

Lebanon: Down With UN Intervention! Israel Out Now!



Lynsey Addario/New York Times



Patrick Baz/AFP/Getty Images

Left: Southern suburb of Beirut devastated by Israeli bombardment. Right: French imperialist troops enter Lebanese port of Naqura, August 25.

For over a month, Lebanon was a place of carnage, destruction and horror inflicted by relentless Israeli bombardment backed up by some 30,000 invading troops, all with the full support of U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner. Over 1,000 men, women and children were slaughtered, nearly a quarter of the population was displaced, and the infrastructure of the country was devastated. The Zionist regime of Ehud Olmert and Amir Peretz declared that their intent was the annihilation of Hezbollah. But Hezbollah not only survived the onslaught, it inflicted significant casualties on the Israeli military as well as damage to tanks and other vehicles. Israel's setback in Lebanon has touched off a crisis for the Olmert regime, while Hezbollah is now idolized by much of the region's Arab population.

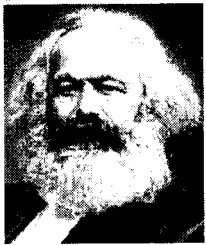
The failure of Israel's campaign in Lebanon is really what

is behind the United Nations-sponsored ceasefire agreement, which Israel has repeatedly violated. Having opposed a ceasefire for weeks, the Bush administration (echoed by Harper's Tory government) suddenly switched track when it became clear that Israel was running into trouble in pursuing its military objectives. The crux of the agreement is a plan to deploy some 15,000 UN troops in southern Lebanon, although no foreign power was exactly jumping to place its

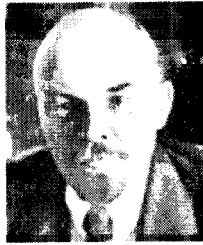
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**Defend CUPE Ontario!
Defend the Palestinians!**

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Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

The State: Instrument of Class Repression

In calling for cosmetic "reforms" in the face of blatantly racist cop terror and court frame-ups, bourgeois liberals seek to buttress the authority of the inherently racist apparatus of capitalist state repression. Such calls are echoed by reformist "socialists," who sow illusions that justice can be found in the capitalist courts and that the capitalist state can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. As outlined in the platform adopted at the First Congress of the Communist International in 1919, Marxists understand that the capitalist state must be smashed through a socialist revolution which erects in its place a workers state.

* * *

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means destroying the political power of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie's mightiest instrument of power is the bourgeois state apparatus with its capitalist army led by officers of the bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy, its police and security forces, its judges and jailers, preachers, government bureaucrats, and so forth. The conquest of political power does not mean merely a change of personnel in the ministries. Instead, it means destroying the enemy's state apparatus; seizing real power; disarming the bourgeoisie, the counter-revolutionary officers, and the White Guards. It means arming the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, and the workers' Red Guard; removing all bourgeois judges and organizing proletarian justice; abolishing the rule of reactionary government officials; and creating new organs of proletarian administration. The key to victory for the proletariat lies in organizing its power and disorganizing that of the enemy; it entails smashing the bourgeois state apparatus while constructing a proletarian one....

The proletarian state is an apparatus of repression like every other, but it is wielded against the enemies of the

working class. Its purpose is to break and eliminate the resistance of the exploiters, who use every means in a desperate struggle to drown the revolution in blood. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which openly gives the working class the favored position in society, is at the same time a provisional institution. As the bourgeoisie's resistance is broken, and it is expropriated and gradually transformed into a part of the work force, the proletarian dictatorship wanes, the state withers away, and with it, social classes themselves.

So-called democracy, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing but a veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The highly touted general "will of the people" is no more real than national unity. In reality, classes confront each other with antagonistic, irreconcilable wills. But since the bourgeoisie is a small minority, it needs this fiction, this illusion of a national "will of the people," these high-sounding words, to consolidate its rule over the working class and impose its own class will on the proletariat. By contrast the proletariat, the overwhelming majority of the population, openly wields the class power of its mass organizations, its councils, in order to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to safeguard the transition to a classless, communist society.

—"Platform of the Communist International" (March 1919), reprinted in *Founding the Communist International* (1987)

Letter

Capitalism and Immigrant Rights

27 August 2006

Dear Comrades,

Our introduction to the declaration by the U.S. and Mexican sections of the ICL ("For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defend Immigrant Rights!" SC No. 149, Summer 2006) contains an incorrect formulation concerning the relation between immigration flows and capitalist divide-and-rule racism. We write, "While right-wing ideologues push anti-immigrant chauvinism to divide the working class, much of the bourgeoisie recognizes that immigrants are essential to capitalist production." The implication is that that section of the rulers who support bringing in immigrants as "cheap labour" do not themselves push anti-immigrant chauvinism. This is of course not the case, as the rest of the introduction and the declaration itself make clear.

All wings of the capitalists, as well as their social-democratic agents, use anti-immigrant racism—along with national chauvinism and anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry—to divide the workers and buttress bourgeois rule. This point is elaborated in the quote from the ICL Declaration of Principles in the declaration by our U.S. and Mexican comrades, which states in part, "Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

It is important to clarify this point, not least because, as noted elsewhere in the introduction, the "fight the right" opportunism of our reformist opponents entails buttressing false claims by NDP and even Liberal Party politicians to be champions of immigrant rights against Tory reaction.

Comradely,
John Masters

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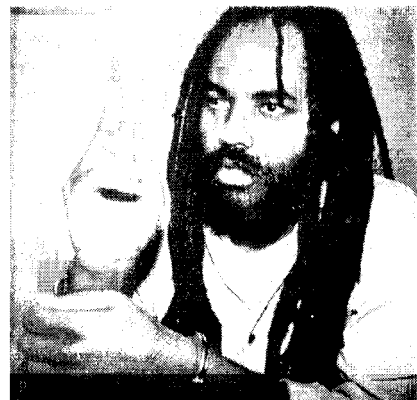
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Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

New Legal Papers Filed



Terry/Gamma-Liaison

We print below a 1 August statement by the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. It was first published in Workers Vanguard (No. 874, 4 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. A prize-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror, Mumia was railroaded to death row in 1982 on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. On July 20, Mumia filed his opening legal brief in the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia, which last December put his case on a “fast track” for decision. The forces of the capitalist state have long been determined to carry out Mumia’s legal lynching as a warning to those who challenge racist cop repression, to fighters against U.S. imperialist depredations, to workers who stand up for their rights on the picket lines. The Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League—calls on all opponents of racist injustice, and in particular the labor movement, to mobilize for *freedom now* for Mumia!

Mumia’s life is in grave danger. The court is expected to rule in a matter of months whether he will live, die or have further legal proceedings. Both Mumia and the prosecution are appealing a 2001 ruling by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn, who overturned Mumia’s death sentence but upheld every aspect of his frame-up conviction. The Third Circuit has refused to hear any evidence of Mumia’s innocence and has only allowed him to challenge three of the more than two dozen constitutional violations in his case. For more than five years, state and federal courts have refused to hear the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Daniel Faulkner. In an affidavit reprinted in the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*, Beverly says that he was hired to kill Faulkner, who was reportedly interfering with prostitution, gambling, drugs and police payoffs, and that “Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting.”

The courts have suppressed the Beverly evidence because it demonstrates that the injustice done to Mumia was not the work of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the workings of a “justice” system whose purpose is to repress the working class, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. The fight to free Mumia must be waged on the basis that he is an innocent man, the

victim of a political and racist frame-up. The need to mobilize around this understanding is underscored by the fact that Beverly’s confession and other proof of Mumia’s innocence—including the suppression and coercion of eyewitnesses by police and prosecutors and their fabrication, some two months after his arrest, of a phony “confession” by Mumia—cannot even get a hearing in the capitalist courts.

The Beverly confession has been derided by liberals like the writer Dave Lindorff and all but ignored by reformist left organizations. Many liberals object to Mumia’s treatment in the courts but see it as at most an “aberration” in an otherwise fair and just legal system, and they regard the idea that the cops would frame up an innocent man as absurd. But to see that such frame-ups are routine procedure requires looking no further than a special prosecutor’s report released on July 19, which examines nearly 150 cases in which Chicago cops used electroshock, suffocation and torture to beat bogus confessions out of black “suspects.” Although the Chicago report is mainly a damage-control job, it nonetheless confirms that there was widespread torture and that police brass knew about it and gave a commendation to the cops who were doing it. It was well-documented at the time of Mumia’s trial that the Philly police used similar methods.

Mumia’s frame-up was not only racist—it was politically driven as well. The police and FBI had Mumia in their sights
(continued on page 22)

Just Out!

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.

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Toronto Transit Strike Shows Labour's Power

Fed up with management harassment, safety violations and arbitrary shift changes, members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 113 staged a wildcat strike in Toronto on May 29, shutting down North America's third-largest transit system for most of the day. Subways, buses and streetcars came to a halt when drivers refused to cross picket lines set up by plant workers at the depots. Declaring the strike "illegal," the Toronto Transit Commission bosses got an early morning court injunction banning the walkout. When the union refused to order a return to work, management got a second injunction, after which Local 113 president Bob Kinnear called off the strike in mid-afternoon. But much of the subway system remained tied up for hours as ATU members picketed the key Wilson marshalling yard until early evening.

The immediate spark for the strike was management's unilateral reassignment of over 100 track workers and janitors to the midnight shift. But workers on the picket line pointed to numerous other issues, including management inaction on installing protective screens for bus drivers and the TTC's refusal to obey a court order to pay workers' health care premiums. There are no fully paid sick days, and workers face formal discipline if they're off sick more than three times a year. Safety is a major issue, highlighted by a carbon monoxide leak that poisoned a section of the Yonge subway tunnel earlier this year. Eight TTC workers and four firefighters were hospitalized in this near-fatal incident. For years, the union has been pushing for gas detectors to be used in the tunnels.

The strike showed the tremendous social power wielded by the 8,500-strong ATU local, without whose labour Toronto simply cannot function. As hours-long traffic jams tied up the city amid a heat wave and smog alert, the capitalist media went into hysterics about trade unionists "holding the city hostage." Toronto mayor David Miller, a member of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, joined

TTC track worker. Angry ATU unionists defied transit bosses, NDP politicians. Union pickets helped ensure no buses, streetcars or subways moved.



The Coupler

the anti-union barrage, railing that those responsible for the strike should be "punished" and vowing to seek up to \$3 million in fines from the ATU.

The media vilified ATU local president Kinnear for backing the strike and refusing to demand an immediate return to work. For their part, many ATU members are still bitter at Kinnear for pushing through a contract settlement in April of last year that resolved none of the outstanding issues around job security and contracting out. Fully 40 percent of the members who voted were against this sellout deal. And while Kinnear now rightly denounces NDP mayor Miller for "antagonizing working-class people," the ATU supported his election in 2003. Miller's anti-union rantings show clearly how this social-democratic party supports and enforces the capitalist system against workers and the oppressed.

With none of the issues resolved and the ATU facing the threat of huge fines, there is talk of new walkouts to press the union's demands. It is crucial that the entire labour movement—from the auto factories that surround Toronto to city workers and the heavily immigrant hotel workers union, whose contract is set to expire—stand with the transit workers against the attacks of the bosses and city government. Beat back TTC attacks—Defend the ATU!

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 872, 9 June

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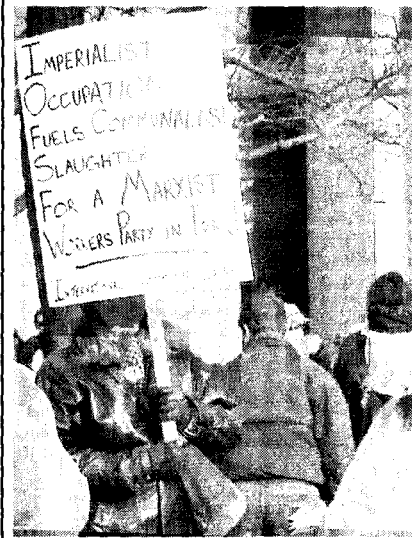
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Defend Native Protesters at Caledonia!

