

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**'We are for whatever strengthens confidence and capacity of toilers'**

Letter from SWP leader on Israel's murderous war on Lebanon

— PAGE 6

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 70/NO. 33

SEPT. 4, 2006

## 'When union goes, safety goes with it'

Memorial held for Kentucky miners killed on job



Militant/Sam Manuel

Some 225 miners and others gathered August 19 at Harlan Center in Harlan, Kentucky, for a memorial to the eight coal miners killed on the job in Harlan County since December.

BY SAM MANUEL

HARLAN, Kentucky—Some 225 people, many of them coal miners and their families, attended a memorial service here August 19 for the eight coal miners killed on the job since December in Harlan County, Kentucky.

Five of those miners—Jimmy Lee, Amon Brock, Roy Middleton, George Petra, and Paris Thomas—died following an explosion at the Darby Mine No. 1

in nearby Holmes Mill on May 20. Five months earlier coal miner David Morris Jr., 29, was killed on Dec. 30, 2005, when he was struck by a shuttle car inside the H&D Mine. That same month Russell Cole and Brandon Wilder were killed in a roof fall at Stillhouse Mine No. 1.

"When the union goes out, safety goes with it," George Massey, a retired miner and member of a gospel group, the Mount

Continued on page 4

## U.S. military blocks Iranian arms shipment to Hezbollah

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

During the 34-day Israeli assault on Lebanon, Washington offered Tel Aviv solid support, including shipments of "bunker buster" bombs and a speedup in delivery of cluster munitions.

At the same time the U.S. military was also actively blocking the shipment of arms to Hezbollah, reportedly working in one case with the governments of Iraq and Turkey to turn back an Iranian plane that U.S. spies concluded contained missiles for the Lebanese group.

"Eight days after Hezbollah's war with Israel began, U.S. diplomats persuaded Turkey and Iraq to deny the plane permission to cross their territory to Damascus, a transfer point for arms to Hezbollah," *USA Today* reported August 18.

Information on the incident was detailed by two U.S. intelligence officials who told the paper not to disclose their

Continued on page 3

## Israeli troops conduct raid deep in Lebanon as deployment of int'l force delayed

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

August 23—The assembling of an international "peacekeeping" force to be deployed to southern Lebanon, as mandated by a recent United Nations resolution, is moving at a snail's pace. At the same time, the Israeli military sent commandos deep into Lebanon's Bekaa Valley near Syria August 19 to raid an area it said was controlled by Hezbollah. Facing a fire of criticism at home for their handling of Tel Aviv's monthlong assault on Lebanon, officials

Continued on page 3

## Socialist candidates in Massachusetts: U.S. hands off Cuba!

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—"Washington doesn't like the Cuban Revolution because it shows you can organize society in a different

**Help expand 'Militant' readership**  
— editorial, p. 9

way—in a way where the interests of workers and farmers, the vast majority, come first," said Laura Garza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Massachusetts' 8th District. She was speaking here August 15 during

Continued on page 5

## Immigrant rights supporters build September 7 rally in Washington

BY SETH DELLINGER

WASHINGTON, August 22—Immigrant rights activists, trade unionists, and others on the East Coast are building a September 7 rally and march for immigrant rights on the National Mall here. The National Capital Immigration Coalition and many other groups here have called the march and are building it throughout the area.

Day laborers from the Asociación de Trabajadores de D.C. have been among those passing out flyers in working-class neighborhoods and other places. The organization will have a contingent marching with their banner, said Julio Vásquez, a member of the group.

"We hope it will be a successful march and the government will change the law," said Vásquez.

Members of Amigos del Barrio, another local immigrant rights group here, handed out fliers August 20 outside the

Continued on page 4

## Rightists confront immigrant rights protesters in New Jersey town

BY SARA LOBMAN

RIVERSIDE, New Jersey, August 20—In a sharply polarized setting, some 300 people rallied and marched in this south New Jersey town today to oppose an anti-immigrant ordinance the city council here passed in July. Police penned in the rally with barricades.

At the same time, some 400 opponents of immigrant rights, many waving U.S. and Confederate flags, gathered across the street confronting the protesters. Facing few police restrictions, the rightists carried signs saying, "Riverside welcomes legal immigrants. All others are under arrest," "Secure our borders. No amnesty. Enforce our immigration laws," and

Continued on page 4

NEW YORK CITY ► SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

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## Also Inside:

Native people in Ontario maintain land occupation 2

Chinese-American youth in N.Y. protest racist attack 2

Anti-immigrant ordinance defeated in Palm Bay, Florida 3

Books on Cuban Revolution published by Pathfinder Press on display at Miami campus 5



# Native people in Ontario maintain land occupation

BY JOHN STEELE

CALEDONIA, Ontario—Members of the Six Nations Confederacy have rejected an Ontario judge’s order August 9 to end their land occupation prior to negotiations over their demands. Native people here have been occupying the Douglas Creek Estates housing development since February 28 in a bid to settle historic land claims against the federal government.

“We are not leaving until the land issue is resolved,” Six Nations spokesperson Hazel Hill said after a meeting of hundreds of members of the group on its reserve, the *Hamilton Spectator* reported. Hill slammed the ruling as “an act of aggression” and “an attempt to criminalize us and declare war against us.”

The determination and militancy of the Native people, and the broad support they have won, has sparked a discussion among Canada’s capitalist rulers on how best to defend their “rule of law.”

In his ruling, Ontario Superior Court Justice David Marshall instructed the provincial attorney general to enforce a court order Marshall had issued five months earlier to end the occupation of the vacant housing development, located on land the Six Nations Confederacy claims as its own. On April 20 the Native people beat back the Ontario provincial police after the cops raided the occupation site to enforce the judge’s ruling. Since then the Ontario government has opened talks with Six Nations representatives and purchased the site from the developers.

“Barricades must come down, the rule of law return, and the police begin to enforce the law on the property,” said

the judge. “The people of Caledonia, after five months of occupation, have seen security in their town replaced by lawlessness; protesters in battle fatigues, police officers in riot gear and uncertainty of the future.”

Following the judge’s decision, the Ontario Liberal government halted talks over the land. It announced it would appeal the judge’s ruling, arguing that by acting on a federal matter he had overstepped his jurisdiction. Federal Indian Affairs Minister Jim Prentice said that Ottawa was in agreement with the Ontario government’s decision to appeal.

The ruling was supported by Ken Hewitt, a spokesperson for the Caledonia Citizens Alliance. The group has organized provocative demonstrations at the barricades set up by Six Nations members, who have defended themselves against the rightists. As a result of these confrontations 53 charges have been laid against 28 people, and according to Six Nations spokespersons, almost all have been against Natives.

The land claims of the Six Nations Confederacy have national ramifications. Ten years ago the Six Nations asked the Indian Affairs Department for a full accounting of what happened to the 955,000 acres given to them by the British Crown in 1784 for their support to the British side in the American War of Independence. Today, the Six Nations reserve of more than 20,000 people is squeezed onto 5 percent of this land, which is slated for massive urban development. Across the country the backlog of land claims by Native people has doubled in recent years to more than 750, many of them over mineral- and energy-rich land.

## Chinese-American youth in N.Y. protest racist attack



NEW YORK—Four Chinese-American youth—John Lu, Reynold Liang, David Wu, and Wing Chung Poon, all age 19—were assaulted August 12 by two racist youth in Douglaston, Queens. Liang’s skull was fractured after he was clubbed with an automobile steering wheel lock. In photo above, Lu (left) and Liang speak at August 14 news conference to condemn the attack.

—ARRIN HAWKINS

“Building support for the Six Nations fight—an example for all working people—is at the center of the Communist League’s Toronto municipal election campaign,” Ward 12 city council candidate Michel Dugré told Six Nations activists August 13 at their occupation site. The Communist

League platform for the November 13 election urges: “Support Natives’ right to self-determination, land claims, and preferential access to natural resources and jobs! Support the Six Nations fight for land at Caledonia. Drop all the charges against Natives involved in that struggle.”

