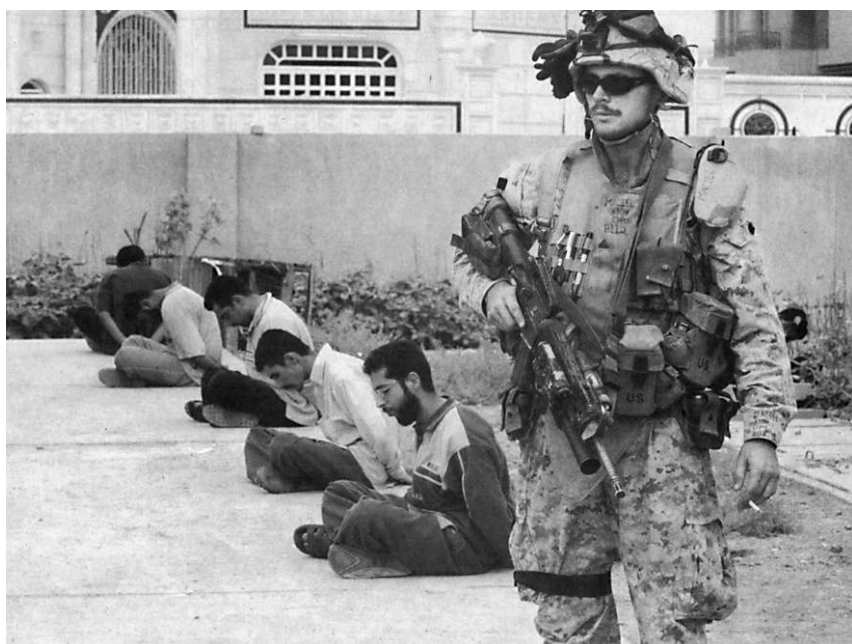


For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers at Home!

Iraq, Afghanistan: U.S. Out Now!



Getty



AP

Hell for Iraq under U.S. occupation: Marine with detainees in Falluja following U.S. "surge" (left); scene in Baghdad following car bomb in Shi'ite district.

When the bipartisan Iraq Study Group recommended last December that the U.S. begin withdrawing troops from Iraq, it was a signal that important sections of the bourgeoisie wanted to end what had become a debacle for American imperialism. President Bush essentially asked for one last chance to try to turn the situation around through a troop "surge." Republican politicians stood firmly behind Bush through the spring, while Democrats in Congress adopted a posture of loyal opposition, passing toothless resolutions for withdrawal while backing the Commander-in-Chief when it counted by voting to finance the occupation.

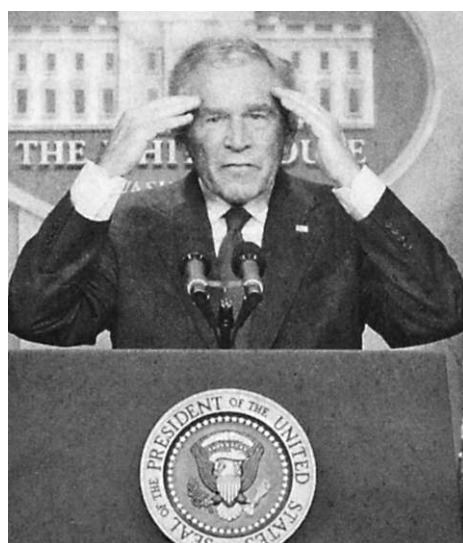
By summer, predominant sections of the U.S. ruling class had had enough. American military forces had failed in their attempt to assert control over Baghdad, and intercommunal slaughter continued unabated. Key Republican Senators like John Warner and Richard Lugar, former chairmen respectively of the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, and longtime Bush ally Pete Domenici broke with the president and began pushing for a draw down of forces. A handful of other Republican Senators voted with the Democrats to set a "timetable" for pulling back in Iraq, and still others indicated that they were only waiting until General Petraeus' status report in September before coming out publicly in opposition to the administration. In a major editorial statement, the *New York Times* (8 July), an authoritative mouthpiece of the capitalist ruling class, declared in no uncertain terms that it was time "to organize an orderly exit."

Opinion polls—and the November

Ruling Class Tells White House: Cut the Losses



Reuters



AP

Left: Democratic Congressional leaders Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi at April 26 news conference. Right: George W. Bush tells press he sees progress in Iraq, July 12.

Congressional elections—gave unambiguous signs that the American populace in its majority wants the U.S. to get out of Iraq. This sentiment has redounded to the benefit of the Democratic Party, in part due to the services of the reformist left, which built an "antiwar movement" predicated on "Anybody but Bush" lesser evilism. But contrary to bourgeois-democratic myth, the policies of U.S. imperialism are determined not by the desires of the electorate but by the interests of the capitalist ruling class, as overseen by the Democratic and Republican parties.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq has led to the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, a toll that increases daily with the communal warfare between Sunnis and

Shi'ites unleashed by the occupation. Some two million Iraqis have fled the country while two million more have left their homes for other areas in the country. A recently released study by Oxfam and other aid organizations reported that some eight million Iraqis—nearly a third of the population—need immediate emergency aid, 70 percent are without adequate water supplies and 28 percent of children are malnourished.

For the rulers of U.S. imperialism, who have destroyed what was once one of the relatively more advanced countries of the Near East, Iraq has become a quagmire threatening their ability to project American military power around the globe. As the *New York Times* editorial put it: "The

war is sapping the strength of the nation's alliances and its military forces." Pentagon officials are sounding the alarm about the overstretched military and declining enlistment. Last month, the Army missed its recruitment goal for the second month in a row, despite offering hefty signing bonuses—and even opening the door to many convicted felons. As for "the nation's alliances," with Saudi Arabia reportedly financing the Sunni Muslim opposition in Iraq and encouraging the Persian Gulf states to do the same (while Iran allegedly arms Shi'ite militias), the U.S. faces the scenario of fighting a proxy war against some of its most important allies—and oil suppliers—in the Near East.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor under President Jimmy Carter and anti-Soviet Cold War hawk, summarized the Iraq war's impact on the long-term interests of U.S. imperialism in his book, *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower* (2007): "Beyond destabilizing the Middle East, the Iraq war had a further, much more important consequence. It made the success or failure of U.S. policy in the Middle East the test case of American global leadership.... The loss of U.S. dominance in the region would have catastrophic consequences for America's position in Europe and the Far East." Many of Bush's bourgeois opponents are alarmed that the Iraq occupation has diverted Washington's attention away from more strategically important areas, in particular China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states and the imperialists' key target for capitalist counterrevolution.

The administration is in trouble from many sides. After scandal upon scandal among its cronies and as presidential approval numbers sink to a nearly 60-year low, there is a mounting cry from establishment voices to get rid of Attorney
continued on page 10



Down With Anti-Abortion Crusade! Defend Dr. George Tiller!

We print below a July 14 letter from the Partisan Defense Committee to Kansas attorney general Paul J. Morrison protesting the legal persecution of Dr. George Tiller. Due to a state law restricting late-term abortion procedures, Dr. Tiller faces up to 19 years in prison and \$47,500 in fines. Since the charges were brought against him, anti-abortion fanatics have continued to harass Tiller and lay siege to his clinic.

Dr. Tiller is challenging the constitutionality of the law, one of the myriad

measures enacted nationally since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision to effectively cut off access to abortions for large numbers of women, particularly the young and poor. In April, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a 2003 law criminalizing a rarely used second-trimester abortion procedure. As we wrote in "Supreme Court Rolls Back Abortion Rights" (WV No. 891, 27 April): "What is urgently needed is militant struggle to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion.... We fight for free abortion and contraception on



AP

Dr. Tiller addressing rally outside his Wichita clinic on 29th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* decision, January 2002.

demand as part of a program of free, quality health care for all." Attacks on abortion rights are part of a broad government onslaught against the working class and the oppressed. It is in the interests of the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights to take up the defense of Dr. Tiller and other targets of the anti-abortion crusade.

* * *

We demand that the state of Kansas drop the 19 misdemeanor charges filed against Dr. George Tiller alleging that he violated a law that requires the approval of a second "independent" physician for some types of late-term abortions. These

charges resulted from a 2004 subpoena, which Tiller fought, of private medical records for 90 women who had been provided abortions. The then attorney general attempted to seize the records under the guise of investigating "child rape," but later he admitted he was really fishing for evidence that Tiller's clinic had violated late-term abortion statutes. Hands off all clinic records!

The current charges against Dr. Tiller are the continuation of decades of legal and extralegal harassment of this courageous abortion provider, who operates one of the few clinics in the country that offer late-term abortion procedures. His clinic has been the target of decades of pickets by anti-abortion fanatics and was bombed in 1986, forcing him to move his facility temporarily to secret quarters. In the summer of 1991 as part of a nationwide rampage against abortion providers, reactionary mobs descended on Wichita for six weeks, attempting to shut down the clinics. In 1993 Tiller survived being shot several times in an assassination attempt. This July 4th in the middle of the night his clinic was vandalized and flooded.

The state's persecution of George Tiller is part of an all-out assault on abortion rights which anti-woman bigots have sought to overturn for the last three decades through both legislative and judicial means while unleashing "god squads" to terrorize patients and clinic staff and murder doctors. Stop the witchhunt against George Tiller! Drop the charges! ■



TROTSKY

Trotskyism and the Heritage of the Early Comintern

In a document adopted at the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International in August 1920, Leon Trotsky stressed the need to forge an international revolutionary party in political combat against all misleaders of the working class. Standing on the revolutionary program embodied in the decisions of the first four congresses of the Communist International (1919-1922), Trotsky and his co-thinkers fought against the Comintern's subsequent Stalinist degeneration and founded the Fourth International in 1938. In continuity with this heritage, the International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

To the disintegration and chaos of the capitalist world, whose death agony threatens to destroy all human culture, the Communist International counterposes the united struggle of the world proletariat for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and for the reconstruction of national and world economy on the basis of a single economic plan, instituted and realized in life by a society of producers, a society of solidarity....

The Communist International is the party of the revolutionary education of the world proletariat. It rejects all those organizations and groups which openly or covertly stultify, demoralize and weaken the proletariat, exhorting it to kneel before the fetishes which are a facade for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: legalism, democracy, national defense, etc.

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organizations which, after inscribing the dictatorship of the proletariat in their program, continue to conduct a policy which obviously relies upon a peaceful solution of the historical crisis. Mere recognition of the Soviet system settles nothing. The Soviet form of organization does not possess any miraculous powers. Revolutionary power lies within the proletariat itself. It is necessary for the proletariat to rise for the conquest of power—then and only then does the Soviet organization reveal its qualities as the irreplaceable instrument in the hands of the proletariat....

In all his work whether as leader of a revolutionary strike, or as organizer of underground groups, or as secretary of a trade union, or as agitator at mass meetings, whether as deputy, cooperative worker or barricade fighter, the Communist always remains true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist Party, a zealous fighter, a mortal enemy of capitalist society, its economic foundation, its state forms, its democratic lies, its religion and its morality. He is a self-sacrificing soldier of the proletarian revolution and an indefatigable herald of the new society.