Since February, members and supporters of the Six Nations Confederacy have occupied a 40-hectare parcel of land in the southern Ontario town of Caledonia, southwest of Hamilton. The occupation began when developers began building a residential subdivision despite a longstanding land-claim dispute. The land in question is a small fragment of the vast Haldimand Tract, which the Six Nations obtained from the British Crown in 1784. Over the ensuing two centuries these lands have gradually been eroded through government fraud and outright theft to a tiny fraction of their original size.

The Native occupiers and their supporters have withstood police attacks, multiple arrests, media smear campaigns and an escalating barrage of racist provocations and mob attacks. On April 20, as Six Nations representatives were engaged in talks over the stand-off with the Liberal provincial government, the Ontario Provincial Police launched a violent pre-dawn assault with M16 rifles, tear gas, tasers and pepper spray. Sixteen protesters were arrested. But the attack ended in a fiasco for the OPP, as the Six Nations occupiers regrouped and returned in greater numbers several hours later, forcing the cops to retreat. As police helicopters roared overhead, the protesters erected barricades on roads bordering the occupation site.

Unlike the Ipperwash occupation in 1995, which ended when an OPP riot cop killed unarmed Ojibway protester Dudley George, this time the cops backed off, as the provincial government of Dalton McGuinty quickly distanced itself politically from the OPP attack. This was enough to bring frothing local racists out in force. On the night of April 24, a 500-strong mob led by the "Caledonia Citizens' Alliance," a group created by business owners from the Chamber of Commerce, converged under Maple Leaf flags singing "O Canada," shrieking racist taunts and calling for the Canadian Army to "clean out" the Native "terrorists." Over the spring and summer, these mob attacks have escalated, as thugs armed with golf clubs and baseball bats send cascades of rocks, golf balls and refuse over police lines at defenders of the occupation.

The McGuinty government has sought to portray itself as steering a "middle course" between Native protesters and hostile local residents. In June, the government bought out the claim of the developer, Henco Industries, to the occupied land. The same cops who had earlier stormed the Native encampment were suddenly positioning themselves as even-handed guardians of public order.

But on June 9, Six Nations supporters intercepted an unmarked SUV entering the area that, as it turned out, contained not only an OPP officer, but also U.S. Border Patrol and Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco (BATF) agents who, the OPP claimed, were merely "observing" the occupation. The BATF is infamous for its role in the 1993 massacre of 86 members of the racially integrated Branch



Glenn Lowson/Globe and Mail

Steelworkers joined Caledonia, Ontario barricade in solidarity with embattled Native occupiers, August 9.

Davidian religious commune in Waco, Texas. For pulling the cops out of their vehicle, which protesters then drove back to the occupation base camp for inspection, and for making copies of classified documents found in the van, warrants were issued against seven protesters, including a charge of attempted murder! The ongoing police provocations demonstrate the Marxist understanding that the cops, as the armed fist of the capitalist state and enforcers of the rights of private property, are the deadly enemy of all working people and the oppressed. *Drop all charges against Native protesters!*

Labour Must Defend Native Rights

The "Canadian values" racism on display against the Native barricades at Caledonia underlines the basic fact that this country was built on the destruction of the pre-existing aboriginal societies through a combination of fraud, brutal military conquest and the devastating impact of disease following European contact. To this was added a state policy of abduction of Native children from their parents and their forced internment in church-run residential schools aimed at destroying their languages and culture.

Today, the vast majority of Native people live in dismal conditions, either isolated on remote, desolate and economically unviable reserves or at the margins of urban society, where they are plagued by illness, homelessness, addiction and a remorseless diet of racist cop violence. As we wrote in our Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste *Programmatic Theses*, "Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste demands that whatever residual rights Native peoples have been able to maintain, whether through

(continued on page 19)

Defend CUPE Ontario! Defend the Palestinians!

The following article was first issued as a Spartacist Canada supplement on 11 August.

For standing in defense of Palestinian national rights, the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees has come under furious attack from the government, media and sections of the labour bureaucracy and NDP. Apologists for Zionist state terror rail that CUPE Ontario's defense of Palestinian rights equals support to terrorism. Others have viciously slandered the union stance as anti-Semitic. All opponents of Israel's murderous assault on Lebanon and its ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people must defend CUPE Ontario against this pro-Zionist right-wing backlash!

CUPE Ontario's late May convention, attended by 900 delegates representing 200,000 union members, unanimously adopted a resolution calling to "support the international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel until that state recognizes the Palestinian right to self-determination." Endorsing a July 2005 call to action by 180 Palestinian organizations, the resolution specifically demands the dismantling of the "apartheid wall" built to seal off the West Bank, as well as the right of return for all Palestinian refugees. These demands are squarely in the interests of working people throughout the world. Unions elsewhere, including the COSATU labour federation in South Africa, have now raised similar calls.

CUPE Ontario's stance slammed into a ramped-up "war on terror" that targets the Muslim population for state repression, as well as the Harper government's hardline support for Israel. Canada was the first country to cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority following the election of Hamas earlier this year, acting even before the United States, Ottawa's senior partner and Israel's chief paymaster. Harper has obscenely described the death and destruction raining down on Lebanon as a "measured" response by Israel.

CUPE Ontario's call for active labour support to Palestinian national rights marks a break with the pro-Zionist consensus that has historically dominated in the Canadian labour bureaucracy and especially the NDP. Some unions, notably the Steelworkers Toronto Area Council, have defended CUPE Ontario against the right-wing onslaught. But in the main, the labour misleaders have distanced themselves from or actively oppose CUPE Ontario's stance. Among the most vile is New Democrat MP Pat Martin, who raved in a letter to the rabidly Zionist *National Post* (5 June) that "the state of Israel deserves the support of the international labour movement.... As a trade unionist and an NDP MP, I do not want to be associated in any way with the Ontario CUPE resolution."

Both the national and B.C. CUPE leaderships have made clear that they disagree with the CUPE Ontario resolution. The president of CUPE Local 2063 led a pro-Zionist picket of the union's Toronto offices. It has been widely reported that a member of the University of Toronto teaching assistants Local 3902 is preparing a lawsuit against the union, attacking its



Mohammed Salem/Reuters

June 29: Khan Younis, Gaza Strip after Israel terror bombing of Palestinians.

right to defend causes that are "irrelevant" to its members' interests. This is a frontal attack on the right of the labour movement to champion causes on behalf of the oppressed and an open invitation to union-busting by the capitalist state. **Defeat the Zionist backlash—Defend union rights!**

Also joining the chorus against CUPE Ontario is Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove. While denouncing CUPE Ontario's "finger-pointing and boycotts," Hargrove salutes Israel's rulers—including war criminal Ariel Sharon, who he calls a "brave leader"!—for making "genuine progress" by pulling out of Gaza last year (*Toronto Star*, 5 June). Seeking to line up the working class behind the bourgeoisie's anti-Palestinian backlash, this labour traitor reserves his ire for "the election of the terrorist organization Hamas."

Contrary to Hargrove's whitewash, Israel's "disengagement" from Gaza, combined with the wall sealing off the West Bank, has allowed the Zionist rulers to even more effectively strangle the Palestinian population economically while giving the army a freer hand for military terror. Gaza is little more than a concentration camp: an impoverished, devastated strip where 1.4 million Palestinians are trapped, surrounded by the sea, an electrified fence and a wall sealing its border with Egypt.

Relentless state terror and devastation by Israel have long been visited upon the Palestinians. Combined with the political bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism, exemplified by the ignominious 1993 Oslo deal between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, this has driven much of the Palestinian people into the arms of the reactionary, anti-woman and anti-Semitic outfit Hamas. The latter's electoral victory was met with a starvation embargo. Now, with their imprisonment of much of the Palestinian cabinet, the Zionist rulers, like their U.S. patrons, are asserting their "right" to carry out "regime change" against any Palestinian government not to their liking.

Zionism, Apartheid and Divestment

The CUPE Ontario resolution in defense of Palestinian rights denounces the "apartheid nature" and "apartheid-like practices" of the Israeli state. Indeed, the Zionist rulers' dispossession of and racist contempt toward the Palestinians do evoke the daily brutality and repression that was meted out to the black majority in apartheid South Africa.

The white-supremacist South African rulers denied black people the most basic rights, segregating them in desolate townships and bantustans ("homelands"). Similarly, Israeli



Durban, South Africa: International Anti-Apartheid Movement Against Israel rally, August 2001. aztlan.net

Minister of Education and Culture Ben-Zion Dinur declared in 1954: "In our country there is room only for the Jews. We shall say to the Arabs: Get out! If they don't agree, if they resist, we shall drive them out by force" (*History of the Haganah*). Especially since the 1993 Oslo accords that sanctified a Palestinian "mini-state," Israel's rulers have increasingly driven the Palestinians into bantustan-like enclaves demarcated by a heavily-guarded wall and sliced up by Zionist settlements, checkpoints and bypass highways.

For many reformist leftists, however, the Zionism/apartheid analogy goes further. They uphold a *political strategy* modeled on the campaign for divestment from and sanctions against apartheid South Africa in the 1980s. The International Socialists write:

"The anti-Israeli apartheid movement also draws inspiration from the successful movement against South African apartheid. The lessons of the boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against South Africa have inspired the call for a similar campaign against Israel."

—*Socialist Worker*, 8 July

And a statement by the Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid adds, "It is clear, now more than ever, that only massive action against Israeli apartheid through the implementation of a clear boycott, sanctions and divestment strategy at the grassroots level will force our governments to listen" ("Israeli Military Aggression Highlights Apartheid Reality," 30 June).

The divestment/sanctions campaign against South Africa in Europe and North America was centrally promoted by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC). It was based on a claim that South African capitalism could be fundamentally reformed through pressure *(continued on page 20)*

Down with the starvation embargo! No U.S./Canadian aid to Israel! Free the Hamas ministers, legislators and other victims of Zionist repression! Israel out of Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank and all the Occupied Territories!

Boycotts, Divestment and the Class Struggle

To his credit, CUPE Ontario president Sid Ryan has refused to buckle in the face of the pro-Zionist barrage. He told one reporter, "I come out of Ireland and know about the right to self-determination. You can't have self-determination without a viable state." Indeed, there are many parallels between Israel's oppression of the Palestinians and the long history of Britain's suppression of Irish national rights.

As defenders of the Palestinian people and opponents of Israel's blitzkrieg in Lebanon, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste stands with CUPE Ontario against the Zionist-orchestrated anti-union offensive. At the same time, we oppose the political strategy of calling for boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel promoted by the CUPE Ontario resolution. Such a strategy is not merely ineffective: it is counterposed to the only road to social and national liberation for the oppressed Palestinians, which lies through the *class struggle* of the international proletariat.

The CUPE Ontario resolution appeals to "international law," i.e., the United Nations. A CUPE Ontario call to join an August

12 protest at the Israeli consulate prominently includes the slogan "Support UN Peacekeeping." And in a July 31 letter to Stephen Harper, Sid Ryan calls for the Canadian government to stop backing Israel and return to "the proud history and tradition of Canada's role as an international peacekeeper."