## UK rulers step up ‘anti-terror’ drive

BY XERARDO ARIAS

EDINBURGH, Scotland—Meeting in London August 16, interior ministers from European Union (EU) member nations discussed new steps—justified as part of the effort to “fight terrorism”—that would give governments broad new powers to exchange personal information on air travelers.

Current agreements give U.S. government agencies access to 34 categories of information on passengers flying to the United States. Similar measures exist for flights to Australia and New Zealand. The EU ministers are seeking to have this implemented on flights to and throughout the European Union.

These stepped-up surveillance moves come after British police detained 24 people without charges August 10 for alleged involvement in a plot to blow up airplanes during transatlantic flights. A 25th person was arrested August 15, but released the following day. Eleven were formal-

ly charged August 21 with “preparing acts of terrorism.” The others are being kept behind bars for 28 days without charges. Another 17 people are being held in Pakistan over the alleged plot.

A debate in the British press has begun over proposals by the Department of Transport to introduce “passenger profiling,” including ethnic origin and religious affiliation. Former London Metropolitan Police chief John Stevens said “young Muslim men” should be a focus of these security measures

Some of the other proposals discussed at the EU meeting were the blocking of access to websites that “provide information on how to make bombs or which advocate violence.”

British government officials say that strict new measures restricting carry-on luggage are to remain at UK airports. Some airline companies have protested the impact on their profits. Ryanair claims it has lost £2 million (US\$3.8 million) because of these measures.

## THE MILITANT

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August 12 rally in Havana backs revolution

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## The Militant

VOL. 70/NO. 33

Closing news date: August 23, 2006

Editor and circulation director:

Argiris Malapanis

Washington correspondent: Sam Manuel

Editorial volunteers: Arrin Hawkins, Martin Koppel, Paul Pederson, and Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in January and two weeks in June.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 244-4899; Fax (212) 244-4947.

E-mail: TheMilitant@verizon.net

Website: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$35 to above address.

**Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first class (airmail), send \$80.

**Africa, Asia, and the Middle East:** Send \$65 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

**Canada:** Send Canadian \$45 for one-year subscription to the Militant, 2238 Dundas St. West, Suite 201, Toronto, ON. Postal Code: M6R 3A9.

**United Kingdom:** £25 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London, First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green (Entrance in Brick Lane), London, E2 6DG, England.

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# U.S. gov't blocks Iran arms

**Continued from front page**  
names because they were not authorized to discuss it.

According to these officials, on July 19, “a spy satellite photographed Iranian crews loading three missile launchers and eight crates, each normally used to carry a Chinese-designed C-802 Noor missile, aboard a transport plane at Mehrabad air base near Tehran,” *USA Today* reported. This type of missile had been fired at an Israeli warship off Lebanon several days earlier, killing four sailors.

The following day the Ilyushin IL-76 transport plane left Tehran for Damascus. However, Washington arranged to have Iraqi air-traffic controllers deny the plane permission to enter Iraq’s airspace. Air controllers from Turkey said they would grant permission, but only if the plane landed to be inspected. The plane returned to Tehran. Two days later it “flew humanitarian aid to Damascus after stopping for inspection in Turkey,” reported *USA Today*.

U.S. satellites regularly photograph air bases to determine the class of weapons being shipped based on the boxes in which they are packed. According to Robert Hewson, a “missile expert” with Jane’s, a military reference service, there is “an entire discipline in intelligence on the technique of identifying weapons based on their containers,” *USA Today* reports him saying.

Other incidents of aerial harassment of Iranian planes in transit were recently disclosed. The Turkish foreign ministry on August 17 said that two other Iranian planes bound for Syria were forced to land at an airport in southeastern Turkey, where they were searched for rockets and other military equipment. None was found, according to the *Dow Jones* news service. These incidents occurred on July 27 and August 8, when these planes landed at Diyarbakir airport, the Turkish daily *Hurriyet* reported.

A deputy spokesman for the Turkish foreign ministry, Murat Ozcelik, told

## Anti-immigrant bill defeated in Palm Bay, Florida



Militant/Eric Simpson

PALM BAY, Florida—Supporters of immigrant rights scored a victory here August 17 when they mobilized for a city council meeting (above) and defeated a bill that would have fined businesses that hire undocumented workers. Of 68 who addressed the council, 48 spoke against the ordinance. (Further coverage in next week’s issue.)

—ERIC SIMPSON

*Hurriyet* that these two planes were not the only Iranian jets that Ankara has forced to land. “We inspect Iranian

planes upon any suspicion that they may be carrying any weapons,” he said, declining to give further details.

# Israeli forces raid eastern Lebanon near Syrian border

**Continued from front page**  
of the Israeli government told the media that Israel is preparing for another round of fighting.

The French government had been expected to lead an “international force” of 15,000 into southern Lebanon, but on August 20 pulled back from its commitment, saying it could send only 200 combat engineers instead of thousands of troops Paris had initially promised.

“In the past, when peacekeeping missions were not properly defined, we’ve seen major failures,” said French foreign ministry spokesperson Agnès Romatet-Espagne. “There are the bad memories of Bosnia. This time we want the answers beforehand,” including whether the “peacekeepers” will be expected to disarm Hezbollah.

Romatet-Espagne was referring to “peace initiatives” by European Union powers, especially the French and German governments, in Bosnia and elsewhere in the Balkans in the 1990s, which were de facto sabotaged by Washington. Through that course, the U.S. rulers humiliated their allies in Europe, which came to be seen as

incapable of stopping the massacres in Yugoslavia. This course also rationalized a massive U.S.-led intervention in Bosnia, which helped Washington strengthen its domination in Europe. (For more see “How U.S. imperialism, allies fueled Yugoslav war” in January 9 *Militant*.)

The Italian government said August 20 it would commit 3,000 troops to lead the “international force.” Italian prime minister Romano Prodi then said Rome would only deploy its troops “at the end of broad consultations” with the French, German, and Turkish governments.

Tel Aviv is also demanding a veto over which governments may send troops as part of the UN force. “We will not agree that countries which do not have relations with Israel will participate in the multinational force,” Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert reportedly told the Israeli Security Cabinet. This would rule out soldiers from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Bangladesh, which have all offered troops.

On August 11 the UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution that has established a tenuous ceasefire following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Israeli Defense Forces

(IDF) bombing campaign throughout the country killed more than 1,100, wounded 3,700, and forced about 1 million to flee their homes.

But faced with a much stronger than expected response from militias of the Lebanese group Hezbollah, which it had intended to smash, Tel Aviv accepted the UN resolution. In addition to Hezbollah’s ability to fire thousands of rockets into Israel, the *Washington Post* reported, the IDF was “surprised by the effectiveness of Hezbollah and its missile armaments, which hit an Israeli ship, may have downed a helicopter, and penetrated

**Continued on page 4**

## CALENDAR

### Actions for Immigrants’ Rights

#### ARIZONA

**Phoenix**  
**September 4**

Rally at 9:00 a.m. at the State Capitol building at 1700 West Washington Street. *Sponsored by the We Are America Coalition.*

#### CALIFORNIA

**Los Angeles**  
**September 2**

**March for Immigrant Rights.** Gather at 12 noon at Olympic and Broadway, march to City Hall. *Sponsored by the March 25 Coalition.*

**Wilmington**  
**September 4**

**L.A. Labor Day and Solidarity March.** Gather 10:00 a.m. at Broad and E Street. March and rally at Banning Park.

**San Francisco**  
**September 4**

**Labor Day Mobilization for Workers and Immigrant Rights.** March and rally. Gather at 10:00 a.m. at downtown Civic Center on Grove Street and Polk Street. (Two blocks from Civic Center BART Station). *For more information contact the Regional Unity Coalition. Tel.: (510) 839-7580.*

#### FLORIDA

**Miami**  
**September 3**

**Labor Day Rally and Vigil: Workers United for Legalization.** Rally at the Government Center at 4 p.m. *Sponsored by Coalition for Legalization. For more information contact tel.: (305) 573-1106.*

#### ILLINOIS

**Chicago**

**September 1-4**

**Four-day March for Justice for Immigrant Workers.** Gather in Chinatown at 12:00 p.m. March to House Speaker Dennis Hastert’s office in Batavia, IL. Afternoon rally on Sept. 4. *For more information contact March 10 Movement. Tel: (877) 762-7242.*

