

# CHALLENGE



THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

volume 47 no.15

July 29, 2015

suggested donation \$0.50

## RACISM EXPELS WORKERS FROM DR



NYC



HAITI

**PORT-AU-PRINCE** — The hot-button subject in the Dominican Republic is the racist “hunt for Haitians.” The current attack, reminiscent of the 1937 “Parsley Massacre” of up to 50,000 Haitian sugar cane workers, has led to the deportation of 40,000 people to Haiti in the first quarter of 2015 alone (Guardian, 6/16/15). As workers are expelled or flee in terror, they move from capitalist oppression in the DR to what is often an even worse plight in Haiti. They are the living proof that national borders serve only the capitalist ruling class.

PLP, our international communist party, has joined anti-racist struggles in support of our Haitian sisters and brothers, both here and the U.S. In Brooklyn, PLP connected the racist deportations in DR to the racist deportations and killings of Black and Latin youth in the U.S. In Port-au-Prince, comrades held demonstrations and conferences attacking the racist bosses on both sides of the island of Hispaniola.

### KKKourts Ordain Racism

In 2013, the DR bosses’ highest court broke their own constitution to withdraw citizenship from tens of thousands of people born in the Dominican since 1929 to migrant parents. The new law was blatantly aimed at workers of Haitian descent, who represent 80 percent of the so-called foreign population.

While the court ruling was later modified by the national legislature, the Dominican ruling class continues to use the state apparatus to blame workers of Haitian heritage for mounting unemployment—the perpetual crisis of capitalism. Anti-Haitian racism also serves as a smokescreen for corruption charges against present and past DR governments. Most damaging of all, it divides the working class along nationalist lines.

### Two Flags, Same Exploitation

In both the DR and Haiti, workers have lined up behind their respective bosses’ flags, a sure disaster. Appeals to nationalism and racism are the bosses’ main weapon to sow disunity within our class. Haitian workers are super-exploited by Dominican bosses on both sides of the island, from agricultural and construction workers in the DR to factory workers in free-trade-zone shops owned by Dominican-Haitian capitalist partnerships. And these same Dominican bosses exploit Dominican workers on “their side” of the island.

Meanwhile, thousands of more recent Haitian immigrants have fled the DR “voluntarily,” not daring to wait for more brutality. In some cases, their documents proving legal residence were torn up in front of them by soldiers and immigration agents. Others, in the DR for decades and with children and grandchildren born there, are anxiously waiting; they have few remaining ties to Haiti and speak only Spanish.

The Haitian government has done nothing about this crisis. Recently, their ministers met at the Royal Oasis, one of five luxury hotels built since the 2010 earthquake in the capital’s suburbs—with money that should have gone to housing for the earthquake’s victims. The ministers’ big plan was to set up a handful of tents in the border areas to receive refugees from the DR crisis. Much like the earthquake victims, these refugees have no jobs, no services, no hope.

### Teaching Nationalist Poison

The Dominican and Haitian ruling classes are in competition to profit off the backs of workers. In the DR, the bosses’ education system is riddled with racism. It poisons working-class children with the nationalist

myth that people of Haitian descent are to blame for all the ills of their society. For their part, the Haitian bosses and their politicians do their best to keep the working class in the dark with barely functioning schools. Dominican workers are taught to persecute Haitian workers, while Haitian workers are taught that they are hated by Dominicans and should respond in kind. The workers’ natural class hatred toward the bosses is subverted by racism and division.

Whether in the DR or Haiti, the local ruling classes—backed by imperialist powers like the U.S.—could not care less about workers’ deaths and dislocation. Their only concern is to make more profit. For Haitian workers, the attack is doubled. In addition to laboring under subhuman conditions for miserable wages (earning 50 to 60 percent less than Dominicans for the same work), and experiencing racist humiliation on a daily basis, they may be hanged, burned alive, lynched or shot. Historically, these atrocities have broken out whenever tensions rise between the two countries’ rulers. Haitian bosses invest their capital in the DR, while Dominican bosses make their bread and butter in both Haiti and the DR.

### Communism Will Smash All Borders

As long as nationalism, individualism, selfishness and capitalist inequality exist, racism will flourish. The capitalists will use it as a weapon to divide and dominate the working class. This is why communists in Progressive Labor Party fight against racism and sexism in thought and deed. We organize to build communist consciousness in anti-racist struggles. We struggle for a world of equality. Smash racism and nationalism! Fight for communism!✊

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

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# OUR FIGHT

★Progressive Labor Party (PLP) fights to destroy capitalism and the dictatorship of the capitalist class. We organize workers, soldiers and youth into a revolutionary movement for communism.