The UN and the Canadian imperialist rulers are not and have never been "peacekeepers"! From the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation sanctions that killed 1.5 million Iraqis, the UN has acted as a tool of imperialist depredation around the world. It was the UN that disarmed Palestinian fighters during Lebanon's 1975-90 civil war, setting up the 1982 massacre of 2,000 civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Christian rightist forces directed by Israeli troops under the leadership of Ariel Sharon. Under successive Liberal and Tory governments, Canadian UN troops have for decades acted as border guards for the Zionist rulers, including today in south Lebanon. Against the current Israeli attack on Lebanon, we stand in military defense of Hezbollah without giving that reactionary fundamentalist outfit any political support whatsoever. *No to UN intervention!*

Campaigns for divestment and sanctions sow illusions that pressuring the Canadian government, corporations and campus administrations will produce a more benevolent policy toward the Palestinians. This is often promoted as a *(continued on page 20)*

Young Spartacus

Failed Anarchist on "Failed States"

Noam Chomsky: "Radical" Adviser to U.S. Imperialism

We reprint below an article from the *Young Spartacus* pages of *Workers Vanguard* No. 874 (4 August), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/U.S.*, American section of the *International Communist League*.

BOSTON—On June 6, members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club attended a Harvard Book Store-sponsored forum in Cambridge, featuring Noam Chomsky as one of two panelists. Chomsky was there to promote his new book, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*. Chomsky's exposure of some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism can open students' eyes to what the U.S. really does internationally, but the "esteemed professor" then *feeds them the lie* that this can be changed through the promotion of "pure" democracy with the help of the UN and international law. An SL/SYC speaker at the forum challenged Chomsky:

"Basically what I see that you're doing, as the title of your book says, is basically—as you have done historically—build faith in this mythical bird called Pure Democracy.... The fact of the matter is that democracy has a class basis. This is what capitalist democracy looks like: It's Lynndie England with a naked, tortured Iraqi on the end of a leash. It's...the racist frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces the very real threat of execution now.... For all your criticisms of the Democrats whose hands are dripping in blood, you called people in the last election to vote for the Democratic Party."

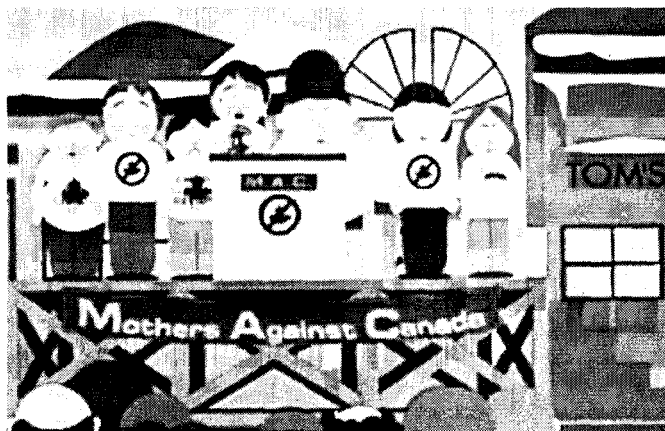
Unlike Noam Chomsky, we understand that under capitalism "democracy" serves as a mask for a system of exploitation, oppression and state repression. Under its facade of "government of the people, by the people and for the people," the U.S. capitalist state is a violent terror machine for the defense of the capitalist class's profit system—a system based on private ownership of the means of production and the concentration of vast amounts of the wealth created by the labor of the working-class masses in the hands of a tiny, exploiting minority. The capitalist state's cops, courts and prisons exist to prevent working people and, in the U.S., particularly the specially oppressed black masses, from fundamentally challenging the racist, oppressive capitalist order. Capitalist "democracy" is in reality the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class and oppressed.

It is only through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class that the basis can be laid for creating an egalitarian, socialist society where production is based on human need and not profit. Democracy for working people can only become a reality by ripping the means of production out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and replacing their state with a state for the defense of the interests of workers and the oppressed, as a transition to a classless, stateless, communist society.

Far from wanting to smash capitalist states, armchair anarchist Chomsky wants to rescue these from failure!

According to Chomsky's book, the salient features of "failed states" such as the U.S. include what he calls the "democratic deficit" or "the sharp divide between public opinion and public policy." Once again, Chomsky arrives with the earth-shattering news flash: the capitalist rulers don't govern based on the interests of the working class and the oppressed! But that won't stop him from promoting the virtues of U.S. capitalist democracy: "The United States was the first modern (more or less) democratic society, and has been a model for others ever since. And in many dimensions crucial for authentic democracy—protection of freedom of speech, for example—it has become a leader among the societies of the world."

Chomsky's regard for U.S. capitalist democracy is superseded only by his regard for the UN Charter and the "sacred" international law that he makes impotent appeals for the U.S. to respect. Behind the anarchists' purported rejection of all states, including the dictatorship of the working class, is a program that in practice upholds the capitalist



Paramount Pictures

Scene from *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut*. But Chomsky's not kidding when he rants against the "long, unguarded" Canadian border.

state. Yet, Chomsky fails to even pretend he is for the destruction of capitalism, openly counseling the imperialist rulers to "democratize" their system. And his virulent anti-communism, typical of anarchists, places him squarely in the camp of the bloody imperialist powers that he purports to criticize. Thus it follows that Chomsky's idea of "free speech" at his own events means telling the communists to shut up and ask their question, as he did at the Harvard forum on June 6. This prompted another SL/SYC member in the crowd to tell Chomsky to "stop manufacturing consent."

It's Canada's Fault?

In response to a question from the floor regarding the recent immigration debate in the U.S., Chomsky gave the usual endless speech of a rambling, pompous professor: saying everything while saying nothing. But then, suddenly, we sat up in our seats as the spectre of *South Park* entered the hall: "We need to form a full assault. It's Canada's fault!"

Chomsky said:

"There was a 9/11 Commission set up, a government commission to recommend a means to produce a threat barrier to the United States. It was set up over *strong* opposition by the Bush Administration, for which it carries a very low priority, and they didn't want it.... As they pointed out that the greatest threat of terror, one of the greatest infiltrations across the border, namely the Canadian border. The *long*, unguarded border reaching across. And that they said, 'You've got to do something about infiltration from the Canadian border.' What has the Administration done? Well, first the Bush Administration since 9/11 reduced the border control altogether, reduced the growth of border patrol. The really *long* length of border.... But they don't care...the Canadian border is left unguarded, the one that's considered the most dangerous." (Emphases his.)

Chomsky is now calling on the racist, rapacious American ruling class and its murderous state to save us from the evil clutches of...Canadians! That's right, this "radical" imposter has joined the chorus of hysterical townspeople of *South Park*: "With all their beady little eyes and flapping heads so full of lies, Blame Canada! Blame Canada!"

But unlike the creators of *South Park*, Noam Chomsky wasn't joking. Chomsky's comments about the Canadian border were made just a few days after Canadian police carried out "anti-terror" raids resulting in the arrests of 17 Muslim men. A central and recurring complaint in Chomsky's latest book is that members of the Bush administration "do not consider terrorism a high priority." Chomsky echoes the Democratic Party liberals who complain that Bush is giving low priority to fighting terrorism and who consider the U.S. war and occupation of Iraq as a distraction from the "war on terror." Chomsky complains: "Preventing terrorist attacks is simply not a high priority in comparison with serious geopolitical and strategic objectives—specifically, controlling the world's major energy resources."

It is grotesque that Chomsky posits that the biggest terrorists on the planet, the U.S. imperialist rulers, who also attack the livelihoods of working people at home, could be in the business of "protecting" anyone but themselves and their profit system. The racist atrocity that took place in New

Orleans around Hurricane Katrina is proof on its own of the murderous contempt the capitalist rulers have for black, working and poor people in this country. The so-called "war on terror" is in reality a cover for imperialist slaughter abroad and for a war on the rights of labor, immigrants, black people and leftists at home. For all of Chomsky's concern about the "assault on democracy" in the U.S., his recent book doesn't even reference the Patriot Act or comment on the wholesale shredding of the democratic rights of the U.S. population under the rubric of the "war on terror."

While Chomsky complains about the "unguarded" Canadian border, the Canadian capitalist rulers have in fact followed the U.S.'s lead in using a purported "war on terror" to vastly restrict the rights of the population as a whole, as have other "democratic" capitalist governments around the world. These restrictions are aimed at repressing working-class and social struggle, which will always represent the biggest "threat" for the capitalist rulers.

Disarming Iraq and Iran

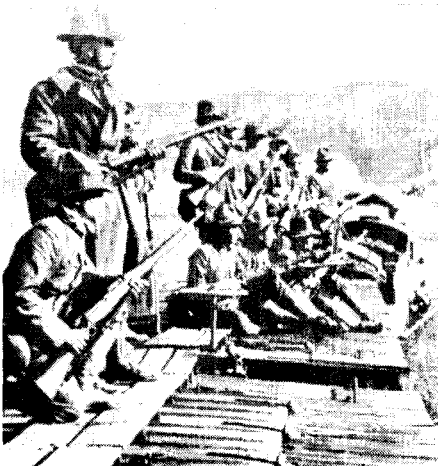
Chomsky calls for relying on "diplomatic and economic measures rather than military ones in confronting terror." Indeed, it was such measures that the UN employed with its sanctions against Iraq that resulted in the deaths of over 1.5 million Iraqis, especially children, during the period of "peace" between America's two shooting wars against Iraq. While Chomsky spends several pages in *Failed States* railing against the "murderous regime" of sanctions against Iraq, he fails to mention that he himself advocated these sanctions in 1991 (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). Chomsky's beloved UN, which in his fantasy world is supposed to lead the way to "peace," served as a "democratic" fig leaf for the sanctions and weapons inspections, which were aimed at disarming neocolonial Iraq and setting it up for a one-sided slaughter by U.S. imperialism.

As Marxists, we not only opposed the sanctions and the U.S. war, but stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism while giving no political support to the
(continued on page 10)

More...or Less?

"The United States was the first modern (more or less) democratic society, and has been a model for others ever since."

—Noam Chomsky



UMW



AP



Saul/Philadelphia Inquirer

(From left to right) U.S. National Guard and company thugs mobilized against 1914 Ludlow miners strike: 19 were massacred. Birmingham, Alabama: Cops attack Civil Rights marchers, 1963. Mumia Abu-Jamal: framed up and sentenced to die for speaking out against black oppression. This is what Chomsky's "(more or less) democratic" U.S. looks like under capitalism.

Chomsky...

(continued from page 9)

capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. In the same way, today we oppose the U.S.'s nuclear blackmail against Iran, which it has threatened to attack. As we noted in "U.S. Hands Off Iran" (*WV* No. 863, 3 February):

"In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S. imperialism or by Israel, or by any other force operating on behalf of the imperialists, we Marxists declare: *The international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran against imperialist attack.* At the same time, we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. Our defense of capitalist Iran is conditional: In military conflicts between an imperialist power and a dependent semicolonial country, our policy is revolutionary defensism. We defend the oppressed country against the oppressor country and promote class struggle in the imperialist centers, as well as in the oppressed country. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed."

We have also noted that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran clearly *needs* nukes to defend itself and deter a U.S. attack. Not so Noam Chomsky, who penned an article titled "A Negotiated Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Crisis Is Within Reach" (London *Guardian*, 19 June). While acknowledging that the "very credible US and Israeli threats...virtually urge Iran to develop nuclear weapons as a deterrent," Chomsky's response is to urge the U.S. and Israel to "call off" their threats! And just in case that wasn't too much of a fantastical demand upon the U.S. imperialists, he also calls on them "to take 'good-faith' efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons."