Working men and women! On this earth there is only one banner which is worth fighting and dying for. It is the banner of the *Communist International!*

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Second World Congress" (1920), printed in *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Volume 1, Monad Press (1977)



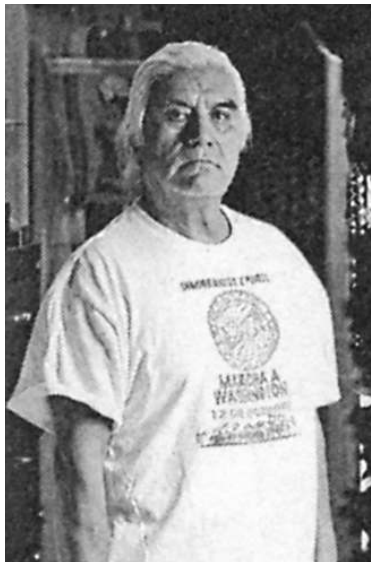
LENIN

Political Asylum for Victor Toro!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter was sent to Julie L. Myers, Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, on July 30.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the July 6 arrest and threatened deportation of Victor Toro, who for over 20 years has been a well-known advocate for immigrants and the poor in New York City. Mr. Toro was caught up in an anti-immigrant sweep on an Amtrak train outside Rochester, New York, by U.S. Border Patrol officers who worked their way down his car demanding to know passengers' citizenship and residence status.

A Chilean refugee, Mr. Toro was charged under the Immigration and Nationality Act with entering and remaining in the U.S. illegally. Mr. Toro escaped from the notorious U.S.-backed Pinochet dictatorship in Chile after enduring several years of imprisonment and torture. In 1978, the Chilean government declared him dead, making him not only stateless but a non-person, someone who could be easily disappeared by his political enemies with no questions asked, as thousands were. Since then his two applications for a Chilean passport have been rejected, and he has strong reason to believe that his life would be in danger if he were to return to Chile. Mr. Toro's wife, Nieves Ayress, has been told by Chilean authorities that he will be arrested and charged with identity theft if he travels to Chile.



Bennett/NY Times

Victor Toro at his Bronx home, July 10.

Now this very same U.S. government, whose backing of the brutal Pinochet coup cost the lives of thousands of union militants, leftists and social activists, intends to deport one of those victims who survived. Under the guise of the never-ending "war on terror," since September 2001 Homeland Security anti-immigrant sweeps and raids have spearheaded an overall assault on the civil liberties of everyone in this country, native-born and immigrant alike.

Mr. Toro's lawyer has announced plans to seek political asylum. We demand that all charges be dropped and that he be granted political asylum. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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Chinese Counterrevolutionary Feted by Lutte Ouvrière

PARIS—At its annual Fête in late May, the reformist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) invited one Cai Chongguo to speak about his latest book, *Chine: l'Envers de la Puissance* (China: The Dark Side of Power) and to share at this “socialist” gathering his account of the situation in China. Cai is the representative in France for the Hong Kong-based journal *China Labour Bulletin*

France

(CLB—now available only on the Internet). Under a guise of defending workers’ rights and fighting for “independent” trade unions, the CLB is an imperialist-backed outfit that seeks to cynically manipulate the discontent and legitimate grievances of the Chinese working class to foster capitalist counterrevolution in China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states.

The Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of the International Communist League, denounced LO’s invitation to Cai as well as its history of support to similar counter-revolutionary forces during the years of Cold War II against the former Soviet Union. Speaking from the floor of the meeting for Cai, our comrades exposed him as an agent of imperialism and put forward our Trotskyist program: for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and capitalist counter-revolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy and establish an internationalist proletarian regime based on workers and peasants soviets (councils). This perspective requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, standing at the head of the toiling masses and directing the struggles of the workers toward political power. Along that road, it is necessary to politically combat those who would link Chinese workers struggles to the forces of “democratic” capitalist counterrevolution.

The CLB and its founder, Han Dongfang, have a direct relationship with the U.S. and European imperialists. Han has been a regular speaker for years on Washington-based Radio Free Asia (RFA), to which the CLB Web site offers a direct link. Spelling out the CLB’s pro-imperialist credentials, one LTF comrade noted that “the CLB works in collaboration with the American Congress and Radio Free Asia, the CIA’s radio station in Asia, under the responsibility of Condoleezza Rice among others” who sit on



Cai Chongguo (left) of imperialist-backed *China Labour Bulletin* at podium of Lutte Ouvrière Fête in May.

the RFA’s Broadcasting Board of Governors. In Europe, Cai Chongguo offers himself up as a China “specialist” to the imperialists. In his introductory remarks, Cai baldly admitted: “I speak three to four times each week or three or four times a day...for the BBC, Radio Free Asia, French International Radio and German International Radio, and of course sometimes on the Chinese section of the Voice of America.”

Two weeks prior to the LO Fête, Cai was scheduled to speak in Berlin on “workplace rights” in China at the invitation of the European Union. But the meeting was cancelled due to the Chinese government’s protest. In December, Cai had been the guest of Nicolas Sarkozy—former interior minister and now president of France—who received Cai and other “China specialists” at his then-police headquarters at Place Beauvau, where they discussed French imperialism’s posture toward China over trade, “human rights” and independence for Taiwan, the bastion of the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. (A 16 December 2006 posting on Cai’s blog “Journal d’un Chinois” describes his “breakfast with Sarkozy.”) Against counterrevolutionary calls for Taiwan’s independence or for capitalist

reunification with the mainland, one LTF speaker put forward the ICL’s program for China’s “revolutionary reunification with Taiwan—that is, a socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow the bourgeoisie and a political revolution on the mainland.”

Cheerleaders for Counterrevolution

The 1949 Chinese Revolution ended the rule of the rapacious capitalists and landlords and liberated the most populous nation on earth from imperialist subjugation. Resulting from the military victory of peasant-guerrilla forces led by the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the 1949 Revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception, requiring a subsequent political revolution to remove the nationalist, bureaucratic regime.

In his new book, the virulently anti-Communist Cai lauds the “autonomy” of villages in pre-revolutionary China! Denouncing this reactionary drivel, one of the LTF speakers stated that before 1949 “the peasants had nothing to eat and sold their children” and that the Chinese Revolution “was a great advance for the peasants and the working class in China.” Our

comrade continued, “Today, there is a bureaucracy in power, as in 1949, with its own contradictions. It is absolutely necessary to defend China against the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries inside the country,” adding that it is the working class that must put in place “its own power based on soviets.”

Only the LTF protested Cai’s appearance at the LO Fête. Just as we unflinchingly defend China against capitalist counterrevolution, we also unconditionally defend the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. The return of imperialist subjugation to China, and with it the dismantling of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, would be catastrophic for the masses of that country. Internationally, workers and the oppressed would be under renewed attack from bourgeois rulers reveling in “death of communism” triumphalism, as has happened following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, we Trotskyists are very clear on the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy toward the Chinese working class. The CCP’s program of “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism, flowing from the party’s historic allegiance to the dogma of “socialism in one country” represents a threat to the very survival of the Chinese deformed workers state. The Stalinist bureaucracy is a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state.

LO, like other reformist parties that continue, albeit rarely, to lay claim to Trotskyism, shows with its sponsorship of counterrevolutionary “dissidents” like Cai that the prospect they hold out for the Chinese working class is a return to an imperialist stranglehold over China. One of the LTF speakers detailed how Cai is courted by not only the imperialists but also their lackeys in the trade-union bureaucracy in France and internationally: “The fact that the CLB is supported by the FO [Force Ouvrière union federation] bureaucrats or those from the CFTD [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail] or the ‘AFL-CIA’ in the United States only underlines the treason of the reformist leadership of these trade unions.” Pointing to our opposition to Lech Walesa’s Polish Solidarność, the CIA- and Vatican-backed “union” that spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, the comrade remarked, “*Le Monde*’s comparing of Han Dongfang to Lech Walesa was correct.” Our speaker continued:

“It’s not surprising that Lutte Ouvrière invites Cai to their Fête. In the 1980s LO supported bids for counterrevolution, be it by Solidarność or through LO’s support to capitalist reunification in Germany and its opposition to the Red Army in Afghanistan. Against that, we Trotskyists called to fight against counterrevolution in Poland and in East Germany.”

It was in the name of “free trade unions” that CIA money was used to buy officials and hire goons to split, smash and subdue combative unions in West Europe at the onset of the anti-Soviet Cold War, as described in the 1981 Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*. The 1947-48 split in the Communist-led CGT federation in France, out of which Force Ouvrière was created, was financed by the CIA, with the consent and assistance of the virulently anti-Communist French social democracy.

As in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, in China the call for “free trade

continued on page 4



Spartakist
Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong protest in January 1990 against fascist desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin’s Treptow Park, contested elections two months later with call, “No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!”

—Wählt—

SPARTAKIST

Nein zur kapitalistischen Wiedervereinigung!

- Für Streike und Forderungen: Stoppt die kapitalistische Übernahme unserer Betriebe! Wir brauchen Arbeiterorganisationen, um diese Forderungen zu verweigern! Gegen die imperialistische Doppelherrschaft: Keine Arbeiter- und Sozialisten, die unsere Interessen verraten zu verweigern!
- Kampf dem CIA-Agenten! Für die Rechte auf Arbeit (ist die Verteidigung unserer proletarischen Willensfreiheit nicht, keine auf die kapitalistische Sozialisten oder „sozialen Menschlichkeit“ oder eine verkümmerte „sozialistischen Menschlichkeit“?)
- Für eine sozialistische Partei, die die Interessen der proletarischen Massen
- Für eine sozialistische Partei, die die Interessen der proletarischen Massen
- Für Arbeiterorganisationen, um die Forderungen zu verweigern! Keine Arbeiter- und Sozialisten, die unsere Interessen verraten zu verweigern!
- Keine atomar-militärische Herrschaft gegen die Arbeiter- und Sozialisten!
- Viele Organisationen für alle proletarischen Massen und die Forderungen!
- Viele Organisationen für die Forderungen!
- Rechts der proletarischen Sozialisten die Jugend!
- Für eine proletarische Partei!
- Für eine proletarische Partei!
- Nur durch Arbeiterrevolution kann der Frieden gesichert werden!
- Für proletarische politische Revolution!

Wählt die drei „1.“ Lenin, Leinhardt, Luxemburg!
Wählt die Spartakist-Partei Deutschlands!
Für selbst eine proletarische Partei von revolutionären Arbeitern in der internationalistischen Tradition von Lenin und Trotsky!
Wir kämpfen für die Vereinigung der DDR, die zu einem roten Deutschland in einem sozialistischen Europa führt!

Für ein Arbeiterräte-Deutschland!

Spartakist-Partei Deutschlands

Spartakist, Kreisbüro: Treptow, Platz: 1992, 1. Stock, Raum 19

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and the oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

Since they were brought to this country in chains and enslaved, black people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom. It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subju-

gated. The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Labor Black Leagues raise the call: Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! It bases its perspectives on the realization that it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally liberate black people.



WV Photo

Labor Black League speaker at 9 February 2002 Oakland rally initiated by LBL and PDC against anti-immigrant witchhunt and draconian "anti-terror" laws.

