recon-



From Iran to Afghanistan, Spartacist League’s proud record of opposition to imperialism and Islamic reaction speaks for itself.

ciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it” (cited in Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* [1957]).

From massive support to the Afghan *mujahedin*, to running guns to the ayatollahs in Iran-Contragate, to promoting religious reaction as a battering ram for capitalist counterrevolution, this has been the policy of U.S. imperialism. Then, on September 11, like Frankenstein’s monster, the woman-hating religious butchers the U.S. rulers created turned on their makers with the criminal attack on the World Trade Center. This was seized upon by the Bush gang, which is now tangled in its own web of deceit, and so

Mexico...

(continued from page 7)

PRD in these countries to cozy up to.

We have noted in repeated polemics that, especially in the context of the PAN’s anti-labor offensive (and also the PRD’s in Mexico City), these positions are objectively anti-union and strike-breaking, an accusation any leftist must take very seriously. How does the IG answer all this? Well, they don’t.

Faithful to themselves in spite of everything, in their last article on Mexico (“Mexico: Fox Government A ‘Hinge’ for War on Iraq,” *The Internationalist* No. 15, January-February 2003), the Internationalist Group resorts to a clumsy balancing act to avoid giving a clear answer to the questions posed by reality. In the article they devote an entire section to talking bombastically about the strategic importance of Mexican oil, but they notoriously omit any mention of the fact that the leaders of the oil workers union are currently under a judicial attack by the bourgeois state (see “Estado Burgués: ¡Manos fuera del STPRM!”, *Espartaco* No. 18). The IG talks idyllically about an oil workers strike that “would strike a strong blow against Washington’s war plans,” but they avoid mention of the fact that the union had called for a strike months before the IG published its innocuous article, mobilizing tens of thousands of workers to demand a wage increase. In a mobilization in Mexico City, workers chanted: “Wage increase, union autonomy!” The strike call by the oil union made the Mexican bourgeoisie tremble with fear and considerably worried the imperialists,



Mexico City, February 2003: GEM comrades march in demonstration against U.S. attack on Iraq.

who did not hesitate to give their support to Fox’s anti-union attacks. Conscious of the enormous social power that could escape its control, the PRI bureaucracy ended up agreeing to a meager raise and demobilizing the rank and file. But the IG simply declared all these facts “nonexistent” because these show the stupidity and the strikebreaking nature of their line.

Now, it seems the IG is ashamed of its own posture (and, frankly, who wouldn’t be?). Thus, the IG’s article not only sins by omission; it actively seeks to disorient its readers on the contents of its own politics. Like vampires, centrists hate the light of day. Speaking of Mexican dock

workers and the need for them to carry out acts of international workers solidarity, the IG says:

“But in order to carry out [acts of workers solidarity], it is indispensable to wage a fight to forge a class-struggle union leadership against the corporatist *charros* (government-imposed bureaucrats) of the CT/CTM/CROC/CROM, and the pro-PRD ‘democratic’ union bureaucrats.”

This was written to deliberately confuse their readers, implying the IG has a position it does not have. Let’s not forget that this organization maintains that the corporatist CTM unions represent “the class enemy,” and that they have furiously denounced us for saying there is no class

bogged down in Iraq that it doesn’t even know where it’s going.

So, like Sharon, the U.S. is “creating facts on the ground.” Ariel Sharon and the neocons dream of creating an American Empire and a “greater Israel” through “regime change” across the belt extending from Turkey to China, through the heart of the Near East and Arabian Peninsula. Syria is repeatedly threatened and now squeezed between Israel and American-occupied Iraq, and Iran is a huge “domino” on their hit list.

This brings us back to Mr. Amir Taheri and the role of slander in politics. Taheri does not even believe his own lie that Marxists and Islamic fundamentalists are allies. He wrote previously, “The traditional anti-American sentiments that provide the subtext of political culture in certain sections of society in Western Europe and Latin America are mostly left leaning and thus equally hostile to radical Islam” (“Iran and Saudi Arabia, Two Zealots of Islamism,” *African Geopolitics* No. 5, Winter 2002). Yet since at least the huge worldwide demonstrations against the U.S. war on Iraq last February, Taheri has screeched about “Marxist-Islamist terror groups.”