The bottom line for Chomsky is expressed in his *Failed States*: "Of course, every sane person hopes that ways will be found to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapons program." The U.S. imperialist madmen, who are unique in having actually carried out nuclear holocaust with their bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, push the same line. And Chomsky is far from alone among liberals and leftists in

counseling the mass-murdering imperialists on how "best" to disarm Iran, with the International Socialist Organization [former co-thinkers of the International Socialists in Canada] and Revolutionary Communist Party's World Can't Wait signing a petition calling on Bush and Cheney to effectively disarm Iran and inaugurate world peace (see "ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, 'Lead the Way to Peace'," *WV* No. 870, 12 May).

Anti-Communist Fighter for "Democratic" Counterrevolution

At the June 6 forum, a second SL/SYC speaker challenged Chomsky over his endorsement of a 2003 declaration which echoed the U.S. imperialist hue and cry over the arrests of 78 pro-imperialist "dissidents" in Cuba. Our speaker asked:

"Please explain why, in 2003, you signed on to an anti-Cuba declaration, penned by none other than Joanne Landy, member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a lifelong advocate of the violent overthrow of the Cuban government. You endorsed this letter. Please tell us why you fought for the fall of the Soviet Union."

Chomsky is typical of the petty-bourgeois liberals and "leftist" intellectuals who lend their "anti-imperialist" credentials to U.S. imperialism's drive to overthrow the gains of the Cuban Revolution. For these types, the abstract notion of (*bourgeois*) "democracy," and not the proletarian class character of the Cuban state, is the be-all and end-all. This was expressed clearly in the declaration Chomsky signed: "We support civil liberties and democratic rights everywhere, regardless of the country's economic, political or social system.... We support democracy in Cuba. The imprisonment of people for attempting to exercise their rights of free expression is outrageous and unacceptable."

The Spartacist League understands Cuba to be a deformed workers state: a society in which capitalism has been overthrown and workers property forms established, but deformed by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy. Following the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the petty-bourgeois Castro government expropriated the holdings of the U.S. imperialists and their domestic bourgeois lackeys. The na-

Spartacus Youth Club Events

Toronto

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Video Showing 6:30 p.m., Wednesday, 13 Sept., U of T, Sidney Smith Building, Room 2127, 100 St. George St.

SYC Class Series: The ABCs of Communism

University of Toronto, alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.

Sept. 20: Marxism: Revolutionary Weapon of the Working Class

Oct. 4: The Capitalist State: Instrument of Terror and Oppression Down With the Racist War on Terror!

Oct. 18: Imperialism: The Death Agony of the Capitalist System Down With the U.S. Imperialist Occupation of Iraq! Canadian Troops Out of Afghanistan!

Nov. 1: The 1917 Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power

Nov. 15: Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution! Why China Is Not Capitalist

Class 1 at Sidney Smith Building, Room 2115, 100 St. George St. Other locations TBA.

Vancouver

SYC Class Series

Marxism and the Fight for World Revolution

Meet the Marxists

Students: Ally With the Working Class!

All Cops, Military Recruiters and CSIS Off Campus!

Sept. 21: UBC Student Union Building, Room 211, 6:00 p.m.

Marxism and the Scientific Worldview—

Defend Science Against Superstition and Mysticism!

Oct. 4: UBC Student Union Building, Room 215, 6:30 p.m.

Imperialism and War—

U.S./UN/Canadian Imperialism: Hands Off the World!

Oct. 25: UBC Student Union Building, Room 211, 6:00 p.m.

Hail the 1917 October Revolution!

For the International Rule of the Working Class!

Nov. 8: UBC Student Union Building, Room 211, 6:00 p.m.

Anglo Chauvinism and Nationalism Are Poison to Class Struggle! Independence for Quebec!

Nov. 22: UBC Student Union Building, Room 211, 6:00 p.m.

For more information and readings, contact the TL/SYC at:

Toronto: (416) 593-4138 or spartcan@on.aibn.com — Vancouver: (604) 687-0353 or trotskyst_vancouver@shawcable.com



CP

Canadian troops occupy Quebec in 1970 under the War Measures Act, arresting hundreds of leftists and union militants. "Democracy" conceals bourgeois dictatorship in Canada no less than in the U.S.

tionalization of the means of production and the creation of a collectivized, planned economy led to enormous gains for the Cuban working masses and made it possible, with critical Soviet military and economic aid, to provide everyone a job, decent housing, food and education. Despite these achievements, which have been eroded since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class excluded from political power. Cuba is run by a Stalinist bureaucratic caste that upholds the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," which means renouncing the struggle for international socialist revolution and undermining the defense of the Cuban Revolution.

We call for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state—as well as the other remaining workers states of China, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. While opposing the barbaric institution of capital punishment and the Stalinist bureaucracy's use of it, we support Cuba's military defense against imperialism and all measures that are genuinely in defense of the Cuban Revolution, including the imprisonment of those "dissidents" who are actively collaborating with U.S. imperialism. At the same time, and as we noted in 2003:

"As Trotskyists, we know full well that the Castro regime metes out repression to those of its opponents, including socialist militants, who are not counterrevolutionaries....

"Workers democracy is completely alien to Stalinism, as it is to the crew of rad-libs and others who peddle the cause of the pro-imperialist 'dissidents' in the name of bourgeois democracy. But it is critical for us Marxists, who fight to defend and extend the gains of the Cuban Revolution by replacing the nationalist rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy that seeks to appease the imperialists with the rule of the workers soviets based on a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism."

—"Defend the Cuban Revolution!" *WV* No. 805, 6 June 2003

Our fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute a regime of workers democracy is premised on *defense of the proletarian property forms* in the deformed workers states. Chomsky pos-

tures as a defender of Cuba against U.S. imperialism, opposing the U.S. sanctions and the imprisonment of the Cuban Five. But far from defending the collectivized economy of Cuba against the imperialist drive toward the restoration of capitalism, Chomsky can't even bring himself to mention its existence in his latest book, theorizing that U.S. hostility toward Cuba stems from "the fear of independent nationalism." Thus, Chomsky's statement that he'd like to see the Castro "regime overthrown by an internal libertarian revolution (and not that one alone)" ("Chomsky on Cuba," 27 August 1994, posted on www.zmag.org) can only be a call for "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution.

Not surprisingly, Chomsky's "models" of democracy are *capitalist* Bolivia, *capitalist* Venezuela and *imperialist* America! Chomsky deflected our question at the June 6 forum by telling us to go listen to his interview on Radio Havana for an answer. In this 28 August 2003 interview, Chomsky announces to the Cuban workers state that "the United States, to its credit, is a very free country, maybe the freest country in the world in many respects" ("Radio Havana Interviews Chomsky," 4 September 2003, posted on www.zmag.org). One wonders if the news reached the ears of the bound and hooded prisoners at Guantánamo Bay.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Revolutionary Vanguard!

For Chomsky, the blood-drenched "Democratic Party is far less objectionable than Bolshevism" (see *WV* No. 829, 9 July 2004). The Bolshevik-led workers revolution, which Chomsky spits on, liberated one-sixth of the planet from the clutches of capitalist exploitation. The destruction of the Soviet Union has been a world-historic defeat for working people internationally. We Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, and for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. We fight to build a workers party that will make a socialist revolution in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. In the final instance, this is Cuba's and the other workers states' best defense.

From our labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan, to our fight against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution through our interventions in the former East Germany and Soviet Union, to our fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal today, we have earned our reputation and proudly carry on the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. Meanwhile, Chomsky continues to babble about how the "democratic" credentials of the bloodiest empire on the planet have lost their luster. As we stated about Chomsky at the June 6 forum, "You perpetuate that you can have a humane imperialist system, which actually disarms not only the working class but leftists."

In "Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's 'Armchair Anarchist'" (*WV* No. 735, 5 May 2000) we wrote:

"Just as it took Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, a vanguard party leading the working class, to create the first revolutionary workers state in history out of the ruins of the autocratic Russian empire, so today it will take a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party to lead the fight for successful workers revolution against rotting American imperialism. That is the fight to which the Spartacist League, American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated. Those who set their sights higher than a comfortable academic career as an ideologist for the imperialist war machine should join us in our fight for a communist future for humanity." ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

forces between Hezbollah and Israel and get caught in a potential quagmire. But after initially offering only 200 troops, the French imperialists, Lebanon's former colonial overlords, have now committed 2,000 troops and the Italians up to 3,000.

The purpose of this imperialist UN force is to try to accomplish what the Israeli military could not—the neutralization of Hezbollah and its fighters. It is a set-up for more repression against the peoples of Lebanon. It was U.S., French and Italian “peacekeepers” in Lebanon who disarmed Palestine Liberation Organization fighters in 1982, laying the basis for the massacre of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps at the hands of fascistic Christian forces organized by the Israeli military. In the recent conflict, we called for the military defense of Hezbollah while maintaining our political opposition to that reactionary Islamic fundamentalist outfit. Today, we demand the full and immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon and say: **UN troops out of Lebanon now!**

As they carried out their slaughter in Lebanon, the Zionist rulers continued their campaign of repression and murder in the Occupied Territories. Nearly 200 Palestinians have been killed since late June, when militants seized an Israeli soldier. Dozens of Palestinian legislative and government officials from Hamas remain in Israeli prisons, while several imperialist powers, as well as Israel, have continued their embargo of the Palestinians as punishment for the election of a Hamas government in January. **Defend the Palestinian people! Down with the embargo! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories—Gaza, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights!**

The Lebanese war provoked protests across Canada, rattling the political landscape. In Quebec in particular, the presence of a large and well-integrated Lebanese community, as well as the history of national oppression under the Anglo-Canadian rulers, drove opposition to the war. Anger over Harper's open support for the Israeli assault, along with



UNRWA/Beirut

1982: UN's disarming of PLO fighters in Lebanon set up massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila (above).

growing opposition to Canada's military adventure in Afghanistan, has helped fuel renewed support for the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc and Parti Québécois, whose leaders joined a 15,000-strong protest in Montreal. In English Canada, the NDP sent speakers to antiwar rallies, and after years of supporting the Canadian troops in Afghanistan Jack Layton is now calling for most of them to be pulled out by early next year. At the same time, the New Democrats are demanding that Canadian troops be *sent into* Lebanon as part of the UN occupation force!

A July 21 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. and distributed internationally, including at protests in Canada, warned against any illusions in the UN or other imperialist agencies as protectors of the oppressed masses of the Near East. It declared: “The myriad peoples of the Near East will not know peace, prosperity or justice until bourgeois rule in the region is overthrown through a series of socialist revolutions” (“Down With Zionist Onslaught Against Lebanon, Gaza!” *Workers Vanguard* No. 874, 4 August). Opposed to this Marxist perspective, the reformist left internationally and at home has also given either open or backhanded support to imperialist “peacekeepers.”