If You Stand For —

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabberding and strike-breaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour child-care! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as

"crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adven-

tures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge: \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed. For more information:

CHICAGO(312) 563-0441

Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

LOS ANGELES(213) 380-8239

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029

NEW YORK(212) 267-1025

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND(510) 839-0851

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604

Lutte Ouvrière...

(continued from page 3)

unions" emanating from Radio Free Asia, the CLB and their "leftist" followers is a call to mobilize workers, against their historic interests, for "democratic" counter-revolution. As one LTF speaker pointed out, in regard to the Stalinist-ruled workers states, we have fought historically for "trade unions independent of the bureaucracy that are based on the principle of defending the workers state and which

struggle to defend the collectivized economy against privatizations." This has nothing in common with the CLB's drive for "democratic free trade unions," a key component of Cai's presentation.

LO: Betraying Workers' Interests in China and at Home

Lutte Ouvrière has always absurdly characterized the 1949 Chinese Revolution as a bourgeois revolution and China as a bourgeois state. But as LO's *Exposés du Cercle Léon Trotsky* (27 January 2006) documents, since 1998 LO has also maintained publicly that this supposedly bourgeois state did indeed "carry out the collectivization of the land," introduce "considerable progress" in employment, housing, health and education, and that "industry developed at an average rate of 9 percent a year." LO also admits that there is no comparison between this level of progress and the situation in such semicolonial countries as India.

LO tries to explain the positive impact of the Chinese Revolution as resulting from the policy of *étatisme* (statism)—i.e., state direction of the economy. This notion makes no distinction between a bourgeois state and a workers state, presenting the state as fundamentally neutral: as an administrative apparatus resting above classes rather than the central tool for the ruling class to maintain its domination.

Under the strong pressure of anti-communist bourgeois public opinion, LO's anti-Marxist "theoretical" gobbledegook serves the purpose of siding with the imperialist bourgeoisies against the Chinese deformed workers state. In

the context of France, the revisionist portrayal of the state as a "neutral" body is reflected in LO's frequent appeals to the bourgeois state to act in the interests of the French working class. This was clearly seen in LO's program for the recent presidential elections and its call on the working class to vote for the anti-working-class popular front headed by Ségolène Royal in the second round (see *Le Bolchévique* No. 180, June 2007).

We assert that defense of the interests

of the workers in France and other capitalist countries is inseparable from defense of the remaining workers states. In the critical battles to come that will determine the fate of the People's Republic of China, the Trotskyists will battle against the Lech Walesas of today and their "leftist" pimps, as we did in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. This is a crucial part of the ICL's struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Dellums: No Friend of Labor

Pact Ends Bay Area Sanitation Lockout: Workers Beware!

OAKLAND—Some 500 members of Teamsters Local 70 in Alameda County, locked out on July 2 by garbage hauling giant Waste Management, are back at work after voting overwhelmingly to accept a “compromise” contract on July 28. Returning with them are some 80 members of International Association of Machinists Local 1546 and another 300 recycling, landfill and clerical workers in International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 6, who walked out in solidarity with the Teamsters. These workers are rightly proud that they stood firm for nearly four weeks against the company’s scabherding assault. They received an outpouring of support from the powerful, integrated Bay Area labor movement, as many workers understood that Waste Management’s war on the Teamsters is a war on *all of organized labor*.

However, the lockout ended with potentially crippling concessions to the Waste Management bosses, brokered by so-called “friend of labor” and Democratic Party mayor of Oakland Ron Dellums. The workers felt compelled to accept these concessions (by a vote of 363-3) *not* because they were defeated in battle but because of the treacherous policy of the labor bureaucracy, which puts all its faith in capitalist politicians and the illusory “neutrality” of the capitalist state.

What labor needed to win this vital class confrontation was the mobilization of its social power in class struggle. Longshoremen from ILWU Local 10 pointed the way on July 16, when they respected Teamsters picket lines and shut down the Maersk terminal at the Port of Oakland for several hours, resulting in a scab truck and its security detail being escorted off the docks.

Waste Management locked out the Teamsters two days after their contract expired, demanding a no-strike clause that also would have outlawed honoring other unions’ picket lines as well as harsh disciplinary measures with which to harass and fire unionists for supposed “safety” violations. The workers faced a reported \$600,000-a-day union-busting operation prepared well in advance by North America’s largest private waste hauling firm, a Fortune 500 company with 2006 profits of over \$1 billion. The company flew in hundreds of professional strikebreakers known as the “Green Team” from non-union locations throughout the country. To escort the scab-operated trucks, the company mobilized a battalion of security vans that sent at least two picketers to the hospital in hit-and-runs.

Waste Management is notorious for trying to trash unions. In late 2005, it unilaterally imposed a draconian contract on Teamsters Local 813 members who haul trash from private businesses in New York City. This diktat came down just as transit workers were defying the state’s anti-labor Taylor Law and crippling the capital of world finance in a three-day strike. Instead of pulling out their members to join transit workers on the picket line, the Teamsters tops made the haulers eat the cuts so as not to defy the capitalist politicians. Finally forced out in April 2006, the union, after a bitter four-month strike, signed on to a give-back contract.

Local 70 leaders knew the lockout was coming. Teamsters drivers told *Workers Vanguard* teamsters that they were followed by scabs learning their routes. The union bureaucracy’s strategy was to use public anger, which grew as the piles of garbage mounted, in appealing to the capitalist courts and politicians to end the lockout. The labor tops looked in particular to Mayor Dellums, the kind of earnest liberal who serves to rope in workers’ votes for the Democrats, the other party of the class enemy. Meanwhile, Waste Management’s

class-war garbage war meant regular pickups in affluent neighborhoods while letting rat-infested garbage pile up in largely black, Latino and poor neighborhoods.

The union bureaucracy’s strategy backfired dramatically as Dellums weighed in. Professing neutrality in the name of the so-called “public interest,” he strong-armed *the union* into giving up hard-won gains embodying the single most vital issue for trade unionism: the right to strike. From all accounts, the new five-year contract includes the “no strike, no lockout” clause the company demanded, stipulating binding arbitration to resolve disputes between the union and the bosses. This is a very significant concession, given that previously Alameda County and Los Angeles Teamsters contracts with Waste Management were two of the few contracts left without this now “standard language,” the purpose of which is to tie the union’s hands for years. Now the Los Angeles Teamsters, whose contract expires in September, are under the gun.

Thanks to the workers’ determined solidarity throughout the lockout, the company grudgingly conceded the union’s right to honor picket lines and dropped its demand for cuts in health care benefits. But the contract also includes the harsh discipline the company wanted, reportedly including suspension for the first “safety” infraction and firing after the third—with no right to file a grievance.

Workers must beware what this contract portends. The capitalists’ drive for profits regularly kills and maims thousands. Garbage hauling is one of the most dangerous jobs in the U.S. On-the-job fatalities are *ten times* the national average for all jobs. The bosses’ contempt for the safety of the workers was demonstrated by their hit-and-run scabherders. At the same time, “safety” has become one of management’s favorite tools for getting rid of

workers they don’t like. Everyone knows that they will use no-grievance discipline procedures to go after union militants.

All sides agree that Dellums was key to imposing this anti-labor settlement. Teamsters Local 70 secretary-treasurer and international vice president Chuck Mack lauded it as a “fair agreement” and had nothing but praise for the mayor. But the *San Francisco Chronicle* (28 July) reported that the turning point was an ultimatum from Dellums: settle or the city would contract with another firm—union or not—to haul the trash. This threat to Teamsters jobs held a gun to the workers’ heads. With friends like that, who needs enemies?

The union tops’ allegiance to the class enemy meant that they never mobilized the widespread support for the locked-out workers in order to shut down Waste Management’s scab operation through mass pickets and industrial action. The ILWU International, Bay Area Rapid Transit workers ATU Local 1555, the California Nurses Association and East Bay Municipal Utility District water workers of AFSCME Locals 444 and 2019 were among the many unions that responded to an appeal for hardship funds for the ILWU Local 6 workers. Heavily Latino and mainly women, including many single mothers, Local 6 workers earn \$11-14 per hour and were not eligible for unemployment benefits.

A solidarity rally on July 11 drew hundreds from local unions and other supporters, including activists with the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. Many also joined union pickets at Waste Management facilities. But throughout the lockout, security-escorted scab trucks and management crossed picket lines and even struck picketers with impunity, while unionized garbage workers sacrificed their wages, imperil-

ing car and home payments.

Nationally the Teamsters tops are part of the “Change to Win” coalition and supposedly committed to organizing the unorganized. But they have allowed the bulk of Waste Management’s operation nationally to remain non-union, providing the large pool of potential scabs for the company’s anti-union “Green Team.” This underlines the need for a class-struggle fight to organize the unorganized.

The capitalist state is not neutral. Former Teamsters president Ron Carey rode into office on court suits and a government-run election. Then, after he led a strike against UPS in 1997, the Feds threw him out. The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) openly embraced the government’s installation of Carey through its active support for Teamsters for a Democratic Union. During the Waste Management lockout, the ISO likewise embraced the legalistic strategy of the Teamsters tops. Asking “what will labor have to do to win?” the ISO turned for the answer to Chuck Mack: “The message has to get out about the lawlessness that this company is about” (*Socialist Worker*, 20 July). The ISO timidly opined that “if WM proves impervious to symbolic picket lines, then the unions and their supporters will have to consider organizing mass picket lines to stop the trucks from rolling.” But as soon as the workers start to be effective, the courts and the cops show that they are no more “neutral” than the security thugs Waste Management employs directly. Just ask the Teamsters harassed by the cops.

Under capitalism, the unions confront a highly centralized class adversary in the cops, courts and government. That is why labor needs a leadership based on a class-struggle program and the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class. Above all, it must break from the capitalist parties—Democratic, Republican and Green—and forge its own party, a revolutionary workers party, dedicated to the fight for a workers government where those who labor rule. ■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. On May 17, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments on Mumia’s appeal and a decision could come within weeks or months. We must mobilize now to win his freedom.

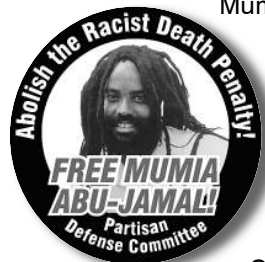
Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to “National Lawyers Guild Foundation” (earmarked for “Mumia”) and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia’s freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia’s case in your union or organization’s newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia’s freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the

more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC button: “Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!”—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD, \$15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Free Mychal Bell! Drop All Charges Against the Jena Six!

Outrage Over Jim Crow Justice in Louisiana

In a racist frame-up redolent of the lynch law of the “Old South,” six black youth in the small town of Jena, Louisiana, face decades in prison on phony second-degree murder and felony “aggravated battery” charges. The six were arrested last December after a white student was injured in a fight at Jena High School that followed months of intense racist harassment and threats of violence against black students. On June 28, one of the black youth, Mychal Bell, was convicted by an all-white jury of aggravated battery and conspiracy. He faces up to 22 years in prison, with sentencing set for September 20. Five others—Robert Bailey Jr., Theo Shaw, Carwin Jones, Bryant Purvis and Jesse Beard—still await trial. We demand that Mychal Bell be freed and that all charges be dropped against the Jena Six!