Life is a living hell today for the Iraqi people, suffering under a U.S. military occupation which won’t even restore essential public services like potable water and electric power to a country it destroyed with a display of high-tech weaponry intended to terrorize the entire planet. Taheri’s spin on this monstrous crime? In an article headlined, “‘Chaos’ Is Progress,” he says, “Iraq is beginning to become a normal society” (*New York Post*, 2 February). This gives you a taste of what kind of “democracy” Taheri wants to bring to Iran. The Iranian women, the Kurds and other oppressed minorities, the left and workers movement who were butchered by the thousands under the bloody Shah, and by more thousands under Khomeini, will not welcome a U.S.-installed monarchy back with open arms any more than the Iraqi people “welcome” the terrible destruction and brutal U.S. military occupation of their country. And it is in the interests of the Iranian masses as well that we expose Amir Taheri and his neocon cabal. ■

difference between corporatist and “independent” unions. But now, as ambiguously implied in the new IG piece, it’s not about forging a new organization, but only a new leadership, *just like* in the PRD-led unions. Does the IG want to give this supposed “class enemy” a “class-struggle leadership”?

Can it be that, confronted by the reality of class struggle, the shamefaced IG is covertly changing the direction of its politics? It’s unlikely, because these charlatans have shown all too well that they don’t care about the reality of class struggle, and that they don’t have any shame either. So this can only be a dimwitted, confusionist maneuver aimed at avoiding the lamentable conclusions of their own politics and to continue playing hide-and-seek with our polemics.

In general, the dominant ideology in any given society is the ideology of the economically dominant class. Inside the workers movement this is expressed in all these leadership “alternatives” which, in different ways, only seek to keep the workers movement within the confines of bourgeois ideology. It is necessary to build a Leninist vanguard party, fusing radicalized intellectuals committed to the cause of the proletariat with the best elements among the working class on the basis of a revolutionary program; a party armed with the experience of decades of workers struggles internationally, codified in the program of Marxism; a party which denounces every variant of bourgeois ideology inside the workers movement, whether open or covert; a party capable of leading the working class to its emancipation, and therefore to the emancipation of society as a whole. ■

Government Backs Down, For Now

Sinister Witchhunt of Antiwar Activists

An ominous attempt to resurrect the police spying and state terror of the McCarthyite years was spiked recently in Iowa due to widespread publicity and outcry. Earlier this month, federal prosecutors in Des Moines went after participants at an antiwar conference, demanding all records around the conference and the names of everybody who attended. A sheriff's deputy who works on the FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force was sent to serve subpoenas on four antiwar activists—from the Catholic Peace Ministry, the Catholic Workers House, the Iowa Peace Network, and a protester who had visited Iraq in 2002—demanding they appear before a secret grand jury, while refusing to say what the jury was investigating.

Protesters believe that the Feds targeted the conference, which was held on November 15 under the title "Stop the Occupation! Bring the Iowa Guard Home!", in part because of protests the next day at Iowa National Guard Headquarters, where 12 people were arrested. One of them was a Grinnell College librarian who went limp when arrested; she is now being charged with a "misdemeanor assault on a peace officer."

Subpoenas were also issued to Drake University, ordering it to turn over all information on the campus antiwar conference and on the National Lawyers Guild chapter that sponsored it. The Drake subpoena demanded "all documents indicating the purpose and intended participants in the meeting, and all documents or recordings which would identify persons that actually attended the meeting." An organization of liberal and leftist lawyers formed in 1937, the National Lawyers Guild was among those



AP

February 10: Drake University law professor Sally Frank protests federal subpoenas, gag order outside U.S. courthouse in Des Moines, Iowa.

designated a "subversive organization" in the McCarthy years and has been a perpetual target of government witchhunters ever since. A federal court judge also issued a gag order forbidding the University to discuss the matter.