#### IOWA

**Dubuque**

**August 31**

**Rally for Immigration Reform.** Rally at Washington Park at 600 Bluff Street. March will follow. *For more information contact Gabriela Vega. Tel. (563) 581-4366.*

#### MINNESOTA

**St. Paul**

**September 4**

**Labor Day Immigrant Rights Rally.** Gather at 10:30 a.m. at Castillo Park on 139 Concord Street. *For more information contact the Waite House. Tel.: (612) 721-1681.*

#### NEW JERSEY

**Newark**

**September 4**

**March in Solidarity for the Rights of Immigrant Workers.** Gather at Lincoln Park on Broad Street and Pennington Street at 11:00 a.m. March to Military Park on Raymond Blvd. *For more information contact the New Jersey Committee for Immigrant Rights. Tel.: (973) 643-1924.*

### Free the Cuban 5

#### NEW YORK

**September 12**

Gather at Times Square 4:00 p.m. March to Dag Hammarskjold Plaza (E. 47th St. and 1st Ave.) *For more information contact (718) 601-4751, or email freethecubanfive@hotmail.com*

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**September 23**

Gather at U.S. Justice Department at 11:00 a.m. and march to White House. *For more information, contact National Committee to Free the Cuban 5 at: (415) 821-6545. Email: freethefive@freethefive.org*

visit [www.freethefive.org](http://www.freethefive.org)

#### TEXAS

**Houston**

**September 4**

Gather at 10:00 a.m. at Herman Square on Milam and Congress streets. March to City Hall. *For more information contact Michael Espinosa, La Nueva Raza. Tel.: (832) 277-3903*

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**September 7**

**March to Demand Legalization for All.** Gather at 4:00 p.m. at 7th Ave. and Constitution. March to Washington Monument. Buses coming from along the East Coast. *For more information contact Carecen. Tel.: (202) 328-9799 or Columbia Heights/Shaw Family Support Collaborative. Tel.: (202) 518-6737.*



#### CALIFORNIA

**San Francisco**

**Sat., September 9, 3:00 p.m.**

**A Panel Discussion on ‘Our History is Still Being Written’ and the History of Chinese of Cuba.** Speakers include, Mary-Alice Waters, Pathfinder Press; L. Ling-chi Wang, professor at U.C. Berkeley; Filmmaker Felicia Lowe; Steve Wake; and Tsukimi Kai. *For more information visit [www.chsa.org](http://www.chsa.org) or Tel.: (415) 391-1188.*

# Confrontation in Riverside

**Continued from front page**

“Scram!” They screamed “Go home!” and “USA,” taunting the supporters of immigrant rights.

Participants in the immigrant rights action came from Riverside and surrounding towns, as well as from Philadelphia.

Fausto Ullaguari, a 29-year-old Ecuadorian, has lived with his family in Riverside for five years. He said he hadn’t expected the big rightist turnout. “I think everybody should be legalized,” he said.

Patricia Garzón and her husband and children joined other families of Colombian and Salvadoran origin living in Vineland, New Jersey. “The unity we show here is important,” she said.

Two members of the Pennsylvania State Latino Coalition in Philadelphia came to the protest. They said they are working to organize a protest in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, for September 3 against a similar anti-immigrant law passed there earlier in July.

Alex Reeve, a student from Collingswood, Pennsylvania, and several of his friends, bought poster board and markers when they saw the hundreds of right-wing protesters and Confederate flags. “The South lost,” read one of the signs that Reeve carried. “It’s wrong to exclude a human being from

a country,” he said.

The immigrant rights protest was organized by Rev. Miguel Rivera, the president of the National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders, and other religious and community figures in response to the “Illegal Immigration Relief Act,” which the Riverside Township Council passed July 26.

The law imposes fines starting at \$1,000 for hiring an undocumented worker and for renting an apartment or house to anyone who cannot prove they are in the United States legally. It also makes it a crime to “aid and abet illegal aliens within the United States, not just within the township limits.” Many of the immigrants in this town of 8,000 are of Brazilian origin.



Militant/Brian Williams

**Some 300 supporters of immigrant rights (foreground) rallied in Riverside, New Jersey, August 20. About 400 rightist protesters taunted them from across the street.**

Following the rally, the immigrant rights protesters marched up the main street to St. Peter’s Catholic Church

while racists ringed the building, cursing, spitting, and shouting, with some giving the Nazi salute.

## Israeli commandos conduct raid deep in Lebanon

**Continued from page 3**

about 20 of Israel’s most modern tanks.” According to an article in the August 20 *New York Times*, Hezbollah used advanced antitank missiles, including Russian Metis-M and Kornet missiles that were sold to the government of Syria and passed on to Hezbollah.

The UN resolution calls for the disarmament of all armed groups other than those of the Lebanese government, no

sales or supply of arms to nongovernmental forces, and the removal of “foreign” forces in Lebanon. The Lebanese government is sending 15,000 soldiers to the area below the Litani River, the center of the fighting, to be joined by the projected 15,000 UN troops.

Until this force is deployed, the Israeli government claims it has the right to continue to carry out military actions inside Lebanon.

On August 19 the IDF conducted a commando raid in the Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon. Israel’s foreign ministry spokesperson, Mark Regev, said the raid aimed to stop the transport of arms to Hezbollah. “Had the Lebanese forces, augmented by international troops, been on the border-crossing points with Syria the way they should have been,” he said, “then our attack

**Continued on page 5**

## Kentucky miners: ‘When union goes out, safety goes with it’

**Continued from front page**

Sinai Volunteers, that sang hymns at the meeting, told the *Militant*, expressing the sentiments of many. The group’s members are retired miners in eastern Kentucky who are Black.

None of the coal mines in Harlan County are unionized today, while thousands of miners were members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) here two decades ago.

Thirty-seven coal miners have died on the job in the United States this year. That compares to 22 in all of 2005.

Tracy North, daughter of Paris Thomas, said she was pleased with the memorial. “We just want to make sure these miners are never forgotten,” she told the *Militant* following the meeting. “This is also a way for the families to continue to speak for safety in the mines.” North was part of protests organized by relatives of five miners who died at the Darby Mine No. 1 against their exclusion from the investigation of that disaster by state and federal officials.

“If mines were required to build an oxygen room where trapped men could go and stay for two or three days, with enough food, water, and oxygen, it would save lives,” Paul Ledford, the only miner who escaped the Darby explosion, told the Lexington *Herald-Leader* at the memorial meeting. “The companies claim they would each cost about \$80,000, but they make that much in a day.”

Ledford escaped with the help of an oxygen mask that only partially worked.

“We are here today to recognize the sacrifices and celebrate the lives of real heroes,” said Kenny Johnson. “Men who got up every day and went to work because they had people that they loved and had to provide for.” Johnson, a UMWA mine and safety official, chaired the meeting.

“As we speak we know miners are going to work in unsafe condi-

tions...and any day there can be another catastrophe,” said attorney Tony Oppegard. “There is no greater way to honor these men than to speak out for mine safety.”

Oppegard and Johnson are representing family members of the miners killed in the Darby explosion during investigations by state and federal mine safety agencies. Characterizations of these disasters as “freak accidents” or “acts of God” should not be accepted, Oppegard told the crowd. “These were acts of men, not God,” he said.

“As senseless as their deaths often seem, we must allow them to inspire us to improve safety for coal miners,” U.S.

Rep. Ben Chandler said in his speech to the gathering.

UMWA president Cecil Roberts, who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to attend the meeting.

Debbie Hamner and Sara Bailey, wife and daughter, respectively, of George Hamner Jr., one of the 12 miners killed at the Sago Mine in West Virginia on January 2, expressed support to the meeting from their families.

“Anything you do to bring focus to mine safety issues is honoring these men,” Hamner said. “Miners deserve a safe work place and the equipment they need.”

They and other family members of

the miners who died at Sago are still waiting for the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) to finish its report. “We have heard it could take them up to two years,” Hamner said.

They expressed disappointment at the report released in July by an investigative commission appointed by West Virginia’s governor. “That report wasn’t anything new. None of the promises made to us were fulfilled,” Bailey said.