In Britain, Lindsey German, leader of the Socialist Work-

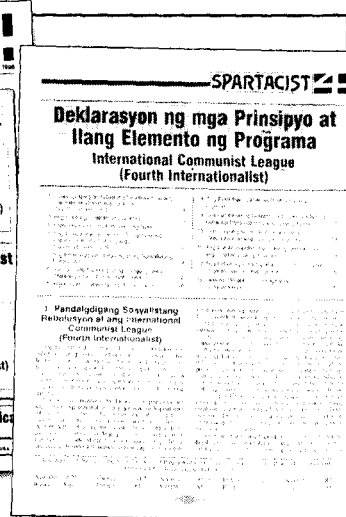
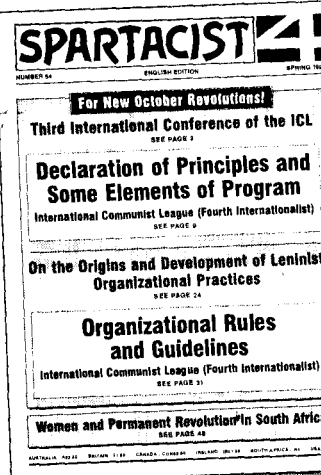
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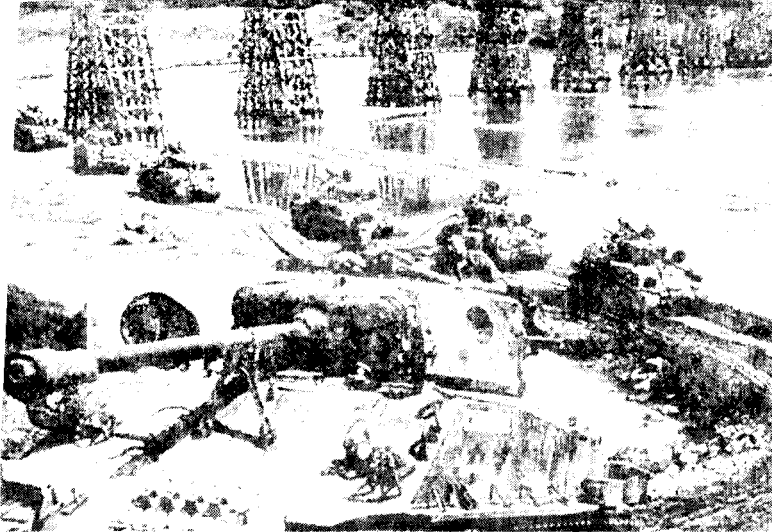
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Korean War Veterans Association of Canada



Karen Robinson

Left: Canadian tanks in 1950-53 UN "police action" to destroy Korean social revolution. Right: Desperately ill child in Iraqi hospital, 1998; UN starvation sanctions killed over 1.5 million. Marxists say: No to imperialist "peacekeepers"!

ers Party (parent group of Canada's International Socialists [I.S.]) signed a letter on behalf of the Stop the War Coalition (StWC) pleading with the Tony Blair government to call for "an immediate and unconditional ceasefire." Then, shortly after the UN-brokered ceasefire went into effect, the StWC canceled an August 19 London demonstration. For the StWC there was nothing left to protest, even as the imperialists were gathering forces to occupy Lebanon!

In France, the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (with whom Quebec's Gauche Socialiste is affiliated) cosigned a call for an August 12 Paris demonstration calling on the Chirac government to "act without delay for an unconditional ceasefire" and demanding that the European Union (EU) impose "sanctions against the Israeli government." And in Canada, a call for cross-country protests on August 12 by the Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA), which is politically supported by the I.S. and Communist Party (CP), demanded that "the Harper government exert all its efforts to achieve a cease-fire."

The fake socialists promote as a force for peace the imperialist rulers who have waged war against the immigrant and Muslim populations of their countries, who carved up the Near East into a cauldron of national, ethnic and religious bloodletting, who slaughtered countless millions in the former colonies. Now they're getting the "ceasefire" they called for, in the form of the biggest "peacekeeping" force in the EU's history.

Imperialist Hands Off Iran!

The U.S. firmly backed Israel's onslaught against Lebanon as part of its attempt to build a "new Middle East" by stamping out any regime or political force that does not bow to its dictates. In Iraq, the bloody U.S. occupation is resulting in the deaths of thousands each month, mainly now at the hands of sectarian violence. Meanwhile, U.S./NATO forces, of which Canadian battalions are a key component, pound the peoples of Afghanistan, where the imperialist occupation has meant continued brutal oppression of women and tribal warfare.

Syria and Iran, both of which support Hezbollah, have been repeatedly threatened by the U.S. and allied imperial-

ists. A 21 August *New Yorker* article by Seymour Hersh stated that the U.S. and Israel had made preparations for an attack on Hezbollah well before the group abducted two Israeli soldiers on July 12. Hersh quoted a "Middle East expert" who said, "The White House was more focused on stripping Hezbollah of its missiles, because, if there was to be a military option against Iran's nuclear facilities, it had to get rid of the weapons that Hezbollah could use in a potential retaliation at Israel."

In the event of an attack on Iran or Syria by the U.S.—or by Israel acting as a proxy for the U.S.—we would stand for the military defense of those countries without giving an iota of political support to the Ba'athist dictatorship in Damascus or the Persian-chauvinist Shi'ite clerical regime in Tehran. The U.S. is pushing for UN sanctions against Iran for its nuclear program if Iran does not suspend uranium enrichment by August 31. However, the U.S. is far from guaranteed that Russia and China would vote in the UN Security Council to impose sanctions.

On August 26, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad announced that the country was opening a new heavy water plant, which is used to create nuclear fuel. The Iranian regime says that its development of nuclear technology is entirely for energy purposes. Regardless, what is clear is that in the face of imperialist belligerence and threats, Iran needs nuclear weapons and effective delivery systems to defend itself and deter attack. Additionally, as part of our unconditional military

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Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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ICL Website: www.icl-fi.org

Lebanon...

(continued from page 13)

defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, we support that country's development and testing of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

Pro-NDP Leftists on Parade

The No. 1 enemy of working people, minorities and the oppressed worldwide is the U.S. capitalist ruling class. The imperialist bourgeoisie that has rained death and destruction on Afghanistan and Iraq is the same ruling class that left black and poor people to die when Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans, that has taken an ax to U.S. working people's pensions, health care and jobs while shredding democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror."

Capitalist Canada acts as Washington's loyal junior partner, assisting its imperialist rampages economically, diplomatically and at the military level. At home, the unions face continual attacks, and more than a decade of cutbacks under the Liberals and now the Tories have left millions with shoddy health care and crumbling schools while swelling the ranks of the homeless. In protests against the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, we raised the call for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. We fight to forge revolutionary workers parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, to lead the fight to sweep away the bloody U.S.-dominated imperialist system through socialist revolution.

Crucial to our perspective is the need to break workers and minorities from the pro-capitalist labour misleaders and their political arm, the NDP. The NDP has administered capitalist austerity in several provinces and promotes base illusions in Canadian imperialism's fraudulent "peacekeeping" credentials. From the Korean War to the Golan Heights, Somalia and Bosnia, such "peacekeeping" has never been anything but the brutal enforcement of the imperialist order. Yet at the recent demonstrations against the Israeli assault on Lebanon, speaker after speaker denounced Harper for breaking with Canada's "traditional role," without a peep of objection from the reformist left.

Through the CPA and various local coalitions, groups like the I.S. and CP sought to build a liberal-pacifist antiwar movement premised on appealing to the Canadian government, then run by Chrétien's Liberals, to oppose "Bush's war" in Iraq. Thus none of them forthrightly called for the military defense of Iraq in the lead-up to the 2003 invasion. Worried that mass opposition to the war, especially strong in Quebec, would fuel a new rise of pro-independence sentiment, the Liberal regime announced that Canada would not formally join the U.S. attack. With this, the fake-left declared "victory" and the "antiwar movement" all but collapsed. Yet Canada gave the U.S. crucial covert military assistance in Iraq while taking on a major role in the Afghanistan occupation.

The reformists portrayed the NDP as a "party of peace," cheering on Jack Layton's speeches at antiwar demos. Soon after, the New Democrats began propping up the Martin Liberal government, including by supporting the biggest increase in Canadian military spending in decades. In a parliamentary debate on Afghanistan this May, after Harper's Tories had replaced the Liberals, Layton railed:

"We will take no lessons from the government on supporting our women and men in uniform.

"Let us all remember that last year it was the Conservatives who abstained rather than vote for a budget that invested 13.5 billion dollars in the Canadian Forces, a budget that invests 8.2 billion dollars more than the Conservatives' budget this spring. It was New Democrats, not Conservatives, who voted for that budget to ensure our troops would get the equipment and training they need."

Now the CPA has joined with the Canadian Labour Congress, Canadian Islamic Congress and Quebec's Collectif Echec à la Guerre in a call for October 28 protests against the Canadian occupation of Afghanistan. Once again they bemoan how "the role of the Canadian Armed Forces abroad has changed" and demand a "freeze in defense and security budgets until an in-depth public discussion is held on those issues." For its part, the CPA has a formal line against UN intervention in Lebanon, while its bloc partners (e.g., the CLC bureaucracy) are *for* exactly that—including participation of Canadian troops. Whatever their paper positions, the spineless reformist left has no intention of fighting for anything that would put them on a collision course with the NDP and CLC misleaders.

For New October Revolutions!

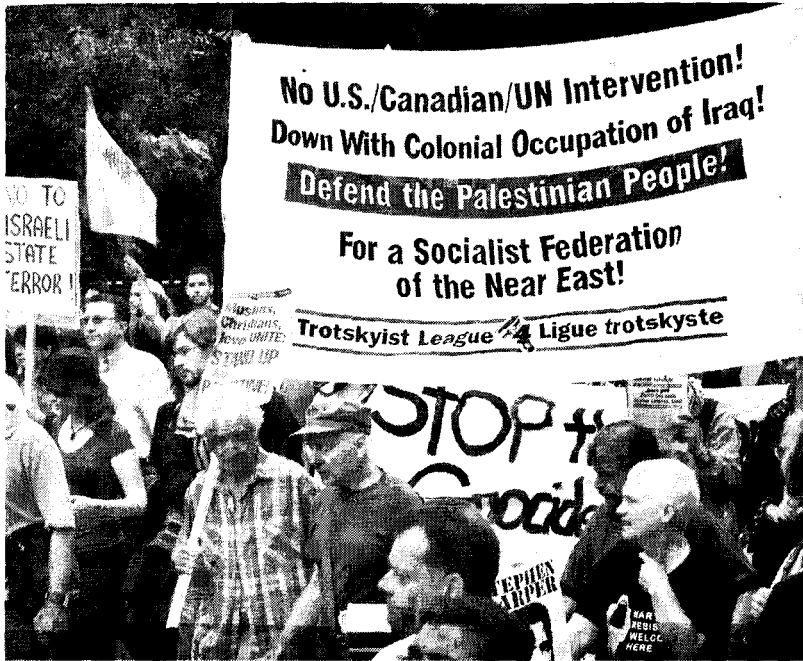
In the Lebanon protests around the world, the International Communist League was unique in stressing the need to militarily defend Hezbollah against Zionist attack while at the same time making clear our political opposition to Hezbollah, Hamas and all other Islamic fundamentalist forces. The I.S., in contrast, calls for "unconditional support" to Hezbollah and Hamas (*Socialist Worker*, 29 July). While noting that "No resistance movement is perfect," they laud what they call "a drive to unity in the local movements that have united Islamists with communists, pan-Arab nationalists with democrats, and so on."

In similar terms, the Vancouver-based MAWO (Mobilization Against War and Occupation) practically venerates Hamas, writing in a July 7 web statement that it "has come closer than any other at this time to representing the legitimate and just demands of [the] Palestinian people." Meanwhile,



John Moore/Getty Images

June: Canadian troops near Kandahar. U.S./British/Canadian imperialists out of Afghanistan now!



SC photo

Trotskyist League banner at July 22 Toronto protest against Israel's onslaught against Lebanon, Gaza.

MAWO's call for a September 16 rally around the Near East, Iraq and Afghanistan conspicuously fails to mention, let alone oppose, the UN occupation force in Lebanon.

It is the ABC of Marxism to fight for the complete political independence of the proletariat from any and all non-proletarian forces and social classes, which certainly includes the anti-woman, anti-Semitic Hezbollah and Hamas. We stood for the military defense of Hezbollah because an Israeli victory would have deepened the oppression of the Lebanese masses, strengthened the Zionists' whip hand against the Palestinians and furthered U.S. designs in the region. Our military defense of Hamas against Israeli assault, including demanding the release of its leaders from Zionist prisons, has a similar starting point.