While the *New York Times* and many other major newspapers in the U.S. have blacked out this racist atrocity, the story has been picked up in Europe, South Africa and elsewhere. Virtually every reporter has noted the parallels with the Jim Crow system of segregation that was legally dismantled following the mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. The case began last September when a black student requested permission from a school official to sit under the so-called “white tree,” and did so. The next day, black students at the school, which is 80 percent white,



June 25: Supporters of Jena Six, including Theo Shaw's father (second from right), protest outside LaSalle Parish Courthouse as trial for Mychal Bell (inset) begins.

arrived to find three nooses hanging from the tree. Robert Bailey remarked that when he came upon the nooses, “I’m thinking the KKK, you know, were hanging nooses. They want to hang somebody.” His mother Caseptla Bailey said, “It meant that, ‘We’re going to kill you, you’re going to die.’”

Black students some days later bravely held an impromptu protest under the tree.

The LaSalle Parish district attorney was immediately called in for a school assembly where he threatened the black students. One of the few black teachers at the school reported that he held up a pen and said, “I can end your lives with the stroke of a pen.” Cops patrolled the school hallways, and disciplining of black students escalated throughout the fall. In December, Robert Bailey was

assaulted at a mainly white party. After the cops showed up, they warned the black youth there to get back to “their” side of town. The next day, one of Bailey’s attackers pulled a shotgun on three black youth at a convenience store.

A few days later, a white student found himself on the ground in a fight that ensued after he hurled the word “n---r” at a black youth he was taunting for having been attacked at the party. After visiting a hospital emergency room, the white student was seen at a school event later that day. But as a result of the scuffle, the Jena Six were arrested and charged with *second-degree attempted murder*, a charge that could mean *one hundred years* without parole in Louisiana’s hellhole prison system. Bail for the six ranged from \$70,000 to \$138,000, forcing some to spend months in jail. Mychal Bell’s family never did make bail. The battery charge against him was upped to “aggravated” because of the presence of a “dangerous weapon”—the tennis shoes on his feet!

The court-appointed defense lawyer tried to convince Bell to accept a plea bargain from the prosecution, but he refused. His father, Marcus Jones, pointed out: “Here in LaSalle Parish, whenever a black man is offered a plea bargain, he is innocent.” The judge put a gag order on Bell’s parents, banning them from the courtroom and from speaking to the media. His

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University of Colorado Professor Fired in Right-Wing Witchhunt Reinststate Ward Churchill!

On July 24, the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado (CU) voted eight to one to fire longtime Native American activist and tenured ethnic studies professor Ward Churchill. The ostensible reason was for supposed “research misconduct” regarding sources in some of his more than 20 books and 90 academic articles and essays. But as Churchill put it in a statement in late May in response to university president Hank Brown’s recommendation to fire him: “CU’s ‘investigation’ has all along been merely a pretext, transparently catering to the political and financial interests which dictate ‘educational’ policy at CU.”

Hundreds of Churchill’s supporters protested on the day of his dismissal, which was discussed not only behind closed doors but during summer vacation. Churchill has filed a lawsuit against the university for violating his free speech rights, demanding his reinstatement as well as monetary damages. We defend Churchill and support his demands despite our political differences with him.

Churchill has long been targeted because he is, as the 2006 “Report of the Investigative Committee” at CU put it, “one of the most widely read and influen-



July 24: Ward Churchill (right) and supporters following University of Colorado Board of Regents meeting that fired him.

tial writers in this country who deal with American Indian issues.” In his scholarship, along with his activism in the

American Indian Movement (AIM), he has exposed the centuries-long racist extermination of the indigenous population in the Americas, as well as the continued discrimination against and oppression of Native Americans today.

Churchill is also well known for his extensively documented and valuable studies of government repression against political dissidents. His *Agents of Repression: The FBI’s Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* and *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI’s Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States* (both written with Jim Vander Wall) detailed the bourgeois rulers’ decades-long campaign against leftists and opponents of Native American and black oppression. AIM leader Leonard Peltier and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal remain in prison to this day, framed up on bogus charges for their political beliefs. Churchill has been active in fighting for both Mumia’s and Peltier’s freedom.

For years, bourgeois forces have been gunning for Churchill, from former Colorado governor Bill Owens to David Horowitz, a racist right-wing ideologue who in 2001 distributed an advertisement to

campus papers alibiing slavery and spitting on the gains of black struggle. Bolstered by the reactionary climate created by the bourgeois rulers’ “war on terror,” Horowitz has led a crusade to get rid of leftist and liberal professors. His 2006 book, *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, begins by pointing to Churchill as supposedly exemplifying how the “radical left has colonized” the campuses. Cynically claiming to stand for free speech, Horowitz has stated that it would be bad form to fire Churchill for his politics—the real problem, according to him, is that Churchill shouldn’t have been hired in the first place!

The campaign against Churchill became red-hot after some students and faculty at upstate New York’s Hamilton College protested his invitation to speak in February 2005. They denounced an essay he wrote in September 2001, “‘Some People Push Back’: On the Justice of Roosting Chickens,” an angry liberal response to the murderous sanctions against Iraq and other crimes of U.S. imperialism. In the essay, Churchill implied that Americans in general shared in the guilt for these crimes because of their

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Brooklyn: NYPD Targets Black, Latino Youth

In decrepit and segregated public schools around the country, increased “security” has meant an increase in racist cop harassment, making students feel more like prisoners than ever, as *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert has documented in a series of recent articles. In order to even get into school, students wait in line for hours to pass through metal detectors and are subjected to body searches, the confiscation of their personal property, taunts and manhandling. Police patrol the halls, threatening and intimidating students. A six-year-old black child was dragged out of her Florida elementary school in handcuffs for throwing a tantrum. Inside or outside of school, black and Latino youth are the targets of constant cop harassment, cast as criminals by the racist American ruling class.

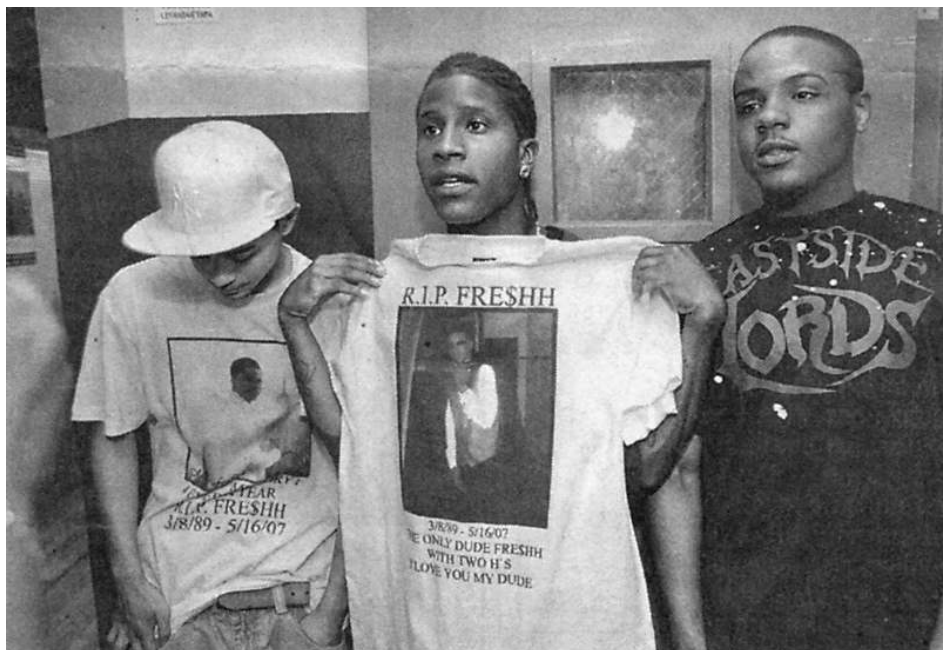
After the arrest in the Bushwick neighborhood of Brooklyn of black and Latino high school students who were traveling together to a friend’s wake, the students, their teachers and members of a local community center organized the Student Coalition Against Racial Profiling (S.C.A.R.P.). At a July 9 rally organized by S.C.A.R.P. and at the subsequent court hearings, the New York Spartacus Youth Club expressed solidarity with the students, who are currently awaiting trial, and argued against illusions in black Democratic Party politicians like Charles Barron and in the reformability of the cops. We reprint below the New York SYC’s leaflet in defense of the Bushwick youth, as reissued on July 9.

* * *

On May 21, thirty-two black and Latino high school students were arrested on their way to the wake for their friend, Donnell McFarland. The students wore T-shirts in memory of McFarland and were walking to the subway when they were surrounded by police, who had been following them in unmarked cars. The cops, with their guns drawn, shoved the youth up against a fence, searched and handcuffed them. They were detained, some for 36 hours, and many were denied food and water. Unable to attend the wake, the youth had a moment of silence for their friend in prison. The cops have grotesquely justified the arrest by claiming that the memorial T-shirts—which they confiscated as evidence—were “gang colors.” The students face charges of unlawful assembly and disorderly conduct. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: **Defend the Bushwick youth! Drop the charges!**

In Bushwick, students and teachers have organized protests and publicized their accounts, which have resonated with working people, blacks and Latinos who

Drop the Charges! For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!



Higgins/NY Times

Luis Pacheco, Kenneth Frederick and Zezza Anderson, three of the Bushwick youth victimized by NYPD as they tried to attend May 21 wake for Donnell McFarland, known as Fre\$h.

face similar repression every day. What happened in Bushwick is just one example of the racist hell that is capitalist America, from the gunning down of Sean Bell in a hail of 50 bullets on his wedding day, to the racist atrocity where blacks and poor people were left to die in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. In New York City, the arrest of the Bushwick high school students has been followed by a wave of racist attacks by the NYPD, including the arrest of 208 people at the Puerto Rican Day Parade and the arrest and beating of well-known black civil rights lawyer Michael Warren and his wife for protesting a cop attack on a black youth in Prospect Heights.

The racist American ruling class, represented by both Democrats and Republicans, has intensified its class war against workers, blacks, immigrants and Latinos, slashing jobs and education and criminalizing an entire generation, offering them no future except to rot in jail or serve as cannon fodder in imperialist wars. To eliminate police brutality it is necessary to do away with this whole system of racist American capitalism, which is driven by the need for maximum profits at the expense of working people and the poor. Students wanting to protest racist cop terror must look to the social power of the multiracial working class, a power which comes from its ability to shut down production and stop the flow of profit. A taste of this power was seen when the heavily black and minority Transport Workers Union Local 100 in New York City went on strike for three days in 2005, crippling the finance capital of the world.

To combat rampant racist reaction, such as the recent Supreme Court decision throwing out two school desegregation plans, the power of the working class must be brought to bear against all mani-

festations of racial oppression, from the fight against racist cop terror in the ghettos and barrios to the struggle to free death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who the capitalist rulers want to execute for his fight for black freedom and all the oppressed. But a key obstacle to mobilizing the power of labor is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy that politically ties workers to their class enemy through support to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is a party of the capitalist ruling class and, because it postures as a friend of the working class and the oppressed, it is the preferred party to administer attacks on social services and wage imperialist war. It was Democrat Eliot Spitzer who as state attorney general enforced slave-labor Taylor Law reprisals against the transit workers before, during and after the strike in an attempt to break their union.