This attack on antiwar activists comes in the context of the phony "war on terror," a pretext to shred the civil liberties of the population as a whole. The Justice Department wants to unleash the FBI and cops to spy on all perceived opponents. As the "Homeland Security" office said in May 2003, local police should keep tabs on anyone who has "expressed dislike of attitudes and decisions of the U.S. government." The USA-Patriot Act and other repressive measures give the government's secret police expanded authority to tap your phones, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate

your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause a crime has been committed. On top of this the government has proposed Patriot II, which would strip citizenship from those who get in the way of Washington's imperial designs. Last fall the government announced its use of a centralized "terror watch list" of over 100,000 persons, a throwback to the McCarthyite Communist Index and Security Index which designated nearly 30,000 leftists to be rounded up and placed in detention camps during a "national emergency." During protests against the Iraq war, the government used a "no-fly list" to prevent activists from attending demonstrations.

The government wants to extend its reach into even the most intimate aspects of life. A 14 February *New York Times* editorial, "Privacy in Peril," stated that

the Justice Department has subpoenaed hospitals across the country, demanding hundreds of medical records of women who had late-term abortions, in the name of defending its invasive "Partial Birth Abortion Act of 2003" in court. This sinister assault targets both women and their doctors, exposing them to everything from legal harassment to murder by the anti-abortion terrorists.

Following a 7 February Associated Press report on the Drake University case and a barrage of nationwide criticism, on February 10 federal authorities backtracked, withdrawing all the subpoenas and lifting the gag order. Drake University law professor Sally Frank, the local contact for the National Lawyers Guild, said at a rally that afternoon at the Des Moines federal building: "What we've had here for the last week in Des Moines is an intense effort to stifle dissent." Even as the antiwar activists announced the Feds' withdrawal, two police detectives were videotaping the rally from a hotel room across the street. As Brian Terrell of the Catholic Peace Ministry pointed out, "The civil liberties of everyone in this country are in danger."

The bloody U.S. government, colonial occupiers of Iraq, would like to obliterate all opposition to its sway, abroad and at home. And as the government tries to cloak its own operations in secrecy, it increasingly pries into the private lives of everyone. But what this capitalist state would like to do and what it can get away with are two different things. What's necessary is to mobilize the power of labor in struggle against the government's assaults on democratic rights. ■



Patrick Demarchelier

The Nipple That Shook the Moral Foundation of a Nation

What H.L. Mencken called the "American boob-oisie" is in full frenzy following the Super Bowl, all because the kids, sitting around family TV sets in the bosom of their overfed, drunken nuclear families, finally got to see something interesting on network TV. The brief flash of black pop star Janet Jackson's silver shield-bedecked nipple, as she concluded her duet with Justin Timberlake on "Rock Your Body," undoubtedly did more for the heavily sedated male audience than all those expensive ads for Viagra-type sex drugs on the most-hyped, most-watched show on American television.

So corporate sponsors must be fuming as "family values" reactionaries scream. Over 200,000 complaints poured in, lawsuits are threatened, and FCC (Federal Communications Commission) chairman Michael (son of Colin) Powell announced a federal probe of the entire MTV-produced half-time show, intoning,

"The whole performance was onstage copulation." Well, yeah; it's called pop music.

But there's a dirty racist angle to all this. After all, ABC's prime-time *NYPD Blue* show has been a gross-out for years, with its nasty white cop butt shots, with no repercussions. Let a gorgeous black entertainer pop out of her bustier, though, and it's a different story: fury and demands for apologies (with which a chastised Justin, who appeared on the Grammys sporting a boring brown suit to match his nose, promptly obliged). Meanwhile, Janet's brother Michael Jackson has been the target of a government-sponsored anti-sex witchhunt for years because he's a world-famous black star known for challenging sexual and racial identities (see "Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!" WV No. 818, 23 January). Then there was the infamous "child pornography" vendetta against

black R&B singer R. Kelly a few years ago. We defend both Michael Jackson and R. Kelly against the vindictive, bogus charges against them.

To be black in racist America means somebody is always gunning for you, no matter how rich, how famous, how successful you may be. Throw a little innocent fun and sex into the mix in this hypocritical, puritanical, brutal society, and an explosion is practically guaranteed. Today, we have an attorney general who insisted on covering up the bared breast of a statue representing "justice" in the stately halls of Washington, D.C., while working overtime to repress the rights of the entire American population. Well, we're actually for the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as the Declaration of Independence puts it, and if Janet Jackson wants to model for a new statue dedicated to those rights, we're all for it. Long may she wave.