Building on the popularity it acquired by standing up to the Israeli military onslaught, Hezbollah is today taking the lead in rebuilding southern Lebanon and in providing relief. But Hezbollah's increasing authority represents a dire threat to women, leftists, Christians, the Druze, Sunnis and also Shi'ites deemed by Hezbollah to be "non-believers." Far from an expression of "anti-imperialism," the rise of Islamic mass movements reflects despair in the face of brutal oppression. It is the reactionary product of the political bankruptcy of nationalism and the absence of a communist alternative.

What is needed in the Near East is the forging of revolutionary internationalist workers parties through irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism. It is capitalist rule, which fuels national, ethnic and religious divisions, that has driven the constant bloodshed in the region. There will be no equitable resolution to the conflicting claims of the peoples of the Near East until bourgeois rule is overthrown and imperialist subjugation ended. This is particularly the case for Israel/Palestine, a case of two interpenetrated peoples who lay claim to the same piece of land. Assuring the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-

speaking peoples requires shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution and the overthrow of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the bloody Ba'athist bonapartist regime in Syria and the capitalist regime in Lebanon, establishing a socialist federation of the Near East.

U.S. imperialism played a key role in fostering the growth of Islamic reaction during the Cold War as a counterweight to Communism and secular nationalism in the Near East. The crucial battle was in Afghanistan following the Soviet intervention in 1979. The U.S. imperialists, fully backed by Canada, funneled billions of dollars in aid to the *mujahedin* cutthroats to kill Soviet soldiers. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to extend the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to the Afghan peoples. In 1989, when the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow pulled out the troops, we denounced this betrayal, warning that it was far better to fight and defeat counterrevolution in Afghanistan than to have to confront it in Moscow.

The bulk of the left traitorously joined the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade.

This was exemplified by the anti-Communist I.S., which hailed "the importance of the defeat of the Russian army," claiming this would "spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe" (*Socialist Worker*, March 1989). By this they meant outfits like Poland's clerical-reactionary Solidarność, another pro-imperialist force backed to the hilt by Washington and Ottawa. The I.S. and much of the rest of the left cheered the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world-historic defeat for the proletariat internationally and a boon for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

The ICL stood at its post to the end in defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution. Today we fight to cohere Marxist workers parties committed to the struggle for new October Revolutions—the only road to ridding the world of imperialist war, national oppression and capitalist exploitation.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 875, 1 September

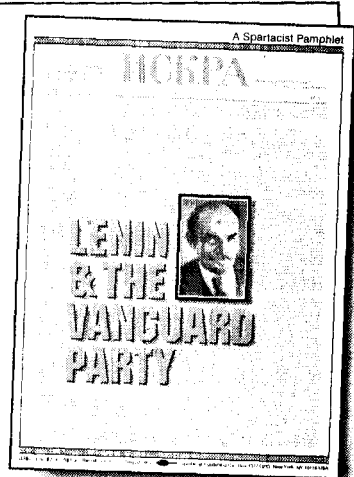
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Terror Scare...

(continued from page 24)

that “us locals found these headlines less scary than amusing.” She continued, “After all, many of us would like to storm the CBC. Decapitating the PM also has a certain appeal in some quarters...” (*Globe and Mail*, 8 June). We note that Wentse remains at liberty.

The working class must mobilize against this witchhunt and the entire “war on terror.” Standing squarely in the way of this are the NDP and the misleaders of the organized labour movement. Toronto’s NDP mayor David Miller was in on the operation for months while federal party leader Jack Layton hailed the raids. On June 5 Layton declared: “We join with all Canadians in saluting the efforts and cooperation of our law enforcement and intelligence gathering agencies....

Canadians must come together as a nation to stand firm against those few who seek to divide us.” To fight against the bosses and win, workers need class unity across ethnic, national and religious lines; workers must understand that their interests are counterposed to those of the capitalists. In upholding “national unity” and hailing state repression against a vulnerable Muslim minority Layton and the NDP tie workers to their class enemy.

For their part, the pro-capitalist leaders of the unions have mainly been contemptibly silent. An exception is Winnie Ng, Canadian Labour Congress Ontario Regional Director, who addressed a June 23 meeting on “National Security, Arbitrary Arrests and the Criminalization of Dissent in Canada,” called following the June raids. A comrade of the Trotskyist League spoke from the floor at the same meeting, stating our solidarity with the Muslim and other communities under the gun. When he explained that we look to the power of the working class to fight racist capitalism and then attacked the NDP, reading aloud Layton’s grotesque statement “saluting” the cops, our comrade won loud applause.

Frame-Ups, Lies and State Repression

The “war on terror” is not a war in the military sense, but a political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Immediately after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, we warned that the U.S. rulers, joined by their Canadian junior partners, would respond with imperialist retaliation abroad and repression at home. Five years later Iraq and Afghanistan lie in ruins, devastated by imperialist war and occupation, and a vast machinery of domestic state repression has been set in motion.

Everywhere the racist roundups and terror scares have rested on frame-ups and lies. In Britain on August 10, cops arrested some two dozen British-born Muslims, claiming that they had engaged in a conspiracy to blow up airplanes flying to the U.S. The record of British security in combating “terror” includes the July 2005 killing of Brazilian-born electrician Jean Charles de Menezes, who police later admitted had nothing to do with the London subway bombing that month, and the shooting of a young Muslim in his London home this summer, then releasing him and his brother without charges. The criminal 2005 bombing was carried out by



Workers Vanguard

Labour-centered mobilization initiated by our comrades in Oakland, California challenged repressive anti-“terror” laws, February 2002.

individuals of whom British security had never heard. So why should anyone believe anything issuing from the Blair government about the latest arrests?

The Canadian government’s “successes” are cut of the same cloth. The last big “terror” roundup was “Project Thread” in 2003 which saw 23 mostly Pakistani students arrested and jailed, accused of plotting to blow up the CN Tower and the Pickering nuclear power plant. Lacking any reality, “Project Thread” collapsed under the weight of the state’s lies. Yet its targets were branded as terrorists and deported.

Now the government claims that the Toronto 18 were going to blow up everything from the Stock Exchange to CSIS. The cops lie all the time, and frame-ups and false charges are their stock-in-trade. So we have no reason to believe any of this. At the same time, it is important to be clear on the Marxist attitude to individual terrorism. Even when carried out by misguided leftists, it is counterposed to mobilizing the social power of the proletariat. But Marxists also distinguish between indiscriminate attacks on ordinary people, e.g., on subways or airplanes, which are simply criminal, and those against institutions of capitalist class repression. As we wrote regarding the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon:

“The attack on the World Trade Center was indeed a criminal act of terrorism that murdered nearly 3,000 everyday working people. However, unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and being a military installation, the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack on the Pentagon 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.”

—“Moussaoui Case: 9/11 Show Trial,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 870, 12 May

Down With the Anti-Terrorism Act!

The timing of the June terror sting was most convenient for the Harper Tory regime. Conjuring up a picture of a Canada under siege by Al Qaeda, the government and its

Protest Roundup of Tamils!

In a further chilling escalation of the bourgeoisie's "war on terror," 14 people of Tamil background were rounded up late August in a cross-border FBI-RCMP sting operation. They are accused of "conspiring" to assist the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), including by obtaining military equipment to aid its struggle against the repressive Sinhalese-chauvinist government of Sri Lanka. The arrests follow the Canadian government's designation of the LTTE as an illegal organization under the Anti-Terrorism Act earlier this year. The U.S. had banned the LTTE nine years earlier.

Among those caught up in the terror sweep are four recent graduates from the University of Waterloo engineering school. Among them is Suresh Sriskandarajah, a former president of the UW Tamil Students Association, who faces extradition to the U.S. on charges of "providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization." Amid the witchhunt atmosphere, the university administration, joined by the UW Federation of Students, is now undertaking a forensic audit of the Tamil student group. We protest this ominous attack on the right to political advocacy on campus.

The Canadian government's ban on the LTTE, followed by raids on Tamil community groups and now this wave of arrests, is part of a drive to criminalize political activity by immigrants and minorities. Other groups banned under the Anti-Terrorism Act include the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the left-wing Colombian FARC guerrillas.

The arrests in Canada and the U.S. come in the context of stepped-up military actions by the Sri Lankan government aimed at driving the LTTE from its strongholds in the largely Tamil northeast of Sri Lanka. While our Marxist



Mark O'Neill/Sun

RCMP seizes Tamil activist, August 22. Drop all the charges!

political views are very different from those of the petty-bourgeois nationalist LTTE, we stand in their defense against the Sri Lankan army and government, whose attacks have led to the massacre of tens of thousands of Tamils since the early 1980s and forced hundreds of thousands more into exile, including at least 250,000 in Canada. This is part of our defense of the right to Tamil Eelam, an independent Tamil homeland.

The workers movement must come to the defense of the arrested Tamils. Free them now! Stop the extradition of Suresh Sriskandarajah! Drop all the charges! Down with the Anti-Terrorism Act! ■

security agencies aim to bolster support for the extremely unpopular military occupation of Afghanistan as it is set to expand. In case anybody missed the point, the *Toronto Star* headlined "Threat on the home front" (3 June). The raids coincided both with Supreme Court hearings over the constitutionality of "security certificate" detentions and a parliamentary review of the Anti-Terrorism Act under which the 18 Toronto men were charged.

Citing the supposed "threat of terrorism," the *Globe and Mail* called for the act's extension. A frankly xenophobic June 14 editorial also endorsed "security certificates" as "an acceptable tool" in dealing with "dangerous newcomers who fight deportation tooth and nail." The years-long detention of five Muslim men under these "security certificates"—without charges or even access to the purported evidence against them—is a racist crime of the capitalist class. After two years in jail, in February 2005 Adil Charkaoui was finally released under the most restrictive bail conditions. This May Mohamed Harkat was released to a "freedom" that amounts to house arrest. We demand immediate freedom for the remaining detainees and an end to vindictive deportation proceedings which they all face.

The Anti-Terrorism Act defines "terrorism" and "material support" to groups the state deems terrorist so broadly as to encompass anyone whose political views run afoul of the reactionary bigots who run this country. When the act was

introduced, the Canadian Auto Workers union protested that such definitions "could be used to apply to many trade union activities."

This repressive law, created by the Chrétien Liberal government after September 11, is an anti-democratic outrage. It allows the authorities to detain people without charge and permits court hearings in which suspects are not allowed to remain silent. The lawyer for Mohammad Momin Khawaja, the first and until now only person to be charged under the act, compared the law to such racist atrocities as the 1885 imposition of a head tax on Chinese immigrants and the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II.

Such comparisons are not far-fetched. The War Measures Act, used against Japanese Canadians, and the Anti-Terrorism Act of today are not fundamentally about actions or even alleged crimes. They are political laws meant to buttress the rule of the capitalist class and provide a ready legal means to repress and silence those who they cannot charge with a single demonstrable criminal act.

Such laws have historically been wielded against the working class, often supplemented by entrapment and provocation. Many left groups and union organizers have experienced first hand the cop infiltrator who always urges violent tactics so as to set up the group for state repression.

(continued on page 18)

Terror Scare...

(continued from page 17)

The leaders of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike were charged with seditious conspiracy under the notorious section 98 of the Criminal Code. In 1931, in one of the most flagrant show trials in Canadian legal history, nine members of the Communist Party of Canada were arrested and charged under section 98 with being members and officers of an “unlawful association” and with being partners to a seditious conspiracy.

In October 1970 the Trudeau government imposed the War Measures Act and sent the army into Quebec. Hundreds of left-wing activists and union leaders were rounded up at gunpoint, imprisoned without charge and held incommunicado. Their “crime”: an association with the belief that the oppressed Québécois nation had the right to determine its own fate. Martial law thus starkly exposed the enforced subjugation of Quebec, a foundation stone of the Canadian capitalist state. As now, the excuse was a fight against terrorism—the kidnapping of a British diplomat and a Quebec cabinet minister by the left-nationalist Front de libération du Québec (FLQ). But the real purpose was to suppress growing social and national discontent within Quebec.