It is a dead end to look to Democratic Party politicians, such as City Councilman Charles Barron, whose job is to help divert outrage with this system into empty

demands to “reform the police” and reliance on the Democratic Party as a lesser evil to the justly despised Republican administration in the White House. The “100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care” are cops who are attempting to clean up the image of NYPD thugs in blue. But it makes little difference if cops are black, white, live in your neighborhood or have attended “sensitivity training.” The cops are part of the capitalist state, along with the courts, the prisons and the military, and operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The black, white and Latino cops who shot Sean Bell and his companions are all hired guns for the filthy rich capitalists on Wall Street.

Black oppression, deriving from the legacy of chattel slavery, is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The black population is an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. However, black workers are a key component of the multiracial working class. As Marxists, we base ourselves on a class-struggle fight against the racial oppression that imprisons the majority of black people in the ghettos. We fight to link the struggle of the masses for decent jobs, education, health care and housing as well as an end to rampant cop terror to the eradication of its real source—the capitalist system. We fight for the program of revolutionary integrationism, understanding that it will take a socialist revolution to achieve full equality for blacks. There will not be a revolution in the United States unless the working class as a whole takes up the struggle for black freedom, which is inseparable from the struggle to emancipate all the exploited and oppressed.

The bloody American ruling class, enemy of working people and the oppressed worldwide, pushes all forms of backwardness, from racist, anti-immigrant chauvinism to the oppression of women and anti-gay bigotry, in order to divide the working class and prevent militant, integrated class struggle. The 1917 Russian Revolution proved that the capitalist system can be smashed and that the working class can take state power. To do this requires a revolutionary multiracial workers party that acts as a tribune of the people, combatting all manifestations of oppression. The SYC, youth auxiliary of the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to win young people to this struggle. We call on all opponents of racist cop terror to come out and stand in solidarity with the Bushwick youth. Be there at the court hearings: Brooklyn Criminal Court, 120 Schermerhorn Street, July 10, 11 and 12, 9:30 a.m.!■



Young Spartacus

July 9: Rally in Bushwick protesting mass arrest of black and Latino high school students on May 21.

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Covering for the Reformists, Again

IG: Hot Air Over Fascistic Minutemen

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG) has been in a lather over our article “Fascistic Minutemen and Anti-Immigrant Bigotry” (WV No. 891, 27 April), ludicrously charging in the *Internationalist* (May 2007) that the Spartacist League has joined “the company of bourgeois liberals who defend the fascists’ supposed ‘right’ to stage their immigrant-bashing provocations.” As we will show, behind this smear job, which has been posted on Indymedia sites, stands the IG’s appetite for the company of opportunist leftists for whom the struggle for immigrant rights is yet another means to push pro-Democratic Party politics.

Our article on the Minutemen put forward a Marxist position on how to combat these nativist reactionaries and, more generally, defend immigrant rights through mobilizing working-class power against the racist capitalist rulers. We described the Minutemen as fascistic, expressing the fact that they engage in anti-immigrant vigilantism and are penetrated by fascists but are not at this time an outright fascist movement like the neo-Nazis or Ku Klux Klan. Our position on what action to take against the Minutemen depends on concrete circumstances. When Minutemen vigilantes engage in physical provocations against immigrants and their allies, we are for workers and minorities *stopping* them and have joined in such action, for example at last year’s L.A. Labor Day gathering (see “Racist Minuteman Provocation Spiked,” WV No. 876, 15 September 2006). When Minuteman spokesmen appear on campus to spew reactionary *ideas*, we advocate protest and exposure of their anti-immigrant poison.

For Marxists, a different approach obtains when dealing with the Klan/Nazi fascists. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in many urban centers against these race-hate terrorists, who “debate” with the lynch rope and firebomb, who stage provocations in order to recruit to a program of racist genocide and the destruction of the left, trade unions and all working-class organizations through instituting totalitarian capitalist rule. Mass fascist movements are extraparlimentary mobilizations of the petty bourgeoisie, made desperate by economic and social crisis, along with the lumpenproletariat and even a section of backward workers. If fascists succeed

in smashing the workers movement on behalf of the capitalists, as in Germany in the 1930s, the end product is a bonapartist bourgeois regime with sections of the fascists absorbed into the state apparatus and others purged (as was the Nazi SA in the June 1934 “Night of the Long Knives”).

The Minutemen, however, are similar to other single-issue right-wing movements like the Boston-based anti-busing outfit Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) of the mid 1970s or the anti-abortion Operation Rescue. These organizations also have included violent vigilante components and attracted fascist participation, and we have sought to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class to stop them when they have attempted provocations and violence. But the primary aim of such groups is to pressure the bourgeois politicians and state agencies to further their reactionary agenda.

The self-proclaimed aim of the Minuteman border patrols, for example, is to act as auxiliaries to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), sheriffs and National Guard, agitating for the government to more thoroughly “secure” the border. And as we noted in our article in WV No. 891, “Though consisting primarily of white racists, the Minutemen have sought to recruit blacks and Latino citizens who buy into anti-immigrant bigotry, with some modest success.” Needless to say, such is not the case with the KKK!

Not so long ago, the IG itself described the Minuteman Project in an April 2007 *Internationalist* article as a “*fascistic vigilante group*” (emphasis ours). One month later, however, the IG denounced us for “making believe that the deadly Minuteman terrorists are *not* fascist, and merely ‘fascistic.’” What’s up with that?

The IG’s wordplay has precious little to do with the nature of the Minutemen and everything to do with providing a militant-sounding cover for the antics of the reformist left. This was seen at Columbia University last October, when the College Republicans brought Minuteman Project leader Jim Gilchrist to speak on campus. The protest against Gilchrist was co-sponsored by the College Democrats and built heavily by the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL). As demonstrators rallied outside, the ISO, PSL and some others went into the speech and unfurled a couple of banners on the platform denouncing the Minutemen, whose supporters physically attacked the protesters. The leftist protesters subsequently faced reprisals from the university.

A leaflet issued by the New York Spartacus Youth Club defended the protesters while pointing out that their actions “played into the hands of the reactionaries’ false and absurd claim that the left is trampling free speech, when in fact it is the right-wing bigots that have been waging a massive campaign to purge the campuses of leftists, immigrants, blacks and any voice that is in opposition to the ruling-class agenda” (see “Defend Anti-Minutemen Protesters at Columbia!” WV No. 879, 27 October 2006). The leaflet quoted an SYC speaker at the protest outside the speech who denounced the anti-immigrant policies of both capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

Predictably, the ISO and PSL breathed not a word of criticism of the Democrats in their newspapers’ coverage of this

event. For its part, the IG’s May 2007 article kept a discreet silence about the reformists’ pandering to the Democrats except when citing *our* polemics against the fake left. The IG writes: “The SL rightly excoriates groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) for working with the Democratic Party, in ‘antiwar’ coalitions and elsewhere.” Actually, the point is that the

Columbia University, October 2006: SYC speaker addresses protest outside event featuring Minutemen. Below: SL (with sign) joins workers to stop provocation by anti-immigrant bigots at L.A. Labor Day picnic, September 2006.



WV Photo

ISO, PSL et al. do not denounce the Democrats—the *other* party of American capitalist imperialism—in their joint actions with the likes of the College Democrats. The reformists played a similar role during the massive protests for immigrant rights last year, which were led by bourgeois liberals, union bureaucrats and others whose aim was to “make the Democrats fight” in the mid-term Congressional elections (and who demobilized those protests as the elections approached).

The IG, salivating over the sheer size of the protests, have gone hook, line and sinker for the reformists’ campus stunts. And bolstering the reformists’ “anti-fascist” credentials and slandering the SL is the price of admission into this “broad movement.” Thus the IG’s diatribe accuses us of being “well to the right of the ISO and PSL reformists.” Never mind that the ISO has never met a genuine anti-fascist mobilization it did not seek to sabotage. To take but one example: in New York City in October 1999 the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor/black mobilization that drew 8,000 people to stop the Ku Klux

Klan, which had announced its intention to rally. The ISO worked in league with black Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton to *derail* this expression of labor/black power, building an anti-anti-fascist rally that included Latino cops.

Should bona fide fascists set foot on campus or anywhere else, we advocate mass, labor-centered mobilizations to drive them off. But when it comes to reactionary ideologues, we oppose the idiotic liberal “no free speech for racists” appeals by the likes of the ISO, which essentially call on the bourgeois campus administrations to regulate speech. In February, College Democrats demanded that the union-busting New York University administration revoke the charter of the College Republicans, who had staged a vile “game” of “find an illegal immigrant.” As we wrote in our article on the Columbia protest: “We oppose demands on the campus administration and on the capitalist state to police ‘hate speech’ because it bolsters the repressive power of those institutions, enabling them to use such codes and laws to victimize student protesters, minorities and leftists.”

At Columbia, our comrades partici-



Minuteman Project

Anti-immigrant rally by reactionary Minuteman outfit in Los Angeles, June 2006.

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips
alternate issues in
June, July and August.
Our next issue will
be dated August 31.

Jena Six...

(continued from page 6)

attorney called no witnesses, and the jury spent less than three hours deliberating before finding him guilty. As Marcus Jones described in a July 10 radio interview on *Democracy Now*, it was “just a 2007 modern-day court lynching.”

With anger spreading in local black communities, some 300 supporters of the Jena Six marched in Jena on July 31. Assisting the defense of the Jena Six is “Friends of Justice,” a group from Tulia, Texas, formed in the wake of the outrageous railroading of black people in that rural town. In 1999, some 10 percent of the town’s black population was rounded up and jailed as part of the government’s racist “war on drugs.” They were finally released in 2003 after the whole operation was exposed as a grotesque frame-up. We pointed out at the time that in such isolated areas, the government’s forces of repression are capable of “literally decimating black communities” (“After Four Years in Racist Prison Hell—Tulia Victims Freed, Finally,” WV No. 813, 7 November 2003).

As for Louisiana, the state has the highest incarceration rate in the U.S. and its prison hells are notorious. Jena itself is

the site of the infamous Jena Juvenile Justice Center, which was closed in 2000 after reports of massive abuse of prisoners. Among those rotting in Angola prison, a former slave plantation, is Gary Tyler. In Destrehan, Louisiana, in 1974, amid raging battles over school integration, Tyler, then a high school sophomore, was on a bus with other black students when it was attacked by a white mob with a barrage of bricks and bottles as 200 cops stood by. A bullet hit a white child, and although a man with a rifle was seen nearby, Gary Tyler was arrested. Though no gun or other evidence was found on him, he was framed up for the killing, convicted by an all-white jury and given the death penalty (since changed to a life sentence). Free Gary Tyler!

The racist humiliations, provocations and physical and legal attacks that Jena’s black youth have endured exemplify the brutal reality of racist oppression in capitalist America. Jena lies not far from the impoverished Mississippi Delta. It was after the massive civil rights struggles that this country’s rulers dismantled the Jim Crow system of de jure segregation. But the liberal-reformist strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party, the federal government and the courts brought the fight for black freedom to a dead end in the 1960s. This was particu-

larly seen when the civil rights struggles went North and ran into the solid core of racist American capitalism in the ghettos: segregated, wretched housing, rampant cop brutality, entrenched unemployment. And especially in small Southern towns like Jena and Tulia, Jim Crow “justice” is still the order of the day.