“We came out to show that the blood that binds coal miners is the same,” George Massey, of the Mount Sinai Volunteers, told the *Militant*. “We had a safe record in the county until they got rid of the unions.

## Immigrant rights backers build September 7 rally

**Continued from front page**

Shrine of the Sacred Heart Church, saying, “Join in the Demand for Legalization for ALL.” Following the service, Ricardo Gallardo, an organizer from the Mid-Atlantic regional office of the Laborers’ International Union (LIU), made an announcement about the march that was received with prolonged applause from the more than 500 people there.

The National Capital Immigration Coalition flyer inviting people to the march says, “Support Immigrants! Don’t Divide Our Families! Don’t Divide Our Communities!”

Local activists said they are planning to speak to other church congregations, visit college campuses, distribute flyers to commuters at subway stations in Washington, and ask local businesses to post flyers on their windows.

So far, participants are coming from Florida, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, according to Fani Cruz, from Amigos del Barrio.

“We’ve been at all the marches,” said

Cruz. “Whenever there is an issue that affects the immigrant community, we get together to plan, organize, and figure out how to get more people involved.”

The rally and march are scheduled to coincide with the day Congress returns from its summer recess. They will be preceded by visits with members of Congress. The New York daily *El Diario/La Prensa* reports that speakers at the rally include senators John McCain, a Republican, and Edward Kennedy, a Democrat, who were among the sponsors of Senate Resolution 2611. The measure—approved by the Senate in May—has been touted by many capitalist politicians as a “pro-immigrant” alternative to the so-called Sensenbrenner bill the House of Representatives passed in December, which would criminalize all undocumented immigrants and those who aid them.

A number of immigrant rights groups across the country, including many of those that took part in the August 11–13 National Immigrant Rights Strategy Convention in Chicago, have been

speaking out against both bills. The Senate bill would boost border police, establish a “guest worker” program, and allow some of the undocumented to obtain residency after meeting onerous conditions, including dependence on employers.

“We know a good percentage of our membership is undocumented,” said Gallardo, explaining why the Laborers’ International Union has become involved in building the September 7 march.

Gallardo said LIU organizers have visited both organized and nonunion construction sites to build the march and to convince employers not to retaliate against workers who leave early to participate. Most employers have not put up too much resistance “because they need these workers,” Gallardo said. “After the [immigration] raids, some companies got scared, laid off all the undocumented, and began to hire only people with papers. But after a few weeks, they didn’t have the personnel they needed, and they began to hire undocumented again.”



## Hotel workers in Chicago march for new contract

CHICAGO—More than 1,000 hotel workers and their supporters marched here August 9 to support their union, UNITE HERE, in negotiations for new contracts. The workers are asking for a reduction in the workload and improved pay and benefits. The contracts, which cover about 7,000 workers at 26 hotels, expire at midnight on August 31.

“We are asking that the workload be lowered from 16 rooms a day to 15, sick days be raised from four to six, and we receive a \$1.50 raise upfront and 50 cents

every six months,” said Dorothy Tillman, a worker for more than 30 years at Holiday Inn Express at O’Hare airport.

Carlos Maldonado, who works in the kitchen of the Holiday Inn City Center, noted, “The owners will want to raise the insurance costs. We pay only \$30 a month right now.”

The cheering unionists, wearing red T-shirts and caps, walked along the major streets of Chicago whistling and chanting, “Who are we—Local 1; What do we want? A contract.” The hotel workers were accompanied by members of the Teamsters, Iron

Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and Service Employees International Union.

—Rollande Girard

## Wal-Mart workers in China organize at two outlets

Workers at Wal-Mart stores in China have successfully unionized their second store there. The 42 employees at the outlet in the southern town of Shenzhen have joined the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, reported the Xinhua news agency August 5. The first was set up in the southeastern

province of Fujian in July. Wal-Mart employs more than 30,000 workers across China. The Chinese union federation has said its goal is to establish a union at every Wal-Mart outlet. The U.S.-based retail giant has aggressively fought efforts by workers to unionize in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. Xinhua quoted a Wal-Mart statement saying, “Should associates request the formation of a union, Wal-Mart China would respect their wishes and honor its obligation under China’s trade union law.”

—Brian Williams

# Lebanon

Continued from page 4

would have been superfluous.... We cannot have an open border with arms coming from Syria to rearm Hezbollah.”

Hezbollah—or the “Party of God”—is a capitalist party with two seats in the Lebanese cabinet that won prominence for its role in the fight against the 1982–2000 Israeli occupation (see article on page 6 for more on the roots and character of Hezbollah).

The slowness in putting together the UN force has highlighted Tel Aviv’s failure to achieve its goal of disabling Hezbollah with its own forces.

“For four weeks we failed to defend ourselves against daily bombardments against our cities,” Yuval Steinitz, a member of the Israeli opposition Likud Party and former chairman of parliament’s defense committee, told the *Washington Post*. “This is a failure that never happened before.”

Hundreds of members of the IDF’s Spearhead Paratroop Brigade have criticized “the cold feet of the decision-makers” in an open letter to Defense Minister Amir Peretz and Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Dan Halutz. “The heavy feeling that in the echelons above us there is nothing but under-preparation, insincerity, lack of foresight and inability to make rational decisions, leads to the question—were we called up for nothing?” the letter said. “In order to face the next battle prepared—and this may happen soon—a thorough and fundamental change must take place.”

“In the last six years, there hadn’t been any preparation” for putting soldiers into combat, said Shaul Givoli, an Israeli retired major general, according to the August 19 *Washington Post*.

“One of the main conclusions of the war against Hezbollah will be the fact that the fighting abilities of the ground forces deployed by the Israeli Defense Forces in Lebanon have been blunted by years of police action in the territories,” noted Ze’ev Schiff, military analyst for the Israeli daily *Haaretz*. He was referring to the occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. “The character of the IDF—known for its blitzkrieg methods, encircling movements deep inside enemy territory, and the ability to bring about a quick and decisive conclusion to the fighting—has been spoiled by years of involvement in operations that tied it down.”

Schiff recommended a sharper division of labor between the army and police to better safeguard the interests of the Israeli rulers. “Many of the advantages and operational qualities of the IDF have been lost over the years because the army has been fighting the wrong war—from a military point of view.”

# Massachusetts

Continued from front page

a half-hour interview on a local Spanish-language cable television station.

“We oppose the U.S. government’s embargo of Cuba and its travel restrictions,” she said. “Young people and others should be able to go to Cuba to see it for themselves.”

Garza, a garment worker and member of UNITE HERE Local 187, filed petitions August 17 with the Secretary of State’s Election Division to gain ballot status in the November elections. Her campaign supporters turned over 4,300 signatures on nominating petitions. Of these, 2,253—more than the requirement of 2,000—had been certified as valid by city clerk offices in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea, which make up the congressional district. The clerk of the state’s Election Division told Garza she would appear on the ballot in November. Challenges to the petitions can be made up until September 1.

The Socialist Workers candidate for governor, John Hawkins, a meat cutter and longtime fighter for Black rights, is running a write-in campaign.

In a news release issued August 15, Garza said, “I am running to support workers’ struggles to organize trade unions and to use and extend union power to defend working people against the bosses’ assaults. I support legislation to legalize all immigrants now. I have joined the mobilizations to demand legalization and will continue to help mobilize in support of that fight.”

The SWP candidates and their supporters have been busy building the

## Books on Cuban Revolution by Pathfinder Press on display at Florida International University



Militant/Jim Kendrick

MIAMI—As fall semester opens, students visiting the Barnes and Noble bookstore at Florida International University’s (FIU) Park campus in southwest Miami can browse a display table called “Cuba in the News” featuring a range of titles on the Cuban Revolution. These include 16 titles published by Pathfinder Press. Books featured include *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution*; *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes; and *Women and the Cuban Revolution* by Elizabeth Stone. With 38,000 students at its two campuses, FIU is the largest university in south Florida.