★Only the dictatorship of the working class — communism — can provide a lasting solution to the disaster that is today’s world for billions of people. This cannot be done through electoral politics, but requires a revolutionary movement and a mass Red Army led by PLP.

★Worldwide capitalism, in its relentless drive for profit, inevitably leads to war, fascism, poverty, disease, starvation and environmental destruction. The capitalist class, through its state power — governments, armies, police, schools and culture — maintains a dictatorship over the world’s workers. The capitalist dictatorship supports, and is supported by, the anti-working-class ideologies of racism, sexism, nationalism, individualism and religion.

★While the bosses and their mouthpieces claim “communism is dead,” capitalism is the real failure for billions worldwide. Capitalism returned to Russia and China because socialism retained many aspects of the profit system, like wages and privileges. Russia and China did not establish communism.

★Communism means working collectively to build a worker-run society. We will abolish work for wages, money and profits. While capitalism needs unemployment, communism needs everyone to contribute and share in society’s benefits and burdens.

★Communism means abolishing racism and the concept of “race.” Capitalism uses racism to super-exploit Black, Latin, Asian and indigenous workers, and to divide the entire working class.

★Communism means abolishing the special oppression of women — sexism — and divisive gender roles created by the class society.

★Communism means abolishing nations and nationalism. One international working class, one world, one Party.

★Communism means that the minds of millions of workers must become free from religion’s false promises, unscientific thinking and poisonous ideology. Communism will triumph when the masses of workers can use the science of dialectical materialism to understand, analyze and change the world to meet their needs and aspirations.

★Communism means the Party leads every aspect of society. For this to work, millions of workers — eventually everyone — must become communist organizers. Join Us!

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## WHO WRITES FOR CHALLENGE?

The fact that CHALLENGE/PLP articles are not signed grows from PLP’s criticism of the cult of the individual in the former socialist Soviet Union and China. We do not want to encourage the possibility of building up a “following” around any particular individual.

While an article may be written by one person, the final version is based on collective discussion and criticism. Many times this collective discussion even precedes an individual’s writing of an article.

CHALLENGE/DESAFIO (ISSN 0009-1049) published bi-weekly by Challenge Periodicals. 1 issue \$0.50. One Year: \$15. Six months: \$10. Send address changes to CHALLENGE Periodicals, GPO Box 808 Brooklyn, NY 11202, July 29, 2015. Volume 47, No. 15

# Editorial

# U.S. Bosses Face Russian Roulette

*When the leaders speak of peace  
The common folk know  
That war is coming.  
When the leaders curse war  
The mobilization order is already written out.*  
-Bertolt Brecht, A German War Primer

Around the planet, the potential for global war among imperialists is escalating—and with it the threat of devastation for the international working class. At the moment, the Russian rulers loom as the U.S. bosses’ sharpest rivals. As Russia pursues an undeclared war with NATO ally Ukraine and moving nuclear-capable weapons near NATO borders, the Pentagon prepares to mobilize heavy weaponry and up to 5,000 troops in the Baltic states and former Eastern Bloc. Tensions between the two imperialist powers are higher than at any time since the Cold War. Seeking both battlefield superiority and game-changing alliances, they seem to be on a collision course.

Imperialist war is essential to capitalism. Rival capitalists must either expand their profit-making empires or fall to one of their rivals, a competition that creates constant instability and periodic crises. Each day, even during “peacetime,” this grow-or-die behavior devastates hundreds of millions of workers. It will end only when millions throughout the world join and help to lead a mass Progressive Labor Party, and to smash this racist, sexist, and imperialist profit system with armed communist revolution.

## The Russians Are Coming

When Barack Obama nominated General Joe Dunford to be chairman of the Pentagon’s Joint Chiefs of Staff, it reflected the imperialist needs of the biggest U.S. capitalists. According to the Wall Street Journal (7/10/15), Dunford told Congress:

*Russia poses the biggest threat to U.S. national security....Amid potential threats that include China, Islamic State, Iranian influence across the Middle East and other challenges...If you want to talk about a nation that could pose an existential threat to the United States, you’d have to point to Russia,” Gen. Dunford said....North Korea, China and Islamic State are what he ranks as the second, third and fourth among potential security challenges.*

Dunford’s remarks echoed those made the same day by a leading bank for U.S. imperialism. As Business Insider reported (7/10/15):