The incompetence, cruelty and contempt for black and poor people demonstrated at all levels of the U.S. ruling class before, during and after Hurricane Katrina is emblematic of this murderous capitalist system. After Katrina, the Jena juvenile prison was opened to house New Orleans prisoners, some of whom barely survived after being initially abandoned in locked cells with water up to their necks. On the legal front, the June U.S. Supreme Court decision throwing out school desegregation plans struck another blow against black rights. The situation today cries out for a class-struggle fight for black rights, mobilizing the *social power* of the labor movement, where black workers play a crucial role. That potential power was seen in the shipyard strike in Pascagoula, Mississippi, earlier this year, where workers, many of whom had lost their homes because of Katrina, shut down one of the world’s largest shipbuilders.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus

Youth Clubs fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, a strategy counterposed to both the liberal integrationist notion that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of the capitalist profit system and to black nationalism, which capitulates to and helps perpetuate the racist segregation fostered by this country’s rulers and despairs of multiracial class struggle. While fighting against all forms of racist segregation and discrimination, we realize that, as we wrote in “Supreme Court: Segregation Forever” (WV No. 895, 6 July): “Ultimately, social conditions cannot be fundamentally altered short of the overthrow of the racist capitalist system and the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacist League is committed to the fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead all the exploited and the oppressed in the struggle to sweep away this decaying capitalist system.” We say: Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the Jena Six defense. We urge our readers to send donations to: Jena 6 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2798, Jena, LA 71342. ■

Churchill...

(continued from page 6)

supposed indifference to the suffering that U.S. rulers cause abroad. He argued that the attack on the World Trade Center was a counterstrike in a war between the First and Third Worlds, and referred to the “technocrats” in the World Trade Center as “little Eichmanns.”

As Marxists, we find Churchill’s interpretation of the attack on the World Trade Center—a criminal act that resulted in the deaths of thousands of ordinary people and a godsend to the imperialist rulers—a grotesque version of liberal “collective guilt.” As we wrote in “Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus” (WV No. 842, 18 February 2005):

“Churchill’s outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes. Those who carried out that attack embraced the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon

is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and as a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack an ‘anti-imperialist’ act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon. Nevertheless, we vigorously oppose the persecution of Professor Churchill for his unpopular views. The witchhunters, transparently, have seized on his World Trade Center statement in order to censor him, as payback for his long-time activism and exposure of the crimes of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.”

One of the allegations against Churchill by the CU administration is that he fabricated evidence that the U.S. Army deliberately spread smallpox among Native Americans at one location in 1837. In a *Wall Street Journal* (26 July) op-ed piece titled, “Why I Fired Professor Churchill,” CU president Brown claimed that “Mr. Churchill rewrote history to fit his own theories.” In fact, smallpox is widely recognized as playing an important role in devastating the indigenous

population in the Americas. An article on “bioterrorism” by Dr. Mark Graber, a professor at the Iowa College of Medicine, in *Emergency Medicine* (January 2002) states:

“The first use of smallpox as a biological weapon, albeit inadvertently, occurred when Spanish conquerors led by Cortez introduced smallpox in 1520 during their assault on the Aztec capital city of Tenochtitlan in Mexico. In the years that followed, almost 90% of the population of the New World was killed by smallpox. The disease was used deliberately as a biological weapon during the French and Indian war in 1754 by the English, who distributed tainted blankets to Native Americans; the mortality reached 50% in many tribes. Smallpox was also used by the American government during its wars with Native Americans.”

The administration’s allegations against Churchill have the quality of disputing the timetables of the trains going to Auschwitz. As Churchill wrote in a May 2006 statement: “I have published some two dozen books, 70 book chapters and scores of articles containing a combined total of approximately 12,000 footnotes.

I doubt that any even marginally prolific scholar’s publications could withstand the type of scrutiny to which mine has been subjected.” Even the University of Colorado’s “Report of the Investigative Committee” admits: “We do not find academic misconduct with respect to his general claim that the U.S. Army deliberately spread smallpox to Mandan Indians at Fort Clark in 1837, using infected blankets. Early accounts of what was said by Indians involved in that situation and certain native oral traditions provide some basis for that interpretation.”

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand the reinstatement of Churchill. The firing of Churchill clearly demonstrates the role of the campus administrations, which run the universities in the interests of the capitalist rulers in order to train the future layer of ideologues, technocrats and government officials to administer the capitalist system. We revolutionary Marxists call for free, quality education for all and to abolish the administrations—for student/worker/teacher control of the universities! ■

obscurities the fact that the main source of violence against immigrants seeking to cross from Mexico into the U.S. is the *capitalist state*, with its border guards and other armed forces. The Mexican bourgeois state carries out its own murderous attacks on immigrants at *its* southern border.

The IG has quite a track record of “anti-fascist” demagoguery in the service of “fight the right” opportunism. A case in point was the French presidential election in 2002, when the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen ran in the second round against right-wing president Jacques Chirac. We noted at the time that while the elections marked a sharp shift to the right in the bourgeois political spectrum and would further embolden Le Pen’s National Front thugs, his success was mainly an electoral phenomenon. Since the proletariat did not pose a threat to bourgeois rule, the French rulers saw no need to unleash their fascist dogs as a last resort to annihilate the workers movement.

In the end, Le Pen was defeated by Chirac, who had the support of a class-collaborationist alliance extending from the Gaullist right to the “far left.” While the reformist group Lutte Ouvrière (LO) drew a crude class line against voting for Chirac, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France could extend no electoral support, however critical, to LO given its pandering to the racist security campaign that was going on in the country. The IG threw its lot in with the bulk of the “far left” by screaming about the imminent danger of “fascism.” The IG also falsified our posi-

tion on the subsequent parliamentary elections, accusing us of giving “conditional critical support” to LO. As the LTF wrote in “Why We Still Don’t Call for a Vote to Lutte Ouvrière” (see WV No. 782, 31 May 2002):

“Such absurdly flagrant lies have all the hallmarks of political desperation. The IG has been trying to posture as the militant in-the-streets wing of the anti-fascist electoral ‘unity’ pushed by the French left in the tow of the popular front—beating the drums for mass mobilizations, even for ‘demonstrations and workers strikes’ to ‘boycott’ the second round of voting. While admitting in passing (in its 4 May statement) that ‘Le Pen is not about to take power,’ the IG’s articles are full of the same ‘fascism is around the corner’ rhetoric—with analogies to Adolf Hitler in Germany, Marshal Pétain in France, etc.—that the French ‘left’ used to justify lining up behind Chirac.”

The IG sang the same song two years before, when Jörg Haider’s openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ) entered a coalition with the right-wing People’s Party (ÖVP) in Austria. Social democrats across Europe howled that Austria was on the verge of a fascist takeover and mobilized to pressure the ÖVP to kick out Haider and reinstate its longstanding coalition with the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ). While noting that Haider’s political outlook was indeed fascistic, we wrote: “Haider’s FPÖ is purely an electoral machine and does not correspond to what Marxists understand by fascism. Reactionary views alone do not define fascism” (WV No. 730, 25 February 2000).

Denouncing us for “lulling the mass-



AP

April 2002: Mass Paris rally protests electoral gains of fascist presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen; placard at right reads: “Against the National Front, Resist, Vote.” “Far left” joined Gaullist right in class-collaborationist alliance behind incumbent president Jacques Chirac.

es,” the IG devoted 20 pages of the *Internationalist* (June 2000) to “proving” that Haider’s FPÖ is fascist. So does the IG believe Austria is fascist today? Have the unions been crushed, political parties driven underground, concentration camps set up? No, in fact the SPÖ now once again heads the Austrian government. By the IG’s lights, victorious Austrian fascism came and went—but nobody noticed. Wielding “anti-fascism” as an electoral prop for “democratic” bourgeois rule serves only to prolong the capitalist order, which is the very basis for the exis-

tence of fascism in the first place. (We also refer our readers to our polemic against the IG on the question of the capitalist state, “The IG and Executive Office: Sewer Centrism,” in WV No. 895, 6 July.)

Behind all its “militant” bluster, the fact is that the IG is ensconcing itself comfortably on the left bank of the reformist stream. In contrast, our role as Marxists is, as Trotsky pointed out, to swim *against* that stream as we fight to build the vanguard party necessary to lead the exploited and oppressed in sweeping away the racist capitalist order through socialist revolution. ■

U.S. Out!...

(continued from page 1)

General Gonzales. The same Democratic Party that has been trying to out-Bush Bush as proponents of the “war on terror” is using its control of Congress to stage hearings on Gonzales’ role in carrying out that “war” on the home front, during which he reveals himself to be, flatly, a liar (nothing new there for an attorney general or, for that matter, a denizen of Capitol Hill).

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

As the U.S. launched the invasion of Iraq over four years ago, the Spartacist League/U.S. declared (WV No. 800, 28 March 2003):

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

We also called for military defense of Afghanistan against U.S. attack without extending any political support to the barbaric Taliban. The occupation of Afghanistan has resulted in a seemingly endless string of atrocities, such as a bombing campaign early this month in the western part of the country that, according to local elders, killed 108 civilians. We call for the military defense of Iraqi and Afghan forces on the ground insofar as they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys. This does not entail the least political support to either the Islamic fundamentalists or the nationalist remnants of the Ba’athists in Iraq, or to reactionary forces in Afghanistan. Thus we vehemently oppose the communal violence—kidnappings, car bombings, suicide bombings—wracking the Iraqi population.

We also stressed from the beginning that the chief means of defending neocolonial Afghanistan and Iraq against the overwhelming military might of American imperialism is through international class struggle, particularly in the United States. The bombings in Afghanistan and the devastation of Iraq have gone along with the U.S. rulers’ onslaught against working people, minorities and most everyone else at home. The “war on terror” that served as the pretext for the occupations abroad has included the shredding of democratic rights in the U.S. and a massive increase in the state’s repressive powers, targeting not only immigrants but also black people and, ultimately, the multiracial working class as a whole. As the obscenely rich capitalist class further gorges itself on profits, the workers they exploit are having their health and pension benefits torn up and many are losing their homes to loan-shark creditors.

In raising the call for class struggle at home, we promote the understanding of the need to mobilize the proletariat to sweep away the murderous imperialist order through socialist revolution. What is required is a struggle to break the political chains forged by the labor bureaucracy, and reinforced by the reformist left, that tie the working class to the class enemy, chiefly through support to the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League/U.S. is committed to forging the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the working class to power.

Democrats: The Other Party of U.S. Imperialism

The Democrats have long complained that “Bush’s war” in Iraq has diverted attention and resources from the broader “war on terror.” A report this month by U.S. intelligence agencies asserting that Al Qaeda had rebuilt its strength was seized upon by Democratic Party spokesmen who criticized Bush for not having gone after Osama Bin Laden in his presumed Pakistan base. The White House countered by threatening military inter-



SL/SYC at March 18 San Francisco antiwar rally.

vention in northwestern Pakistan, despite protests from the embattled regime of General Pervez Musharraf, who is facing mounting opposition from both Islamic fundamentalists and secular forces.