The RCMP was notorious for its provocations against the FLQ. It was the RCMP that stole dynamite and blamed the FLQ for this, and in the name of the FLQ issued a call to armed insurrection against the government. These acts aimed to isolate and destroy nationalist and left-wing activists in Quebec, and disrupt and weaken the labour movement. We Marxists advocate Quebec independence as a central part of our fight against the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian rulers, a means to clear the road for common anti-capitalist class struggle.

Under capitalist rule, democratic rights exist in the first instance for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. The only rights the ruling class is unalterably committed to are their own rights to hold private property, to own the means of production—factories, mines, transport—and to exploit wage labour. At its core, the capitalist state, democratic trappings or not, consists of the cops, courts, prisons and military, the instruments of organized violence. This state’s sole purpose is to protect the class interests of the filthy rich capitalist exploiters against the workers.

War on Terror=War on the Working Class

The crude anti-Muslim racism pushed by the bourgeoisie is meant to divide workers and destroy their capacity to resist the bosses’ attacks. When the Toronto 18 were dubbed “homegrown” or “Canadian born” terrorists, the message was plain. As Robert Fisk, reporter for the London *Independent* noted, “Well, yes, they are Canadian-born. But there’s a subtle difference between this and being described as a ‘Canadian’—as other citizens of this vast country are in every other context. And the implications are obvious; there are now two types of Canadian citizen: The Canadian-born variety (Muslims) and Canadians (the rest)” (*Counterpunch*, 12 June).

The so-called “war on terror” has brought multiple threats against workers and unions. Seizing on reports that one of those arrested in Britain in August worked at London’s Heathrow airport, Colin Kenny, a Liberal senator and head of the Senate’s national security committee, took direct aim



Tibor Kolley/Globe and Mail

CSIS fink against the Toronto 18, Mubin Shaikh, provokes anti-sharia protesters, September 2005.

at airport workers. Kenny raved about “criminal gangs” and “corrupt activity,” and demanded that “cargo people, baggage handlers and [airplane] groomers”—who already endure fingerprinting, random searches and, since 1985, background checks—be subjected to even more intense scrutiny.

Working people in this country must come to understand—as their enemy, the Canadian capitalist class, understands very well—that labour will never forge unity in struggle unless it champions the rights of all minorities, not least immigrants and refugees. Consisting of workers drawn from all over the world, the working class in Canada has both the social power and material interest to push back the capitalist rulers’ racist attacks. The strike of heavily Sikh port truckers in Vancouver a year ago—which shut down much of Canada’s largest port—showed the determination and militancy of immigrant labour. It also showed that even a small number of workers can have enormous impact when they act collectively.

Political Islam and the Left

Today the imperialists inveigh against “Muslim terrorists” but it was Washington and its allies who literally funded and organized the forces of Islamic fundamentalism as a spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution against the Soviet Union—the state that emerged from the victorious October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Following the Red Army’s progressive intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979, the American imperialists unleashed the *mujahedin* cutthroats, who butchered schoolteachers for the “crime” of teaching girls to read. Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda got their start as U.S. tools against the Soviet Union, Frankenstein monsters that have now turned on their imperialist creators.

Driven by the betrayals of secular bourgeois nationalists and Stalinist Communist Parties in the historically Muslim regions of the Near East and Asia, large sections of the masses have turned to Islam as a political alternative. With the 1978-79 rise to power of the mullahs in Iran, and with the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, religious reaction has gained ground both in countries of the Muslim East and among immigrants and their descendants in the imperialist centers. It is further fuelled by

the depredations of the imperialists and their proxies from Iraq to Israel.

We defend Muslims against racist attacks and state repression. At the same time, we regard the rise of religious fundamentalism as a retrograde development and antithetical to any perspective for human liberation. This understanding sets us apart from self-styled leftists such as the International Socialists (I.S.), a group which has for years apologized for Islamic reaction. In the course of protesting the war and occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan, the I.S. has politically conciliated Muslim clerics. Invoking anti-Muslim racism, the I.S. tries to justify its embrace of the most backward and reactionary elements in the Muslim community, last year becoming notorious for their grotesque support to *sharia* courts in Ontario.

The I.S. rejects the fight for the political independence of the working class. On the one hand, they capitulate to Islamic fundamentalism and on the other, to the Canadian capitalists. Their opposition to the Iraq war centered on pressuring the Canadian ruling class to be more benevolent and "stand up" to the U.S. imperialists. They joined with the pro-capitalist NDP and even Liberal Party politicians to campaign for "peace," i.e., the maintenance of this deeply oppressive status quo.

The I.S. notwithstanding, the Muslim community, like the rest of society, is *class divided*, and the hold of Islam cripples the capacity of the oppressed to struggle against racist state repression. Religion—be it church, temple or mosque—offers nothing to those youth seeking to shatter the yoke of oppression and struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation. As we wrote in "I.S. Upholds Anti-Woman Religious Courts: *Sharia* 'Socialists'":

"But for the racist Canadian rulers there is no contradiction between attacking Muslims as terrorists and nurturing the most oppressive forces in the Muslim community. Both reinforce the grip of capitalism by scapegoating and regimenting immigrants."

—SC No. 147, Winter 2005/2006

It is fitting, if ironic, that one of the most prominent advocates

of Islamic *sharia* courts in Ontario, one Mubin Shaikh, has recently crawled into the open to brag about his exploits as a CSIS informer against the Toronto 18.

Our defense of Muslims and other oppressed minorities against state repression and anti-immigrant racism is integral to our struggle for the fighting unity of the working class. As communists and fighters for human liberation, our worldview is shaped by the understanding that *human beings*, not gods, shape their own history through class struggle in the material world. It is bitter indeed to see that young people look to Islam as an expression of opposition to the imperialists' atrocities from Iraq to Afghanistan.

It doesn't take a Marxist to spot a state frame-up and oppose a blatant anti-Muslim backlash. But it is only the revolutionary Marxists who insist that it is the working class that must be mobilized against the government's assault on civil liberties, in its own defense, and in defense of besieged minorities. The capitalists would have us believe that their rule is inviolable, their state all-powerful. But what they can actually get away with depends on the level of working-class opposition. And in a period of rising class struggle, consciousness changes and youth will be much less inclined to embrace the doctrines of the mullahs, priests and rabbis.

Our purpose is to infuse the working class with the consciousness that it has the class interest and social power to eradicate the system of capitalist imperialism. This perspective demands a political break with the likes of the NDP and the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats, both of whom share a fundamental loyalty to the capitalist state, including its "security." Against illusions promoted by the pseudo-socialist left in the reformability of the Canadian state, the Trotskyist League fights to assemble and train the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party, section of a reformed Fourth International. Such a party will fight for the proletarian overthrow of the imperialist system. This alone can lay the material basis for jobs, free quality health care and education for all, and put an end to racism, oppression, exploitation and war. ■

Caledonia...

(continued from page 5)

treaty agreements or otherwise, be respected. In some cases, treaty rights and land claims run up against socially useful developments like railways, hydroelectric projects and oil pipelines. The aboriginal peoples should receive generous compensation for any deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement. Only a workers government will guarantee these conditions."

—"Who We Are, and What We Fight For" (1998)

The April OPP attack sparked solidarity actions with the Caledonia occupation across the country. Demonstrations, blockades and other protests were held in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and elsewhere. Unions including the Canadian Labour Congress, Canadian Auto Workers and Ontario Public Service Employees Union issued resolutions, letters and statements protesting the OPP actions.

Even before the OPP attack, Steelworkers (USW) Local 1005, representing 2,500 workers at the huge Stelco plant in Hamilton, sent the first of several delegations to the occupation site. The USW flag has been prominently displayed

there along with that of the CUPW postal union among others. In August, amid rumours of another imminent police attack, the USW local sent another squad of unionists to reinforce the Native barricades. In an interview on the Autonomy & Solidarity website, Local 1005 president Rolf Gerstenberger explained, "Why it's important for the labour movement to take this stand is that it may prevent the police and army from moving in if there's organized support for the Native people.... It's much more powerful that they're not left on their own to face the police and whatever attacks are being planned."

The USW Local 1005 action is a small but heartening example of the social power of organized labour being mobilized on behalf of Native rights. Such mobilizations not only serve to bolster the immediate struggle, but aid in winning the working class to an understanding of its social power and class interest in fighting to sweep away the entire oppressive capitalist system. Only an egalitarian socialist society under workers rule can redress three centuries of abuse and degradation and open up a future for the Native peoples. ***Defend the Caledonia occupation—Mobilize labour's power to defend Native rights!*** ■

Defend CUPE...

(continued from page 7)

“peaceful” alternative to military defense of the Palestinians against Israel’s rampage. What is urgently needed is the mobilization of the working class in this country (and in the U.S. and elsewhere) in concrete acts of solidarity with the besieged Palestinian and Lebanese masses—for example, refusing to handle military goods to Israel and organizing material aid to the Palestinians.

This perspective can only be realized by mobilizing workers *against* their own rulers, not by fostering illusions in the supposed benevolence of the imperialist state. While defending CUPE Ontario against the Zionist hysteria, reformist left groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and Communist Party (CP) have uncritically backed the calls for sanctions and divestment. This reflects their own dead-end stance of pushing the Canadian rulers to take a stand against their senior partners in Washington. Typical is a July 15 statement by the Canadian Peace Alliance, whose steering committee includes I.S. and CP supporters, demanding “in the name of humanitarianism and Canada’s historic diplomatic role that our government reverse its shameful support for US and Israeli aggression.”

As revolutionary Marxists, we advance the perspective of a socialist federation of the Near East. That requires struggle by the Arab, Hebrew-speaking and other working classes of the region to smash the Zionist state and the despotic regimes in the surrounding Arab countries. We defend the Palestinians in their struggle against Zionist rampage and

occupation. However, as long as the conflict remains one of nation against nation, the Palestinians can only lose out to the heavily armed (including with nuclear weapons) and more technologically advanced Zionist state.

At bottom, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is one of interpenetrated peoples, two populations laying claim to the same small piece of land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinians and Hebrew-speaking people under capitalism. It is necessary to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinians from Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. That requires the construction of Leninist-Trotskyist parties committed to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Israel and throughout the region. We have no illusions that this will be an easy task. Winning the Hebrew-speaking proletariat to champion defense of the Palestinians will likely require a historic event like the victory of social revolution in another country in the Near East extending a hand of proletarian internationalism to the Israeli workers.

From North America to the Near East, a *class* axis of struggle is desperately needed. Here in Canada, we fight to break the working class from the grip of the pro-capitalist NDP and labour bureaucracy, winning it to champion the cause of the oppressed—from the Palestinians abroad to immigrants, Native people and the Québécois at home. In the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, the proletariat will become conscious of its power as a class to sweep away the rapacious, war-mad capitalist system through socialist revolution. ■

Zionism and Apartheid...

(continued from page 7)

from the “democratic” imperialist powers like the U.S. and Canada. At the time, our organization uniquely told the truth: that divestment was *at best* an empty gesture; that if foreign companies did withdraw substantial productive assets this would hurt black workers and weaken the powerful black union movement; and, most crucially, that it was obscene to look to U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner as a force for “democracy” anywhere in the world.