*The Russia-NATO confrontation is becoming one of the defining aspects of the global strategic landscape. And according to the head of Goldman Sachs’s Office of Global Security, the situation is going to remain tense — or even intensify. Robert Dannenberg, who is also a 24-year CIA veteran, believes that Russia is the top strategic threat from a U.S. perspective. “We are in an extraordinarily dangerous time right now because both Russia and NATO are starting to exercise substantial military activity in close proximity to each other.”*

While military buildups by both sides in Europe are heavily publicized, it’s less well known that “U.S. Army Alaska troops...have been taking part in a massive training exercise stretching from Alaska to Australia. Training exercise Talisman Saber involves over 33,000 military personnel from three continents” (Alaska Public Media, 7/10/15). This U.S.-led rehearsal targets both Russia and China with “airborne operations...uncommon...since World War II...The goal is to be able to drop an instant fighting force on the other side of the world within 24 hours” (APM).

## Courting India

While U.S. rulers are glad to have Australia as a coalition partner, their bigger wish is to count India and its billion-plus population as an ally. But the bosses of Russia and China may have a better offer for India’s bosses. BRICS, an anti-U.S. economic coalition of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, recently founded its own bank to challenge the U.S.-backed IMF and World Bank. As the imperialists in

Russia court allies of their own, BRICS is also developing a military alliance.

*India is set to become a full-fledged member of the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation (SCO), a Eurasian political and military alliance that includes China and most of Central Asia, Russian President Vladimir Putin said yesterday.*

*“Under your (Putin’s) leadership in BRICS, India has become a member of SCO. I am very grateful,” the [Indian] prime minister said (Gulf Times, 7/9/15).*

## Unite Soldiers, Workers, Students

Another challenge to the U.S. rulers’ global war schemes comes from within, and it is one that PLP members and friends can use to our advantage. While regular U.S. army troops rehearse a European invasion with large-scale tank exercises at Fort Riley, Kansas, U.S. Special Forces are practicing a counterinsurgency Operation “Jade Helm” at bases throughout the U.S. Southwest. Many workers in the Southwest furiously oppose Jade Helm as an attempt to impose Ferguson-style federal martial law. States like Texas, Virginia, Georgia, Idaho, and the Carolinas provide U.S. rulers with the bulk of their enlisted cannon fodder. Many of these soldiers are white workers temporarily under the influence of racism and false ideologies like libertarianism. These bad ideas obscure the real source of their suffering: capitalism.

There is more immediate opportunity, however, in the hundreds of thousands of GIs who reject the Obama/Bush/Clinton/Exxon/JP Morgan/Goldman agenda for imperialist war and fascist control at home. By focusing its organizing efforts on students, industrial workers and soldiers, PLP is the one force capable of uniting these GIs with U.S. workers in the South and Southwest who are frustrated by mass unemployment, and with working-class Black, Latin and immigrant class sisters and brothers who face intensifying racist terror.

All the elections in the world cannot settle the imperialists’ disputes. The wars to come will be more devastating than any the world has ever seen. World War I and World War II were both settled by revolutions led by communists. PLP is building an international mass movement of millions to finish the job and smash the capitalist profit system once and for all. Join us!✪



# On the Job, In the Streets Smash Bosses' Terror

**PAKISTAN, July 15** — Pakistan is moving along a bloody path established by the capitalist bosses for their long- and short-term interests. The bosses need fear, chaos and unrest in the country to keep the working class silent on their exploitation and poverty. The bosses pit workers against each other by using nationalism, fundamentalism, sexism, racism and the false concept of ethnicity. Women workers are super-exploited, earning little or no pay and often working under subhuman conditions. All of these divisions are an attempt to circumvent our unity. PLP is fighting to unite workers to challenge the bosses.

## Racist Massacres

The recent massacre of Pakhtoons (pashtuns) in Baluchistan, where about 40 working-class travellers were killed brutally after being abducted from two public busses, is another attempt by the bosses to generate perpetual violence. Baluchistan has two main ethnic groups, the Baluchs and Pakhtoons, that lived

together peacefully for many years. After killing thousands of innocent working-class people in the name of religion, the imperialist bosses and their puppets launched a new strategy in Baluchistan: to divide these two groups. Baluch separatists, funded by imperialist bosses, executed the killings. PLP asserts that nationalism is a tool used by imperialism to further the bosses' interests throughout the world.