—MARGARET TROWE

September 7 March on Washington for immigrant rights and the August 24–27 tour of Jesse Díaz in Boston. Díaz is a co-founder of the Los Angeles March 25th Coalition, one of the organizations that not only helped mobilize hundreds of thousands in Los Angeles for immigrant rights but joined in calling the nationwide May 1 strike.

At a recent meeting here of groups building the September 7 march in Washington, organizers announced that eight

buses have been reserved in the Boston area and tickets are available for \$25.

On August 19 the Socialists Workers campaign organized a program featuring the two Massachusetts socialist candidates and Róger Calero, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York. It was entitled, “Legalize all immigrants! Build and strengthen our unions! Oppose Washington’s war drive!” Participants contributed more than \$700 to the SWP campaign.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



September 4, 1981

Reports from the island of Vieques, off the coast of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, have confirmed recent charges that U.S. armed forces are preparing for a possible invasion of Grenada.

Grenada, a Caribbean island of 120,000 people, had a revolution in 1979 that ousted dictator Eric Gairy who had been favored by Washington. Since then the country has had a popular revolutionary government headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement.

In a recent interview on New York’s WBAI radio station, Bishop was asked why Grenada was being singled out in this way. “Grenada is attempting to develop a new alternative, a new path to social, political, and economic development of our people, he replied.



September 3, 1956

New racist forces and violence against bus boycotters in Tallahassee, Florida and Montgomery, Alabama has flared up this week. Police in Tallahassee began arresting carpool drivers August 22 and three days later the home of one of the active participants in the Montgomery protest movement was bombed. In Tuscaloosa, Ala., several Negroes were beaten up in the wake of a Ku Klux Klan rally Aug. 25.

In Tallahassee, car pool drivers are being booked on the phony charge of operating “for hire” vehicles without a license. The action was ordered by the lilywhite City Commission after the Democratic State Attorney General ruled that automobiles used in car pools are “for hire” vehicles, in spite of the fact that no fare is charged.



September 5, 1931

Amidst the fires and flames of World War at a time when international socialism has collapsed, the national socialist parties had (with few brilliant exceptions) turned social-imperialist, the socialist youth assembled at Berne, Switzerland, unfurled the banner of proletarian internationalism. It was there, in April 1915, that the first Sunday of every September was set aside for the mobilization of the working youth against capitalist militarism and war.

The kindred sparks served as torches to light up the path towards proletarian revolution. The socialist youth, actively aided by the Bolsheviks, inspired by Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, courageously led the struggle against opportunism and social patriotism.



# ‘We are *for* whatever strengthens the confidence and capacity of the toilers’

## Letter from SWP leader on Israel’s murderous war on Lebanon

The following letter from Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to Ma’mud Shirvani was written in response to a report by Shirvani on his presentation and the discussion at an August 12 Militant Labor Forum in Washington, D.C. The fighting title of the talk chosen by supporters of the *Militant* in Washington was, “U.S. Hands off Iran! Israel Out of Lebanon and Gaza!”

Earlier that day, Shirvani, along with others attending the forum, had taken part in a march of 10,000 in Washington to oppose the U.S.-backed Israeli assault on Lebanon and the Gaza Strip.

Over the last two months Shirvani, the Farsi editor for Pathfinder Press, has spoken at Militant Labor Forums in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Chicago.

Shirvani also spoke August 19 at a Militant Labor Forum in St. Paul, Minnesota, on “Middle East: Capitalism’s World Disorder and Prospects for Revolutionary Change.” He will speak August 26 at a forum on the same subject in New York City. These two events are part of wind-up educational weekends of local socialist summer schools in the Twin Cities and New York, sponsored by the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party. Summer school sessions were also held in Los Angeles, where Shirvani spoke in July, as well as in Atlanta.

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BY JACK BARNES

August 17, 2006

Ma’mud Shirvani  
New York

Dear Ma’mud,

Thanks for the note about the forum in Washington on Saturday, and the outline both of your remarks and of the back-and-forth during the discussion period. If you have no objection, I think it would be useful to circulate it for the information of the National Committee [of the Socialist Workers Party]. The points we discussed by phone on Saturday before the forum are nothing new to the communist movement. But we need to step back and remind ourselves of the ABC’s of class politics. Steve [Clark] and I worked up the following short summary of major aspects of our discussion, which I’ll post for the movement along with your report.

### What we are *for*

1) Our starting point in analyzing and responding to the war in Lebanon is what we—the international communist movement—are *for*.

Most of the petty-bourgeois radical left start with what they’re *against*: in every case the Bush administration, and, in this particular case, Israel as well. (Some would add “the West,” “Christendom,” or capitalism.) Then comes the unspoken enabling clause: “The enemy of my enemy is my friend.” Voila! Hezbollah—literally the “party of God”—is suddenly transformed and hailed by



AFP/Getty Images/Ramzi Haidar (above)

**Above: Lebanese Red Cross workers and troops evacuate body of man from main bridge in Madfun, north of Beirut, Lebanon, destroyed August 4 by Israeli air strike. Right: Israeli artillery pummels southern Lebanon during 1982 invasion of country by Tel Aviv. “The communist movement is *for* whatever strengthens the working class,” says Jack Barnes. “We call for the defeat of Israel in the current war, as we did in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982—and as we do in any military conflict between an oppressed nation or nationality and an imperialist power.”**

many as a revolutionary national liberation organization. Sheikh Nasrallah is its admired leader. And “We are all Hezbollah!” starts resounding as the new watchword for much of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois far left.

The communist movement, on the other hand, is *for* whatever strengthens the working class and rural toilers, their confidence and capacity for independent struggle within the anti-imperialist resistance. We are *for* whatever increases working people’s space to politically organize and fight to move toward workers and farmers governments that can lead the toilers in overturning imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation. We are *for* whatever advances the working class along that line of march. With that as our strategic guide, communists call for the defeat of Israel in the current war, as we did in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982<sup>1</sup>—and as we do in any military conflict between an oppressed nation or nationality and an imperialist power (or a regime such as the Israeli capitalist state that defends and advances imperialist interests).

At the same time, communists give no political support to Hezbollah, any more than we did to the Egyptian, Syrian, or other bourgeois governments (whether “republican” or monarchical) in the earlier Arab-Israeli wars, or to the Kuomintang<sup>2</sup> or the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie<sup>3</sup> during the resistance to Japanese and Italian imperialism in the 1930s. All such misleaderships, claiming to speak for the popular masses and for patriotism, are obstacles to an effective fight for national liberation, as well as class enemies of the workers’ and peasants’ march toward power.

Just because Hezbollah stands at the head of the military forces in combat with the Israeli Defense Forces does not turn it into a national liberation movement. It is not the Vietnamese National

Liberation Front or North Vietnamese Army—fighting to defend and extend a workers state—much less the revolutionary-led July 26 Movement and Rebel Army in Cuba. It’s not comparable to the FLN of Algeria, the FSLN of Nicaragua, the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, nor the African National Congress of South Africa during the anti-imperialist struggles in those countries.<sup>4</sup>

### Hezbollah, counterrevolution in Iran

Hezbollah, as you explained based on firsthand experience as a leader of a communist party in Iran during the revolutionary period opened in 1979, is an outgrowth in Lebanon of the bourgeois regime and political forces in Tehran that organized the “street vanguard” of the counterrevolution against proletarian forces in Iran in 1979 and the early 1980s.

I’m sure those attending the forum in D.C. were interested in your description of how the goon squads in those early years that broke up meetings and headquarters of workers organizations, supporters of women’s rights, oppressed nationalities, and the communist movement took the name “Hezbollah”—there was no party but the “party of God,” and Ayatollah Khomeini was its leader.<sup>5</sup>

That, in turn, was the political inspiration for the organization that adopted the name Hezbollah when it was established in Lebanon in the early 1980s, with direct involvement of elite military and intelligence units of the Iranian regime. Hezbollah carried out bombings against U.S. and French troops in Lebanon in 1983. Along with other organizations in Lebanon, it organized attacks on Israeli

forces during Tel Aviv’s 22-year occupation of the south, becoming the dominant force by the 1990s. It simultaneously built up large business interests and established itself as a bourgeois political force in south Lebanon, with a populist and “charitable” face. It consolidated a base among Lebanon’s large Shiite population, creating an extensive military network along the southern border when Israel withdrew its troops in 2000.