Advocates of divestment and sanctions claim these were

instrumental in forcing the replacement of the apartheid regime by an ANC-led government under Nelson Mandela in 1994. In fact, it was the mass struggles of South Africa’s black and other nonwhite toilers—centrally the working class—that paved the way for an end to direct white-supremacist rule. The upsurge of black labour struggle in the 1980s won significant wage gains, decreasing the profitability of investment in South Africa. The divestment that occurred largely took the form of overseas corporations signing over their interests to local subsidiaries, which often treated their workers even more brutally. Indeed, 1989 saw strikes by black oil and rubber workers against such divestment schemes.

By the early 1990s, a section of the white apartheid ruling class and their U.S. and British patrons decided to go for a power-sharing deal with the ANC. A key factor in this was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which for decades during the Cold War had supported the ANC materially and diplomatically. As the Moscow Stalinist regime under Mikhail Gorbachev disintegrated, the South African rulers came to terms with Mandela and the ANC.

Moreover, the end of legalized apartheid and the election of the ANC-led “Tripartite Alliance” did not end the profound oppression of South Africa’s black toilers. Far from it. While a small black elite has made it onto the “gravy train” and into the white-dominated ruling class, the economic conditions of the black workers, urban poor and rural toilers have in important ways actually deteriorated. For example, a 2003 study showed a 19 percent drop in black household income since the end of legal apartheid, while income in white households grew by 15 percent. ANC leaders Mandela and his successor Thabo Mbeki have served as black front men for a *neo-apartheid* capitalist system whose fundamental character, including enormous dis-

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Postal Union Says: "Mumia Must Be Freed"

We print below a 25 August letter by Deborah Bourque, National President of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The letter was sent to Mumia's lawyer Robert R. Bryan and copied to the Partisan Defense Committee as well as other CUPW officials and Ken Georgetti, president of the Canadian Labour Congress.

On behalf of the 55,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, I am writing to support the appeal of Mumia Abu-Jamal. His appeal is now on the "fast track" in the federal appeals court and the state appears determined to carry out his execution.

We believe Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. He was a former Black Panther Party spokesperson, supporter of the MOVE organization and an award winning journalist. There is ample evidence to support the notion that Mumia was framed in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. This took place during the notorious and discredited COINTELPRO directed primarily against African Americans and other social movements. Mumia was sentenced to death and has spent 24 years on death row.

The railroading of Abu-Jamal reveals the nature of the race and class bias of the U.S. justice system which is used

against workers, the poor, people of colour, and other constituencies. Albert Sabo, the trial judge, was overheard at the time promising "I'm going to help 'em fry the n---r". Accusations of jury rigging, false testimony coerced through police threats and prosecutorial cover-up served as the basis for Mumia's conviction. Meanwhile, both the Pennsylvania state courts and the federal courts have refused to consider the ample documented evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. Foremost is the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the police officer, and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting.

Yet the courts and state continue to keep Mumia behind bars and facing death.

We stand with millions around the world who have taken up the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and reverse this transparent travesty of judgement.

Mumia must be freed immediately and the racist and barbaric death penalty abolished forever.

The Canadian Union of Postal Workers endorses the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Yours truly,
Deborah Bourque,
National President.

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

since his Black Panther youth and continued their vendetta as he became known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his searing commentaries on racism, poverty and repression—a role Mumia continues to play through his writings from death row.

The three issues covered in Mumia's new brief point to the racist and political bias that saturated his trial and appeals, proving that Mumia, like Dred Scott in 1857, has no rights that a court is bound to respect. One issue is the racist bias of

the late hanging judge Albert Sabo, a member of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) who presided over Mumia's 1982 trial and again at his post-conviction (PCRA) hearings in the 1990s. The court filings highlight a 2001 affidavit of court reporter Terri Maurer-Carter, who disclosed that at the time of the trial she overheard Sabo say, "I'm going to help them fry the n---r." During the 1995 PCRA hearings, Sabo routinely quashed Mumia's subpoenas, sustained prosecution objections and found all of Mumia's witnesses "incredible." Sabo jailed PDC attorney Rachel Wolkenstein, then a member of Mumia's legal team, and told another defense lawyer, "Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling."

The brief also exposes the prosecutor's racist jury-rigging at the trial. Excluding black jurors was an official policy of the Philadelphia D.A.'s office, codified in a 1987 training video directing prosecutors to strike "blacks from the low-income areas" from juries because they have "a resentment for law enforcement." Statistical studies prove that this was the practice throughout the 1980s. Mumia's brief documents that for his trial "a black person's odds of being struck were *ten times* higher than someone who is white" (emphasis in original).

Mumia's third challenge strikes at the prosecution's outrageous closing argument that the jury should err on the side of convicting Mumia because he would have "appeal after appeal." This argument blatantly erased the reasonable doubt standard, telling the jury that in case of doubt they should convict Mumia. Mumia's brief also responds to the prosecution's own appeal of Judge Yohn's 2001 ruling, which seeks to reverse the overturning of Mumia's death sentence. Yohn found the sentence to be unconstitutional because the sen-

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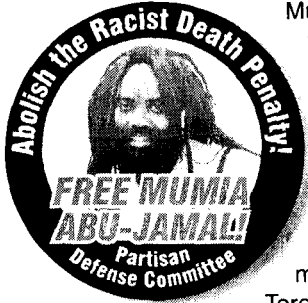
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Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

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!"—\$2 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 Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our Toronto address below.

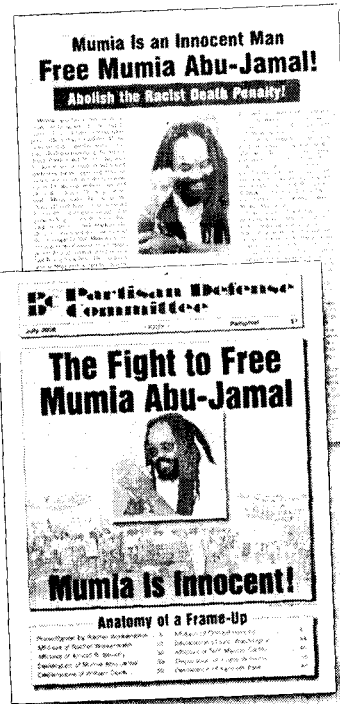


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tencing form and jury instructions did not allow jurors to freely consider all the "mitigating circumstances" weighing against a death sentence. Yet Mumia has remained on death row this entire time.

Mumia's case is what the death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and the ultimate weapon in the government's arsenal of repression aimed at the working class and oppressed. The capitalist rulers want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution, a voice of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. Acting as their spearhead is the F.O.P., which has tried to intimidate Mumia's supporters at every step.

On July 19, the day before Mumia filed his court brief, more than 130 British lawyers released a letter to the court calling to overturn his conviction. Their letter emphasizes that the courts' blatant bias against Mumia must be seen "in the light of the Katrina hurricane disaster in New Orleans, when television viewers in every country of the world witnessed an unparalleled display of racism on a massive scale, allowed (some would say enabled) by the US government." The National Lawyers Guild and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund will be filing *amicus* (friend of court) briefs on Mumia's behalf.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class character of the capitalist state—centrally the cops, courts, prisons and military—which is an apparatus of violence used to preserve bourgeois rule by suppressing the working class and oppressed. An international movement of millions stayed the executioner's hand in 1995 after Mumia's first death warrant was issued. But that movement was systematically demobilized by reformist organizations that tailored their appeals to the liberal "mainstream," to those who saw in Mumia's case a "miscarriage of justice" that could be remedied if only he got a new, "fair" trial. As

Rachel Wolkenstein stated earlier this year, in a talk printed in *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

"This meant tying Mumia's defense to what Democratic Party politicians would accept, like the need for a new trial to clean up the image created by Sabo's indisputably racially biased trial and PCRA proceeding. This meant denying the truth about the capitalist state and its vendetta against black militants, the COINTELPRO targeting of Mumia, the murderous attacks on the MOVE organization.

"Appealing to the 'mainstream' also meant ambiguity on the question of Mumia's innocence—and on whether he lives or dies, is entombed for life or goes free—so long as there is a new trial. It meant rejecting the very reasons that millions around the globe had taken up Mumia's cause: revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias, war. There was broad identification with Mumia's fight against the 'system' and for justice for all of humanity."

Every legal remedy must be pursued on Mumia's behalf. But Mumia himself told the French Communist Party's newspaper *L'Humanité* (25 April) that he had "very little hope in a favorable decision" by the Third Circuit court. Since first taking up Mumia's cause in 1987, the PDC has warned against any illusions in bourgeois "justice," placing *all* our faith in mobilizing the social power of the working class and the oppressed in defense of Mumia. If successful, the fight for Mumia's freedom would, as Wolkenstein stated in her talk, "strike a blow against the government's 'anti-terror' campaign and the evisceration of democratic rights. It would give labor a sense of its own power. The fight for Mumia is the fight for black liberation, for the liberation of us all, part of the struggle for socialist revolution."

We must mobilize now to make Mumia's fight once again a rallying cry against racist "legal lynching," against black oppression, against government repression. **Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■

Labour Must Fight “Anti-Terror” Witchhunt

Racist Cop Dragnet in Toronto

On June 2-3, 400 heavily armed cops staged jackboot raids in the Toronto area arresting 15 Muslim men, including five teenagers. Two others charged in connection with the raids were already in jail and on August 3 another arrest brought to 18 the number rounded up in this chilling dragnet. No claim was too outlandish: the 18 were said to be plotting to seize the CBC and bomb a military base, the Toronto Stock Exchange and CSIS headquarters using explosives made from ammonium nitrate fertilizer. Wilder yet was the claim that they were plotting to take MPs hostage and behead the prime minister.

This new terror scare follows the now familiar path of the bourgeoisie’s “anti-terror” crackdowns. Like the rest, it stinks to high heaven. The RCMP claims the group “posed a real and serious threat.” In fact this appears to be a classic *state-manufactured* terror scare whose purpose is to regiment the population through fear. Angry youth were egged on by police provocateurs or informers until the cops felt there was enough concocted “evidence” to entrap and arrest them. As befits a show trial, the accused were demonized and their legal rights trampled. In an effort to extract potentially damning information, they were kept in 24-hour isolation, barred from speaking with family members and denied the right to meet privately with their lawyers. Five have been now released on bail, itself a backhanded admission that even the state doesn’t think they pose a danger. The rest remain in jail.

Having hurled out the most damning allegations, the state slapped a publication ban on the legal proceedings. One of the few facts to emerge from behind the wall of judicial secrecy is that it was undercover RCMP cops who delivered fake fertilizer to some of the accused. The cops had been watching these young men since 2004, even talking to their parents. Indeed, Toronto-area mosques are known to be infested by government spies. By delivering phony “bomb-making materials,” the cops sought to give substance to their claim that the men were about to commit acts of terrorism on a large scale. This is pure entrapment: that is, the state itself is the *main instigator* of the crime for which it then arrests others.

This is a witchhunt and it’s shot through with anti-Muslim



Nathan Denette/CP

June 3: Heavily armed police surround Brampton, Ontario courthouse following massive Toronto-area raids.

racism. As CSIS operatives warned darkly of the threat of “homegrown terrorists,” the media raved about a “Jihad Generation,” the new “enemy within.” A Toronto mosque was heavily vandalized and an imam in Montreal was assaulted. We condemn these raids and the ensuing racist backlash and demand immediate freedom for those still in jail. Drop all the charges!

The ruling class is waving this supposed “terror plot” like a bloody shirt in order to convince people that there are deadly threats to “our liberties” and “way of life.” Targeting Muslims first, the government wants the population to accept as normal what are gross violations of people’s rights. The ultimate targets of such draconian assaults on civil liberties are any perceived opponents of the government, above all the multiracial working class and its organizations.

This state panic has been met with considerable skepticism, and that is a good thing. The crazed headlines about “storming” and “beheading” were derided in plenty of workplaces. Even right-wing columnist Margaret Wentz quipped

(continued on page 16)