In 2015, 30 Baluchistan coal miners were killed by terrorists while sleeping in tents in Turbat, Baluchistan. These miners work hard to produce profit for bosses without any safety equipment and with outmoded, dangerous techniques. After this heinous attack, it was proved that security personnel aided the terrorists.

In Karachi, more than 250 workers were burned alive in a Bladia town garment factory after the factory owners refused to pay extortion money to a racist political party. Soon after that barbaric act, the culprit was arrested by some brave security officials, but his affilia-

tion with the party was suppressed. Bosses are always protecting each other one way or another.

Capitalist bosses need profit, above all. By avoiding direct clashes with nationalist and religious terrorists that might threaten their investments, the bosses are protecting their money at the cost of workers' lives. They are also giving funds and support to the nationalist and religious terrorists because they want to keep oppressing and killing workers.

Capitalism breeds nationalism, sexism, racism, fundamentalism and ethnic divisions to keep workers from uniting. Elections are used to deepen these divisions.

We cannot get rid of all these capitalist evils without uniting workers worldwide for an international communist revolution. We know that capitalism has to die. Let us struggle hard under the red banner of the international revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party to make communism a reality.✊

## Students, Workers Target Wage-Slave Traders

**TEL AVIV, July 10** — Workers here are waging a fight against contract work and demanding direct employment, a boss-worker relationship without an intermediary agency that pay substandard wages. PLP's involvement in this reform struggle can help win workers to communist politics.

A group of contract workers and fighters of the National Coalition for Direct Employment walked through downtown Tel Aviv, marking the pavement with chalk in front of businesses and government offices that employ contract workers. Several PLers, one of whom is active in the Coalition, took part in the activity.

On June 18, we also rode the train from Be'er Sheva to Haifa and back, talking with passengers and showing videos about the contract workers' plight. The response was enthusiastic. Most passengers were strongly opposed to the capitalist practice of contract employment. Most fighters in the Coalition were social work students and their teachers. Instead of merely discussing the horrors of capitalism inside class, they came out to the streets to challenge this exploitation.

Contract labor is a relatively new form of super-exploitation of workers, first emerging in the late 1980's after "structural adjustments"—that is, big cutbacks by the racist Israeli bosses. A contractor boss — a wage-slave trader — hires workers, typically for minimum wage or a little more, and rents them out to various businesses and government offices. This outsourcing is designed to cut costs at the workers' expense. A contract worker rarely gets even those minimal rights prescribed by the bosses' laws. In addition, contract labor enables bosses to deny responsibility for dangerous and miser-

able working conditions.

## Capitalism Dehumanizes Workers

Contract work, like all wage labor under capitalism, is a way for bosses to dehumanize workers and treat them as commodities. But contract work also is a way to break organized labor and to give the lowest possible pay for the most work they can squeeze out of us. Both the actual employer and the contractor make big profits while we workers pay the contractors to exploit us. That is why the Coalition came to shame these exploiters and mark them in public as the wage-slave owners they are. Of course, the bosses' state intervened. City Hall enforcement cops fined some of us, but we paid the fine and continued to mark the pavements in front of the businesses.

Fightback is important for building working-class consciousness in Israel-Palestine. The big strength of the Coalition is its inclusive nature. It treats all people as comrades and partners for change. But it does have weaknesses, mainly its reformist focus on changing contract employment to direct employment. It fails to recognize that all work under capitalism is exploitative.

Inside the Coalition, we are building a base and putting forward revolutionary communist politics. Exploitation can be smashed only by a communist revolution. The bosses' murderous profit system must be replaced by a workers' state, where we the working class will run society. Friends in the Coalition want our class to work with dignity. For that, we need communism. Through this struggle, we are winning workers to join PLP.✊

## Working Class Rejects Bosses War Plans

**TOKYO, JAPAN, July 13** — Thousands are rallying here every week to protest ruling-class plans to expand the country's military.

Led by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan's leading bosses hope to intensify nationalism and its military powers. China and North Korea's rulers have recently tested the waters long dominated by the U.S. military with island building and military tests. Japan's bosses are using fear about these growing confrontations to revise Japan's constitution and long-held position as a "pacifist" country with a tiny military ("defense force").

Since World War II, Japan has been home to many military bases for the U.S., and provided funding for their imperial-

ist efforts. But workers in Japan are refusing to accept the local bosses' war plans. Young and old, women and men, rain or shine, they are in the streets saying no to Abe & Co's plans.