Hezbollah’s goal is to establish an “Islamic Republic” in Lebanon, that is, a capitalist regime modeled on the one that emerged from the bourgeois and bonapartist counterrevolution in Iran.

### Fight for workers’, peasants’ power

As we discussed by phone on Saturday, Israel is *not* the major obstacle to the struggle against imperialist oppression and for the class interests of workers and peasants in most countries of the Middle East. It is in Palestine, of course. But the most direct and immediate class enemy in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq, and elsewhere—through which the super-exploitation and military penetration of imperialism are mediated—are the capitalist rulers and other bourgeois political forces in those countries. It is they who prevent the toilers from organizing and fighting to achieve national liberation, carry out a thoroughgoing agrarian reform, and organize and agitate to establish popular revolutionary dictatorships that act in the interests of the exploited producers. Within that class and historic framework, toilers throughout the Middle East also confront Israel’s military and political weight as a bastion of imperialism in the region.

The political attitude of communists toward movements such as Hezbollah is



**August 5 rally in London to oppose Israeli assault in Lebanon. Many demonstrators held signs saying, “We are all Hizbullah.” Addressing an earlier rally in London on July 22, George Galloway, a former left Labour Member of Parliament, said: “I am here to glorify the Lebanese resistance, Hezbollah, and to glorify the resistance leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah.” Galloway is today a leader of the Respect the Unity Coalition, which includes a range of political groups of the British far left.**



not something new. Lenin's draft theses on the national and colonial question, prepared for the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, stressed "the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, mulahs, etc." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, pp. 149-50.)

And in his report to the Congress on that resolution, Lenin emphasized "that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited." (*LCW*, vol. 31, p. 242.)

It makes little difference whether such bourgeois movements or organizations operate under a "religious" or a "secular" banner. From a class standpoint, there is little to distinguish Hezbollah from the Ba'athists, or to set apart Hamas from what Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization<sup>6</sup> had degenerated into by the late 1980s.

#### Political crisis in Israel

2) The indecision of the Kadima-Labor coalition government, unpreparedness of Tel Aviv's armed forces, and conduct of its officer corps since Israel launched the war last month has brought on a political crisis there. (It is not totally dissimilar to what is happening in Washington now.) Likud, its current leader Benjamin Netanyahu, and others are already fighting to turn the situation to their advantage, likely shortening the lifespan of the current coalition regime.

Among other things, Netanyahu's backers draw attention, often not so subtly, to a fact underlined in the political report discussed and adopted by our convention earlier this summer: that Ehud Olmert is "the first Israeli prime minister who is neither a military figure from one or more of Israel's wars from 1948 to today nor a veteran leader of the Zionist organizations that established the Israeli state."<sup>7</sup> The same is true of Amir Peretz, Israel's defense minister and leader of the Labor Party. Ehud Olmert may be the most recent of Golda Meir's successors but not an heir apparent, either politically or militarily. Nor is Amir Peretz a knockoff of Moshe Dayan.<sup>8</sup>

Nothing could be further from the truth, however, than the claims by certain sections of the bourgeois press—echoed hopefully by many petty-bourgeois radicals and liberals, and by the Hezbollah leadership itself—that Israel sustained an unprecedented defeat in the war, and Hezbollah a glorious victory. Or that the alleged universal belief—a myth—of all Arab or Muslim regimes and political currents in Israel's military invincibility has now been shattered, opening the way to increasing and more devastating setbacks to Israel in years to come. To the degree such a belief may have taken hold among some bourgeois Arab forces in the wake of the 1967 and 1973 wars, it had already been badly eroded by Israel's overreaching in the occupation of southern Lebanon between 1978 and 2000.

Tel Aviv and the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) are paying a political and military price for the fact that they have not fought a war since 1982. What are fundamentally militarized police operations by the IDF against the Palestinian resistance,

even major operations, are not the same thing as combat against trained regular or irregular military forces in a war.

Jews in Israel remain subject to universal conscription—men for three years, women for two. But both the numbers and readiness of the IDF reserves, which were a decisive factor in the 1973 war with Syria and Egypt, have declined. While for many years all conscripted Israeli men remained in the reserves until they were 51, being called up for training one month each year, the period of reserve service has now been cut back to age 40 and call-ups have become more infrequent. Such weakening of the IDF will now be reversed, even in face of grumbling among some middle-class and professional layers who'd become comfortable with it. (Those who slide far enough along the bell curve<sup>9</sup> anywhere in the world want other folks' kids dying to protect their privileges. Israel is no exception.)

Israel's capitalist rulers are preparing for new and wider wars. They will take the deaths and casualties necessary to defend the state of Israel. Anything else would be suicide for them, and the toilers cannot base our course of action on the illusion the enemy will self-destruct. To advance these war preparations, as you pointed out in your forum presentation, the Israeli rulers now recognize they must embark on their own military transformation, much as the U.S. ruling class has been doing for half a decade<sup>10</sup> (as well as the rulers—at varying paces and in different ways—in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and parts of Continental Europe). With whatever factional divisions among them, Likud, Labor, and Kadima will all carry out this political course. They have no alternative.

Nor should we jump to conclusions that either the war in Lebanon or the crisis of the Kadima-led government means the Israeli rulers will permanently reverse engines on their course in Gaza and the West Bank.

Even prior to the Lebanon conflict, the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier by Palestinian forces based in Gaza had already slowed the process, and the war in Lebanon will have further consequences for the shape and timing of what's to come. But the objective trends impelling the course of the Israeli rulers, presented in our 2006 convention document, have not changed.

#### End of 'Greater Israel' prospect

"The prospect of a 'Greater Israel,' stretching from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River, is over for a decisive majority of the ruling class there," we said. Sharon, Olmert, and other leaders of the Israeli state and armed forces were determined "that Tel Aviv's goal, above all, must be to 'ensure a Jewish majority in the country.'" And we pointed out, "What the Israeli rulers are seeking to impose in order to consolidate Israel within borders of their own choosing is not a 'peace process,' as it's dubbed [by the liberals] in the big business media. ... Its newly imposed borders will roughly correspond to the 400-mile-long wall the Israeli rulers are building inside the occupied West Bank, which lops off up to 10 percent of that occupied territory for Israel. What's more, Tel Aviv intends to hold onto East Jerusalem, selected large suburban Jewish settlements in the West Bank, as well as strategic military locations along the Jordanian border."

Kadima's illusion of the "doctrine of



Nazi SS troops round up Jews in Warsaw, Poland, during the invasion of the country by German imperialist forces in World War II. "The world domination of finance capital in crisis: that's the real death trap for Jews today, as it has been all along," says Barnes.

disengagement" as some kind of cure-all has been dealt a rude comeuppance. The conditions for Tel Aviv to hold on indefinitely to a "Greater Israel," however, are no more favorable today than what has evolved over the past decade. The wall will continue to go up, and the Israeli rulers will still be compelled to attend to these unalterable contradictions.

#### Capitalism: death trap for Jews

3) As I said during our phone conversation, the phrase we often use, that "Israel is a death trap for the Jews," becomes politically misleading when it is lifted out of time and space. It has increasingly become a substitute for concrete thought—a catchphrase, and one that's not true in any literal, military sense for the foreseeable future.

In paraphrasing that insight from Trotsky's unfinished 1940 article, we tend to truncate what he said and thus miss the main point—the point that's truer than ever today. Yes, Trotsky pointed out that the Zionists, if successful in their efforts to establish a colonial-settler state in Pal-

estine, would transform that region into "a bloody trap" for the Jews there. But then he moved immediately to his *political conclusion*: "Never was it so clear as it is today," Trotsky wrote, "that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system." (Leon Trotsky, *On the Jewish Question*, p. 16.) It's unambiguous, moreover, that Trotsky was talking about the Jewish people throughout the world, not the tiny percentage then living in Palestine.