Meanwhile, the threat of a military attack on Iran still looms large. A front-page article in the influential magazine *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2007) titled “Who Wins in Iraq?” noted: “For Iran, the war in Iraq has turned out to be a strategic windfall” that “turned a large part of Iraq into an Iranian sphere of influence.” The article declared that “the United States has decided that the path to regional stability lies in confrontation and rolling back Iran’s regional influence.” The Bush administration has announced plans to provide additional billions in advanced weapons for Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt to beef up the regional bulwarks against Iran.

According to the London *Guardian* (16 July), almost half of the U.S. Navy’s 277 warships, including two aircraft carrier groups, are now patrolling the waters close to Iran. Titled “Cheney Pushes Bush to Act on Iran,” the article observed: “The balance in the internal White House debate...has shifted back in favour of military action before President George Bush leaves office.” The U.S., Britain and France are pushing other members of the United Nations Security Council to step up sanctions against Iran in retaliation for its uranium enrichment program.

On July 11, the Senate voted 97-0 to approve a resolution calling on Tehran to end all forms of “support” to “Iraqi militias and insurgents” while accusing Iran of responsibility for “the murder of members of the United States Armed Forces.” Democratic presidential hopefuls Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama voted in favor of this bellicose declaration. Clinton has said she favors a “diplomatic track” with Iran; Obama feels war would be a “profound mistake”; John Edwards supports a “non-aggression pact.” But none of these three leading Democratic presidential candidates rules out military force—including with nuclear weapons—if Iran continues its nuclear program.

The Spartacist League opposes any economic sanctions against Iran, which are acts of war. As we have repeatedly stressed, in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail and with continuing threats of attack, Iran needs nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems as deterrence. In the event of a military attack against Iran by the U.S. or its allies, we declare that the international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran. At the same time, as Marxists we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary mullah regime in Tehran.

Kurdistan Trip Wire

Currently, the only support for a continuing U.S. presence in Iraq lies in the North, where the nationalist Kurdish leadership has staked its claim with the U.S. imperialists and thus subordinated

itself to the occupation forces. The 8 July *New York Times* editorial proposed that U.S. forces be concentrated in military bases in the Kurdish regions of northeastern Iraq, from which they could “stage effective raids and airstrikes against terrorist forces in Iraq.” Likewise, Peter Galbraith, formerly President Clinton’s ambassador to Croatia, wrote in the *New York Review of Books* (16 August):

“Senator Hillary Clinton, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joe Biden, and former UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke are among the prominent Democrats who have called for the US to protect Kurdistan militarily should there be a withdrawal from Iraq. The argument for so doing is straightforward: it secures the one part of Iraq that has emerged as stable, democratic, and pro-Western; it discharges a moral debt to our Kurdish allies; it deters both Turkish intervention and a potentially destabilizing Turkish-Kurdish war; it provides US forces a secure base that can be used to strike at al-Qaeda in adjacent Sunni territories; and it limits Iran’s gains.”

A “democratic” Iraqi Kurdistan under U.S. sponsorship? Hardly. The “Kurdistan Regional Government” set up under the U.S. occupation is essentially a lash-up between two rival parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which have a long and bloody history of uniting with the worst enemies of the Kurdish people while stabbing each other in the back (see “The Kurdish People and the U.S. Occupation of Iraq,” WV Nos. 804 and 805, 23 May and 6 June 2003). In the mid 1990s, the KDP and the PUK were at each other’s throats over how to divide up the profits from smuggling Iraqi oil to Turkey. The PUK got Iran to send in troops on its side, so the KDP invited Saddam Hussein to send in his tanks. While a formally unified Kurdish regional government was cobbled together last year, both organizations maintain security forces in areas they control that are notorious for their brutality. And Kurdish *pesh merga* militias have bolstered U.S. operations in Falluja, Baghdad and elsewhere.

A potential flash point is Kirkuk, where a referendum is to be held by the end of the year on whether the city is to be included in the semi-autonomous Kurdish region. Kirkuk, which sits atop a vast oil field, is a focus of ethnic conflict between its Kurdish, Arab and Turkmen populations. The Saddam Hussein regime carried out a program of “Arabization” in which Kurds and others were driven from the oil-producing regions around Kirkuk and Mosul. Since the U.S. invasion, thousands of Arabs and Turkmen have been driven out of Kirkuk and as many as 350,000 Kurds, encouraged by their leaders, have moved in, thousands of them living in dilapidated camps.

The rulers of Turkey and Iran fear that if the Kurds gain control of Kirkuk, it would provide the economic basis for Iraqi Kurdistan to move toward independence, encouraging Kurdish minorities in their own countries. Turkey has massed tens of thousands of troops on Iraq’s northern bor-

der in recent weeks, threatening to intervene militarily if the Kurds take over Kirkuk. At the same time, the *Guardian* (24 July) reports that Turkish prime minister Recep Erdogan is seeking to use the strong showing of his Justice and Development Party in recent parliamentary elections (including among voters in Turkish Kurdistan) to resist pressure from the military for an intervention and to push for concessions by the U.S. and Iraqi Kurdish leaders. Ominously, the Pentagon briefed Congress last week on plans for a joint U.S.-Turkish military operation against the northern Iraq bases of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has waged a decades-long struggle against the Turkish state.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination—i.e., to form their own state—is a just struggle, requiring the overthrow of four capitalist states: Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran. The International Communist League has long raised the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. However, in Iraq any fight for Kurdish independence must take as its starting point opposition to the U.S. occupation and to the nationalist parties that serve it.

Liberal Pipe Dreams

In American imperialism’s staunchest ally, Britain, Gordon Brown has replaced Tony Blair as prime minister in the Labour government whose own hands are soaked in the blood of Iraqis. While Britain has already withdrawn hundreds of troops from southern Iraq, Brown promptly nixed talk of reducing troop levels below 5,000. Countering suggestions that he would move to distance himself from Washington, Brown described British ties with the U.S. as “our strongest bilateral relationship” (*New York Times*, 24 July).

As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote in *Workers Hammer* No. 199 (Summer 2007): “Brown stands foursquare on the record of Blair-led Labour governments that relentlessly attacked jobs, pensions, health and education services for the working people at home. He is notorious among public sector unions for his pay freeze below inflation and for slashing tens of thousands of civil service jobs. If anything, Brown intends to outdo Blair in the racist ‘war on terror’.” Indeed, Brown declared last week that he wants to increase to 56 days the period that people suspected of “terrorism” can be held without charge. The SL/B seeks to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party in political combat against the British reformist left whose main aim is to pressure a Labour government to administer the murderous capitalist state in the interests of the oppressed.

As in Britain, the reformist left in the U.S. campaigns against the Iraq war by appealing to ruling-class sentiment that it’s a lost cause. ANSWER, now led by the Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the Troops Out Now Coalition of the Workers World Party are organizing demonstrations in Washington in September to coincide with Petraeus’ report to Congress on the status of the troop “surge.” As always, these coalitions claim that mobilizing masses of “the people” can pressure the imperialists to adopt a “peaceful” foreign policy and spend money on human needs, not war. Combatting such liberal-pacifist notions, the Spartacist League declared in the March 2003 statement quoted earlier:

“You were told by all the organizers of antiwar protests—from International ANSWER to Not In Our Name and United For Peace and Justice—that to stop the war from happening what was needed was the broadest possible movement. This can only mean a movement built in alliance with ‘antiwar’ Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson. *You were told lies!*...”

“To put an end to war, one must start with a perspective that challenges the very basis of the capitalist system. War is not simply a policy but the logical outgrowth of this irrational capitalist order. The question facing antiwar activists and workers is not merely one of more militant tactics. If there is one lesson to be drawn, it is the absolute necessity of fighting to get rid of this deeply inhumane system through workers revolution. *Only socialist revolution can put an end to imperialist war!*” ■

Sicko...

(continued from page 12)

millions are starving, almost a quarter of the population lives below the official poverty line, infant mortality has skyrocketed and life expectancy has plummeted.

None of this is mentioned by Moore, who turns to the pulpit near the end of *Sicko* and asks: “Who are we?” Not surprisingly, it turns out that Americans are a decent and generous people who are all in the same boat. Why then, he righteously queries, can’t we simply take care of each other: “Why can’t we do that?”

The answer is simply that when it comes to divvying up the social product there is no “we,” not in America and not in any other capitalist country on the planet. In such societies there are fundamentally two classes, the capitalists who own the means of production and the workers who produce the mass of commodities that fuel the profit system. The profits that accrue from the capitalists’ exploitation of the labor power of the workers belong to the owners and to them alone. The workers in turn receive approximately what they require to be able to work another day, and if death or

ican counterparts, was aimed at both placating working-class militancy and counteracting the influence of the Soviet Union. It is, thus, no accident that since the collapse of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92, the capitalist rulers in Europe have launched an offensive to reverse the gains conceded in the postwar period.

Things went quite differently in the U.S. Shortly after WWII, the American imperialists under Truman launched the Cold War against the Soviet Union. With full government backing, the Democrats and their social-democratic hangers-on in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) collaborated to drive the reds—the very people who had built the giant industrial unions during the class battles of the 1930s—out of the trade-union movement. To be sure, Truman was, at least in contrast to Ronald Reagan, something of a liberal. But it was the Truman administration’s Cold War that set the stage for McCarthyism and his government that sponsored the purge that gutted the CIO of its militant core.

In that reactionary climate, there was simply no way that America’s capitalist rulers would bow to the call for national health care. Employer-paid health care



Meltzer/Roanoke Times
Some 400 people waiting in the rain for flu vaccine in Roanoke, Virginia, in 2004.

the current social context, health care “reform” could well result in an actual worsening of the benefits available to unionized workers.

ISO Sickophants

Much left commentary on *Sicko* is not just laudatory, it’s goo-goo-eyed sycophancy. Both the rad-lib *Nation* (16 July) and the newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), *Socialist Worker* (16 July), covered the film at length, the former in an article by a self-professed social democrat, Christopher Hayes, the latter in articles by Helen Redmond and Alan Maass. The fawning is understandable, for there is little apparent difference in the worldview promulgated in these articles from that portrayed in the movie. Both Hayes and the ISO praise Harry Truman’s health care plan; the ISO observes that it was even more radical than that of Dennis Kucinich, who captivates the ISO as the only Democratic presidential candidate currently proposing single-payer legislation. Both Hayes and the ISO find Tony Benn to be powerfully persuasive, and both are sold on the possibility of fundamentally taming the capitalist order through reform. In the lingo of the ISO and many other left types, the struggle is in the service of constructing a system where people come before profits.

There is, however, some falling out around Cuba. Hayes, who viewed the film with Moore, criticizes the director for going to Cuba and thereby reinforcing “the decades-old slander that equates social democracy with repressive socialism.” The ISO is content to acknowledge that health care in Cuba is pretty good. Not to worry—these skin-deep differences are simply designed to appeal to different audiences.