Many of the youth at the rallies connected the growth of war with racism and fascism. Some working-class women took leadership at these marches by giving speeches and distributing fliers.

There needs to be millions of workers in the streets, on strike and refusing orders in the barracks. And even then, capitalism's relentless drive for profits will lead to war. That's why from Japan to Iraq, this whole system must be smashed.✊



**The protesters in the picture above here have shirts that read "Tokyo Against Fascism" and "War Against War"**

**The sign in Japanese reads "Don't Kill"**

**Below are some of the thousands then turned out to protest.**





# Haiti: Century of Resistance to U.S. Imperialism



A 2012 student demonstration in Haiti. Banner reads, “Join the fight against injustice, insecurity, poor studying conditions, cholera, and MINUSTAH.”

This month marks the 100th anniversary of the U.S. bosses’ first occupation of Haiti. The Haitian rulers and their international masters are celebrating a century of imperialist plunder with a CARIFESTA, a Caribbean Festival of Arts. But Haitian workers and students are fed up! U.S. imperialism has created the recurrent crises that have plagued the Haitian working class since 1915, including the current wave of racist expulsions of workers of Haitian descent from the Dominican Republic (see front page).

Which leads to some questions: How do the imperialists maintain their domination? And, most important: Is a communist-led working class ready to abolish this brutal exploitation?

### Betrayal and Slave Labor

The twenty-year U.S. occupation of Haiti (1915-1934), backed by the local Haitian ruling class, was part of a regional imperialist strategy. In 1898, the U.S. annexed Cuba and Puerto Rico as spoils of the Spanish-

American War. In 1910, after failing in previous attempts to take over Haiti and the Dominican Republic, U.S. rulers used the Rockefeller-owned National City Bank to lend large sums and gain a controlling interest in the Banque Nationale d’Haïti. The U.S. plan was for Haiti to use these funds to pay off its crushing debt to France, compensation for France’s loss of slaves and other property in Haiti’s revolt for independence (1791-1804). In return, France would recognize Haiti as a sovereign republic—and reduce European influence in what the U.S. considered its own backyard since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Then, in 1914, the U.S. opened the Panama Canal to control critical shipping routes.

On July 28, 1915, under the cover of protecting U.S. lives, businesses and property from the instability of Haitian politics, a battalion of 330 U.S. Marines debarked in Port-au-Prince and marched to take over the Banque Nationale d’Haïti and the Customs Office. With the U.S. ruling class effectively in control of the Haitian

Fight the imperialists,  
local capitalists  
and their lackeys.

state and economy, the Haitian constitution was rewritten to permit foreign nationals to legally own property. The imperialists also established the corvée, literally kidnapping rural residents for slave labor to build roads, railroads and other infrastructure. The Marines administered provincial governments and dressed as officers (with second salaries) of the newly formed Haitian national police force, or Gendarmerie. Many of the Marines were Southerners and avowed racists. They vigorously carried out the racist policies of U.S. imperialism, including rape and theft.

### Rebels vs. Racketeers

They were not unopposed, however. Rural fighters known as Cacos, who had rebelled for decades against the abuses of the grandons, or local landowners, picked up arms once again and for years fought a valiant guerrilla war against the Marines. But they were outnumbered and outgunned, and restricted to small-scale acts of resistance.

The formal U.S. occupation lasted until 1934. In 1935, Marine Corps Major General Smedley Butler exposed the role of U.S. imperialism in Haiti and elsewhere in a speech and booklet titled “War Is a Racket.” Butler admitted that he was a “high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. I was a racketeer for capitalism.”

The real occupation of Haiti continues to this day. With the collaboration of the local Haitian bosses, the U.S. Embassy continues to call all the shots. It directs rigged elections through the Organization of American States. It determines how the capitalists exploit workers through CARICOM, the Caribbean Community and Common Market. The all-powerful arm of imperialism generates the political and economic crises that have made Haiti the poorest country in the Americas.

### Two Languages, Same People

The working class of Haiti has a long and proud history of fighting back. Haitian slaves defied the slaveholders and colonialists and freed themselves from chattel slavery in 1794, 69 years before revolts and civil war compelled U.S. rulers to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1804, Haiti’s workers won a hard-fought battle for independence, only to become wage slaves of the capitalist class and their local lackeys.

The capitalist bosses, whether based in the U.S. or France or Canada, have created the current crisis that is forcing Haitian-Dominicans from the Dominican Republic. The capitalists feed off anti-Haitian racism to justify their continued domination of Haiti and the super-exploitation of workers identified as Haitian. They use the Dominican Republic to further their accumulation of wealth.