The world domination of finance capital in crisis: that's the real death trap for Jews today, as it has been all along. The death trap is throwing in your lot with politically dominant and "culturally advanced" sectors of the imperialist world order, as the social composition of the Jewish population in the United States and—possibly to a lesser degree, I'm not sure—in Europe shifts in its substantial majority away from the working class. That, too, we addressed in this year's convention document. Just by looking

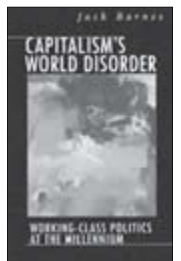
Continued on page 8

### For further reading from Pathfinder

#### Capitalism's World Disorder

##### Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes

The social devastation and financial panic, the coarsening of politics, the cop brutality and acts of imperialist aggression accelerating around us—all are the product not of something gone wrong but of the lawful workings of capitalism. Yet the future can be changed by the united struggle and selfless action of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. Also available in Spanish and French. **\$24**



#### On the Jewish Question by Leon Trotsky

"Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system," wrote Trotsky in 1940. **\$4.50**

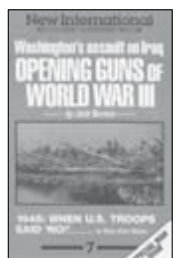


#### 'New International' no. 12 Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun by Jack Barnes

"One of capitalism's infrequent long winters has begun. Accompanied by imperialism's accelerating drive toward war, it's going to be a long, hot winter." \$16. Also available in Spanish, French. Includes "Their Transformation and Ours."

#### 'New International' no. 7 Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III by Jack Barnes

Includes "Communism, the Working Class, and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle: Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War." \$12. Also available in Farsi, French, Spanish, and Swedish.



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# Letter from SWP leader

Continued from page 7

at the worldwide demographics of the Jewish population, we pointed out, the United States, not Israel, turned out to be the “promised land.” Nearly half the Jews on earth live in the United States, substantially more than in Israel. And while the big majority of Jews who emigrated to the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were workers—many of them socialists or communists—“the class composition of the Jewish population has changed dramatically over the past half century, with a majority of the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of these immigrants moving into better-off layers of ‘rent’ collectors among the middle classes and professionals.”

And we concluded: “So long as the imperialist system prevails...neither the United States nor anywhere else will be a ‘promised land’ for the Jews. For Jews in this country, the consequences of the long hot winter world capitalism has entered will bring more—and much worse—than the mounting economic instability and insecurity that will hit widening layers of the middle classes. It will bring in its wake a new rise of fascist organizations that will target not just the labor movement, Blacks, women, and others among the oppressed and exploited, but will also lace their radical anticapitalist demagoguery and conspiracy mania with Jew-hating filth and carry out physical assaults on Jews.

“The U.S. bourgeoisie and their petty-bourgeois spokespersons—including many who are Jewish—promote comfortable assurances that ‘it can’t happen here.’ But such delusions offer no greater protection to Jews in the imperialist United States (or Europe) than to those convinced in the 1920s and 1930s that they had fully ‘assimilated’ into capitalist society in Germany.”

That, above all, is the death trap for the Jews that the communist movement must not only explain in clear and uncompromising class terms, but must join with other vanguard workers to prevent, by any means necessary.

## Bourgeois vs. revolutionary methods

4) I noticed from your notes on the discussion period in D.C. that you said something to the effect that “we should also remember that the Arab regimes in the recent period have carried out massive massacres of Arab toilers which dwarf Israeli atrocities.”

Be careful. That bourgeois Arab regimes “have carried out massive massacres of Arab toilers”—and Kurdish, Turk, and other toilers—there can be no doubt. But communists are not in the business of weighing relative degrees of atrocities by conflicting regimes of our class enemies. That’s never a reliable political guide for the proletarian movement, including which side, if any, to support in a war.

The point I tried to make during our phone conversation on Saturday afternoon was a different one, related specifically to the Iran-Iraq war of 1980–88. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians were killed and maimed on both sides during that war. Hundreds of thousands! Inside and outside Iran, communists called for the defeat of the Iraqi regime. While Washington and other imperialist powers officially declared themselves “neutral,” they in fact supported Baghdad, both politically and materially.

The U.S. rulers hoped an Iraqi victory would wipe out all vestiges of the

revolution in Iran and make possible the reimposition of a regime there directly subservient to imperialist interests.

My point was twofold: (1) that communist workers in Iran, and our world movement, gave no political support to the capitalist government in Tehran; and (2) that the bourgeois political and military course of the reactionary Iranian regime resulted in untold needless deaths of soldiers and civilians, both Iranian and Iraqi. Those methods were neither necessary nor defensible in pursuing the goal—a goal we supported—of defeating Baghdad’s invading army. As we know most recently from the record of the Rebel Army and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, the military strategy and tactics of a revolutionary working-class leadership are consistent with our proletarian habits and political program, not contrary to them.

That, as you know from your own direct political experience in Iran, was the line and course of our organization there during the Iran-Iraq war.

That’s why, when we published “The Opening Guns of World War III” in *New International* no. 7, we included along with it the 1980 and 1982 documents of our organization in Iran (See “Communism, the Working Class, and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle: Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War,” pp. 327–351).

## ‘Islamofascism’

By the way, our movement in Iran set another good example that I was reminded of just this morning. A column by a well-known bourgeois conservative in today’s *Wall Street Journal* points out (correctly or not, I have no way of knowing) that it was a French “Marxist” who first referred to the Islamic Republic in Iran as “Islamofascism,” way back at the end of the 1970s. There were “Marxists” inside Iran, too, who, as the counterrevolution was consolidated, used similar language to describe the regime



Militant/Frank Forrestal

**Selling *Militant* June 3 at portal of Freeman United Crown 3 Mine in central Illinois. “We always find ways to tie world politics to what communists are doing in this country as we participate in the class struggle and build the proletarian movement here,” says Barnes.**

there. And that’s also the term, in one form or another, that President Bush is now using—in recent comments on an alleged London-based plot against airliners, as well as his State of the Union address in January—to portray those whom “this nation is at war with,” i.e., the “long war.”

Comrades in Iran didn’t fall for that political sucker bait a quarter century ago, just as communists don’t do so today. We analyzed the bonapartist capitalist regime in Iran concretely and accurately as it emerged and crystallized. And we’re capable of responding to the anti-working-class courses of bourgeois political regimes and currents in oppressor and oppressed nations alike—from the Bush administration, to the Islamic Republic in Tehran, to others too numerous to list—without confusing workers and farmers about what fascism really is. [For a brief discussion of fascism, see the accompanying box on page 9.—*Ed.*]

It is, in fact, political forces who throw around rhetoric such as “Islamofascism”—both on the bourgeois right and

left—whose policies are seeding the ground in which real fascist movements will germinate as the crisis of the imperialist world order deepens and the toilers organize to threaten capitalist rule.

## Building proletarian parties

5) Finally, the most important point is that in explaining all this to workers, farmers, and youth, we always find ways to tie it concretely to what communists in this country—or wherever we’re functioning—are doing as we participate in the class struggle and build the proletarian movement here. Otherwise, no matter how accurate, it’s just commentary. It’s not communism. It’s not part of the line of march of the working class to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

\* \* \*

I hope these observations will be useful to you when you speak at the regional educational conference in the Twin Cities this coming weekend, and at the final session of the New York summer school the

**Continued on page 9**

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# Sell this issue widely! Help expand ‘Militant’ readership

Read and sell widely this issue of the *Militant*! Its main feature, the letter by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes on Israel’s bloody war on Lebanon, is particularly valuable to those looking for a revolutionary, working-class perspective on world politics.

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head start now, taking political advantage of the special feature in this issue, to begin winning new subscribers and increase the paper’s long-term readership.

This also means that any subscriptions sold at Labor Day weekend actions, some of which will be related to the fight for immigrant rights, and other such demonstrations like the September 7 rally in Washington, D.C., will be part of getting a jump in the circulation effort.

This is in line with the *Militant*’s increased political weight, one indication of which is the near doubling of the paper’s circulation over the last year. Where battles have already been joined in recent years, from Western coal to Midwest packing to the war industry in Florida and beyond, the *Militant* is known by significant layers of workers. It is recognized as a paper that not only tells the truth about these workers’ struggles but makes it possible

for them to learn about fights by other working people in North America and the world over—and thus be armed to help advance all these workers’ efforts. Some come to recognize partisans of the *Militant* as among those fighting alongside them as fellow workers; they help supporters of the paper to get the *Militant*, and other socialist material, into the hands of more working people.