The Social Democracy ensconced itself as the opponent of working-class revolution in reaction to the proletarian overturn of imperialist rule in Russia in October 1917. The ISO’s political tendency originated in the McCarthy period, when it refused to defend the USSR, China and North Korea against U.S. imperialism during the Korean War (promulgated by Truman—no wonder the *Socialist Worker* review is partial to Truman). The ISO danced on the grave of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92. For these social democrats, a Stalinist dictatorship is, after all, a Stalinist dictatorship, which goes for

Cuba, too. The benefits to the toiling masses from the overturn of capitalism are of little consequence when contrasted to these threats to imperialist “democracy.”

More intriguing is the ISO’s view of *Sicko* as the modern-day counterpart of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The miserable circumstances of black people that go unmentioned by both Hayes and the ISO will not be alleviated through moral suasion. For the starry-eyed reformists of the ISO, pressure by whomever is preferable to class conflict.

The current situation cries out for a revival of labor struggle to stop the attacks on health and pension benefits. Virtually every strike in the past two decades has been over defense of workers’ health and pension benefits, and the United Auto Workers today faces major attacks on union gains in contract negotiations with Ford, GM and Chrysler. The labor movement must fight for free, quality health care for all, including free abortion on demand. (Women are another portion of the population omitted in the *Nation* and *Socialist Worker* reviews.) Every significant reform extracted from the capitalist order has been wrested through hard class and other social struggles. And if class struggles do not culminate in socialist revolution, the capitalist exploiters will attempt to whittle at or wrench away such reforms after the conflicts subside.

The main reason that workers in this country suffer in comparison to what is available to their counterparts in other advanced industrial societies is that the race-caste oppression of black people is a powerful tool in the hands of the bosses in dismantling unified class struggle. It is necessary to build a revolutionary party that yokes the struggle against exploitation and oppression to the fight for black freedom. As we wrote in “Wealth Care USA”:

“The crisis of medical care cries out for a socialist revolution which will lay the basis for a society which will end all exploitation and social oppression. Health means much more than shots and pills and surgical knives: it is a decent place to live; plenty of good food to eat; knowledge of human biology; air clean of pollution; safe, decent working conditions; the principles of public health rigorously applied....

“When we have thrown out the vicious capitalist system which sells human life for dollars, we will be able to build a new socialist society where human life, human worth and human dignity count.” ■



Getty

NYC, September 2006: World Trade Center clean-up workers and neighborhood residents demand government-funded medical treatment programs.



Still from Sicko shows worker from WTC site getting MRI in medical facility in Cuba.

Lionsgate/Weinstein Company

illness intervenes they are simply replaced.

For that reason, health benefits on a national scale have always been the by-product of class struggle by the workers to combat the depredations of capitalism. The first such national plan was enacted in late 19th-century Germany by Bismarck in an effort to placate workers after the government enacted the Anti-Socialist Laws aimed at squashing the German Social Democratic Party (which in spite of the laws continued to grow apace). Similar plans followed in several countries in Europe, roughly coinciding with the spread and growth of socialist parties (in England, with the growth of the Labour Party).

The greatest expansion of such national coverage occurred in the aftermath of the Red Army’s victory over Nazi Germany, a victory that ended World War II in Europe. On the part of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and other advanced capitalist countries, WWII was an interimperialist conflict in which revolutionary Marxists (Trotskyists) had no side. With regard to the Soviet Union, however, the Trotskyists did have a side: in defense of the workers state. In the aftermath of the war, working-class militancy swept through the industrialized countries, including the U.S. Not infrequently on the European continent, this militancy was coupled with workers’ aspirations—fueled, in no small degree, by the Soviet victory—to euthanize the capitalist order.

The seeming cornucopia of improvements in the social well-being of European workers, as contrasted to their Amer-

was a sop to the working-class militancy that had followed the war, facilitated by making the cost of the benefits non-taxable for both the employer and the employee. This was a gain, although a stinting one compared to the improvements in Europe. By 1958 75 percent of Americans were insured. While the population may have become healthier as a result of being insured, physicians became financially obese. (We refer interested readers to “Wealth Care USA” in *Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991, for a history of the AMA’s despicable and largely successful efforts to combat health care reform.)

Pushed by liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy, the bill creating the life-sucking HMOs that are so starkly portrayed in *Sicko* was signed into law by Nixon in 1971. But it was in the aftermath of Reagan’s 1981 smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, and the precipitous decline in strike activity that followed immediately in its wake, that the bosses began a concerted effort to roll back health costs and HMOs proliferated. Today, given the dearth of social struggle and the continued quiescence of the trade unions, it is the willingness of a section of the bourgeoisie to consider some form of national health plan that has led many, in the main Democratic, presidential hopefuls to offer some reform proposals. Many U.S. corporations seek to improve their competitive position vis-à-vis their competitors in other imperialist countries by shedding the burdensome costs associated with employer-paid insurance. In

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S*icko* is a compelling movie. By expressed intent, its focus is not on the 50,000,000 Americans who lack any form of health coverage but primarily on the more than 60 percent of the population supposedly covered by employer-paid medical plans. If utter destitution is thereby, for the most part, neglected in the film, what is shown evokes disgust, tears and rage.

There is the ludicrous: a woman denied coverage for an ambulance

A Review by Cliff Edwards

transporting her from an auto accident because the service was not pre-approved. There is the grotesque: a man without insurance coverage is forced to choose between having his ring finger reattached for a mere \$12,000 or spending \$60,000 for the reunion of his middle finger with his hand (the ring finger survived). And then there is what can only be described as corporate murder. A black woman who took her desperately ill child to a hospital was denied service because the facility was out of her HMO's network. The black husband of a white woman is refused a bone marrow transplant for kidney cancer because their insurer proscribed the treatment as "experimental." Both victims died, the latter slowly and painfully.

All of this has elicited no outraged cries of malicious muckraking (except from a few mainly right-wing media yahoos). Virtually everyone acknowledges that the U.S. health care “system”—ranked 37th in the world—sucks, and almost all know someone who has similarly suffered its abuses. For Moore, the cure for this social cancer is readily at hand. To illustrate, he takes us on a tour of countries much like the U.S.—Canada, England and France—save that in these societies medical care is available to all at no or little cost. Extremely comfortable middle-class types seem to abound in these lands, where all interviewed appear satisfied and happy with the medical care they receive and none are stressed by the onerous rates of taxation or by any of life’s vicissitudes except, perhaps, the price of fish. Disappeared is the wretchedness and despair of Canada’s Native peoples in the cities and on the reserves, and the segregation and deprivation of the denizens of England’s slums and France’s *banlieues*.



Striking UFCW grocery workers in Inglewood, California, January 2004. Defense of health benefits was central goal of five-month strike.

Michael Moore's



Good Diagnosis, Quack Cure

The film gives Tony Benn, onetime darling of the left wing of Britain's Labour Party, the task of explaining how the wonders of state-paid, universal health care originated. Benn quotes from the 1948 manifesto proclaiming the National Health Service and avows that a country that could kill and maim in the World Wars could also heal. How? According to Benn, all that is required is "democracy," which he says is "far more revolutionary than socialist ideas or anybody else's idea." Benn counsels the ballot, a simple trip to the polls, to cure society's ills.

Unmentioned by Benn is the decades-long assault on the trade unions and the social benefits available to working people and the less fortunate in Britain, an assault that was massively accelerated with the defeat of the British coal miners

strike of the mid 1980s. Benn's omission is no accident, for the miners strike, in a no less nationalized industry than health care, was knifed by the Labour Party, including its left wing, abandoning workers to the merciless, all-out onslaught by the "democratic" bourgeois order. (Benn is rather outrageously filmed sitting before a National Union of Mineworkers commemorative plate, reminding one that Iago was Othello's loyal lieutenant.)

In the last segment of *Sicko*, Moore takes several volunteer rescue workers—impaired due to their heroic attempts to extricate survivors from the ruins of the World Trade Center after the September 11 attacks and then abandoned in their efforts to get their health care paid for—to Cuba. The first stop is the U.S. prison camp at Guantánamo, where Moore apparently bought into assurance by the authorities that nothing but the best in health care is being provided to detainees. Fortunately the rescue workers, who were not in search of being rehabbed for the next water-boarding torture session or in need of forced feeding, were denied entrance when they arrived. Then it's off to Cuba proper, where the volunteers received thorough, competent and free medical workups and treatment. One woman who required inhalers to assist in breathing, at more than \$120 a pop in the U.S., obtained these for a nickel each in Cuba.

Moore cannot explain how this small, poor and essentially resource-less island nation can provide such care to all, while sending its doctors and medical technological know-how to countries in Africa and Latin America, and even offering help for the U.S. Immediately after Hurricane Katrina's devastation of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, and the indelible images broadcast worldwide of victims, overwhelmingly black people, abandoned

to die by the U.S. government, Cuban doctors mobilized, packed their medical kits...and were forbidden to enter the U.S.

The answer is that the 1960-61 Cuban Revolution created a workers state by expropriating the domestic and imperialist capitalists. The establishment of proletarian property forms—e.g., collectivized property and a planned economy, the nationalization of industry and a monopoly of foreign trade—set the stage for an advance in the well-being of the working masses unobtainable in other backward, underdeveloped countries where the chains of imperialist domination have not been broken. Where they have, as in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea, these countries must be defended unconditionally against imperialism and domestic capitalist counterrevolution.

The Cuban workers state was, however, bureaucratically deformed from its inception by the Castro-led regime, which has continued to suppress the working class in the interest of maintaining its bureaucratic caste privileges. A complete victory over backwardness and want cannot be obtained absent the spread of working-class revolution to the advanced countries and the institution of a worldwide planned, socialist economy. Such a perspective is anathema to the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be overthrown through proletarian political revolution.

Wealth Care U.S.A.

Socialist revolution is decidedly not the model, in any of its variations, that Michael Moore envisions or desires. Moore, after all, is what he is: a liberal populist with a decided taste for the Democratic Party, although he expresses disenchantment with what he sees as the weak-kneed politicians who currently inhabit its positions. In the film, he portrays Democratic president Harry Truman as virtuous because, after World War II, he proposed a national health insurance plan supposedly unrivaled in its comprehensiveness and generosity by anything previously or subsequently put on the table. In fact, Truman's proposal was made amid a bitter series of strikes by the United Mine Workers for union-controlled health benefits, part of a massive postwar strike wave in which millions of workers poured out of the factories and onto the picket lines.

Moore attributes the failure of Truman's plan to the American Medical Association (AMA) and a cabal of corporate interests that employed Ronald Reagan, then an actor and spokesman for General Electric, to combat the supposed threat of "creeping socialism" posed by the legislation. *Sicko* is in no small part an attempt to expose this fear as unfounded. The experience in the former Soviet Union—the world's first workers state—is dispensed with by anti-communist mockery: a mildly absurd socialist-realist film clip of hundreds of singing, smiling and quite attractive Russian workers happily toiling in concert to bring in an award-winning bumper harvest.

Despite its bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet workers state with its planned economy had provided all with a job, housing, health care and education. An examination of the tragedy that has befallen the peoples of the former Soviet Union since capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 speaks volumes about the “magic of the marketplace.” In capitalist Russia today,

continued on page 11