To take advantage of this reality, *Militant* supporters will be offering this fall at special prices along with any subscription—new or renewal—the following titles: *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* for \$5 and *The Working Class and Transformation of Learning: The Myth of ‘Education Reform’ Under Capitalism* for \$1, both by Barnes; and the last two issues of the Marxist magazine *New International* at \$25 for both.

Join us in this effort!

## Letter from SWP leader on Israel’s murderous war on Lebanon

Continued from page 8

following weekend. And on from there.

Comradely,  
s/*Jack*

Jack Barnes

### NOTES

1. Following the proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948 based on a United Nations–imposed partition of Palestine, Israeli troops terrorized Palestinians into fleeing their land and homes and defeated five Arab governments that sought to block the seizure of these territories. In 1956, after the Egyptian government nationalized the Suez Canal, Israeli troops invaded Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula with support from British and French imperialism; Washington, advancing its own imperialist interests in the region, successfully pressed London, Paris, and Tel Aviv to withdraw. In the six-day 1967 war, the Israeli military seized the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and Golan Heights from Syria. Tel Aviv also won the 1973 war against Egypt and Syria. During Israel’s 1982 war in Lebanon, Israeli armed forces collaborated with Lebanese rightists in the massacre of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut; Tel Aviv occupied the southern part of the country until 2000.

2. The bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), headed by Chiang Kai-shek, became the ruling party in China in 1928, having drowned in blood many thousands of workers and peasants during the Second Chinese Revolution. When Japanese imperialist troops invaded China in 1931, communists around the world waged an international campaign calling for Tokyo’s defeat in the war against the Chiang-led regime. The Japanese occupation forces were defeated in 1945. The Kuomintang regime was overthrown in the 1946–49 civil war led by the Chinese Communist Party.

3. Haile Selassie was emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974. When Ethiopia was invaded by Italian imperialist forces in 1935, communists campaigned for Rome’s defeat. Selassie’s monarchy was overthrown in a popular revolution in 1974.

4. The Vietnamese National Liberation Front led the resistance to U.S. imperialist domination of southern Vietnam from 1960 to 1975. The war ended in a victory over Washington and its imperialist allies, opening the way to the reunification of the country, extension of the workers state from north Vietnam to the entire country, and the overturn of the murderous Pol Pot regime in neighboring Cambodia. The July 26 Movement and Rebel Army led a revolutionary war in Cuba in which working people toppled the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in 1959 and subsequently brought to power a workers and farmers government that overturned capitalist rule. The National Liberation Front (FLN) led the 1954–63 popular struggle in Algeria that defeated French colonial rule. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua and New Jewel Movement of Grenada led revolutionary struggles by working people that overthrew U.S.-backed dictatorships in 1979. The victories in Algeria, Nicaragua, and Grenada led to the establishment of workers and farmers governments that, for concrete reasons in each country, were unable to lead the toilers in overturning capitalist

rule. The African National Congress (ANC) led the struggle to overturn the apartheid regime in South Africa.

5. In Shirvani’s report on his presentation to the Washington, D.C., forum, he described, “How extralegal goons calling themselves Hezbollah gained notoriety in Iran in 1979, smashing independent democratic assemblies, left groups, and workers organizations. Three of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran were smashed in the middle of the night in Tehran in the summer of 1979, with books, typewriters, and copy machines destroyed.” Shirvani said he had then explained, “How the organization called Hezbollah in Lebanon was an extension of the counterrevolution in Iran—what its class character and trajectory were.”

In an insurrection in February 1979, workers, peasants, and other popular forces had toppled the U.S.-backed Iranian monarchy of the shah. The government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini came to power on the crest of that revolutionary upheaval and, in the absence of working-class leadership strong enough to lead workers and farmers to take power, was able to consolidate the capitalist Islamic Republic that stifled and eventually reversed many of the gains of the 1979 revolution.

6. Fatah is the dominant political group in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was formed in 1964 and led the Palestinian national liberation struggle for several decades. For more on the political evolution of the PLO, see “Washington’s Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III” by Jack Barnes in *New International* no. 7, pp. 87–90.

7. The resolution, “The World Crisis of Imperialism and the Contradictory Dynamics of the Labor Vanguard,” was adopted at the Socialist Workers Party’s national convention in June 2006.

8. Golda Meir (1898–1978) served as Israel’s prime minister from 1969 to 1974. Moshe Dayan was commander of the Haganah forces in the 1948 war that played a central role in the dispossession of the Palestinian people and establishment of the state of Israel. He was commander-in-chief of the Israeli army (1953–58) and defense minister (1967–73).

9. The reference is to the 1994 book *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray. The book seeks to provide a “statistical” and “scientific” rationalization for the wealth and high income of middle-class and professional layers by arguing that these and other privileges are rewards for being smarter. According to the authors, as you move from lower to higher test results along a statistical distribution of IQs (the “bell curve”), those in the upper middle classes (the “the cognitive elite”)—due to “innate” intelligence—will be bunched at the right, or “smarter,” end. The authors contend that Jews, “specifically, Ashkenazi Jews of European origins,” are more intelligent on average than other people, thus explaining “their disproportionate level of success.”

10. For an explanation of the shift under way in the global deployment and structure of U.S. imperialism’s armed forces and its military strategy, see “Their Transformation and Ours,” a resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its 2005 convention. It is published in *New International* no. 12.

## *Fascism: not a form of capitalism but a way to maintain capitalist rule*

*The following is an excerpt from the section “Capitalism and fascism” from a November 1992 talk published in Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes. Copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*

### BY JACK BARNES

In [his book] *Teamster Politics*, Farrell [Dobbs] explains how small fascist outfits began to grow in this country in response to the deep economic and social crisis and the rise of workers’ struggles in the 1930s. “Clashes between capital and labor in times of social crisis tend to stimulate activity among political demagogues with a fascist mentality,” he wrote. “They anticipate that intensification of the class struggle will cause sections of the ruling class to turn away from parliamentary democracy and its methods of rule, and resort to fascism as the way to hold on to state power and protect special privilege.”

Farrell understood that if workers are misled into believing there is some choice between capitalism as they know it and some qualitatively

worse form of capitalism called fascism, then the argument to choose capitalism as it is—and even to fight to defend it under certain conditions—can appear strong. For decades, that is the way the Stalinists have miseducated working people, convincing them to subordinate their own class interests and organizations to various bourgeois parties and governments—to prevent something worse from happening. There are the “democratic capitalists” and the fascists, the Stalinists say, so workers must support the democratic capitalists in order to stop the fascists.

But fascism is precisely a movement set in motion and financed by sections of the ruling class in desperate circumstances in order to maintain capitalist rule. It is not an alternative to “democratic capitalism”; it is *bred* by “democratic capitalism.” When workers understand what fascism really is, then the enormity of the responsibility to get rid of capitalism—a task only the working class can organize and lead—becomes that much clearer.

When we say that fascism is not a *form* of capitalist rule, but a way of *maintaining* capitalist rule, we do so in order to stress that fascism is not a way of organizing capitalism. Instead, it is a

radical petty-bourgeois movement in the streets—the most horrible, malignant such movement in history. Banal, mediocre, figures—but ones adept at radical demagoguery, nationalism, phrase-mongering, and organization—rise to leadership in these movements. Thugs rise among the cadres. The fascists ape much of the language of currents in the workers movement. “Nazi” was short for National Socialist German Workers Party.

These movements never begin with broad ruling-class support. At first, the rulers in their majority alternately scorn and fear this rowdy “rabble”; only handfuls of capitalists back them at the outset. But as the bourgeoisie become convinced they confront an irresolvable social crisis, and as the working class puts up an increasingly serious challenge to capitalist rule itself, growing layers of the exploiters start supporting, or tolerating, the fascists in order to try to smash the workers and their organizations. That is the job the fascists are finally enlisted to do by the bourgeoisie when the threat to capitalist rule reaches a certain threshold.