Even more devastating to the working class, the rulers use racism to sow disunity between Haitian and Dominican workers, who are the same people with different languages. This racist divide-and-conquer strategy hurts workers in both sides of the island. The capitalist strategy is clear: to prevent workers from uniting to fight their common enemy.

### Smash All Bosses, Big and Small

On July 28, Haitian workers and students must commemorate one hundred years of U.S. occupation by organizing a sustained fightback against racism and exploitive free trade zones. Fight the imperialists, local capitalists and their lackeys.

We must fight against hunger and for clean water, affordable housing, and free and decent education and health care. Most important, workers in Haiti and elsewhere must build their revolutionary communist party—the Progressive Labor Party—to once and for all smash the profit system and transform society into a communist world, where workers rule the earth.

Forget CARIFESTA! We stand on the shoulders of giants! Fight for communism today and every day! Build PLP!✊

## Black-White Unity Cripples Warmakers



Multi-racial unity slams scabs in 1967 strike shutting the world’s largest shipbuilder in Newport News, Virginia. Ignited by a wildcat walkout led by over 200 Black workers in the key transportation department, it was joined by 14,000 Black and white workers who defied the bosses’ “national interest” by refusing to service U.S. Navy aircraft carriers during the Vietnam War. Said one police official, “They attacked us like they were brothers.” The working class needs the same multiracial solidarity today.✊



# Black Nationalism Fails Black Workers

As the Movement for Black Lives gathers for its founding convention in Cleveland, its rank-and-file stands at a fork in the road. If they follow the Movement's leadership and splinter into a Black group with non-Black "allies," they will move onto the dead-end path of nationalism and reformism—and, inevitably, into the capitalist bosses' camp. From Haiti and Indonesia to South Africa and the Congo, from Vietnam's National Liberation Front to the Black Panther Party in the U.S. (see CHALLENGE, p. 6), nationalism has derailed workers' revolts and led them to death and exploitation by a new set of bosses.

By dividing us, nationalism conquers us.

But there is another choice for all workers: Black, Latin, Asian and white. It is the path of multiracial unity of the international working class, the only force that can end racism and ultimately smash capitalism with communist revolution. Progressive Labor Party is taking that path. Over the last fifty years, we have built a multiracial movement and fought racism and sexism in the streets, in factories and hospitals, in schools and colleges (see CHALLENGE, p. 8). Struggle has taught us there are no good bosses, regardless of color or nationalist identification. The latest wave of rebellion keeps teaching us that multiracial unity is indispensable and non-negotiable.

## Black Lives Matter, Plus and Minus

As a leading element in the Movement for Black Lives, Black Lives Matter is faced with a contradiction—with a progressive appearance masking a pro-capitalist essence. Founded by three women after George Zimmerman was acquitted of murdering Trayvon Martin in 2013, the group has recognized both the special oppression of women and the role Black women have played as a driving force in workers' struggles. It has helped to galvanize thousands of honest, anti-racist workers and youth—of all "races"—to the resistance against murders-by-cop. Black workers' militant struggle has reverberated from Ferguson to Brazil to London to Israel; a global movement now looks to the U.S. Black working class for leadership. These are all very positive things.

But Black Lives Matter is fatally compromised by its capitalist ideas. Its emphasis on identity politics caters to capitalist individualism over working-class consciousness. The group has taken millions of dollars from its most notorious "ally," liberal billionaire George Soros, who is best known for exporting capitalist "democracy" and diverting workers' fightback into support for U.S. imperialism. As the Washington Times noted, "Soros-sponsored organizations helped mobilize protests in Ferguson, building grass-roots coalitions on the ground backed by a nationwide online and social media campaign" (1/24/15).

## Black Nationalism: Just Another Jail

Class collaboration with the bosses works hand in hand with nationalist ideology. On its website, Black Lives Matter declares that it "goes beyond the narrow nationalism that can be prevalent within Black communities." Then it proceeds to call itself "a tactic to (re)build the Black liberation movement."

But Black workers don't need a new Black liberation movement; the old one gave rise to pro-boss sellouts like Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson. What's needed is an alternative to a capitalist system that uses racism to super-exploit Black workers for super-profits—and to divide Black and white workers who need each other to bring the system down.

Like all workers, Black workers need communism, a system organized around workers' needs. A society where the basis of racism and sexism—exploitation and inequality—will join the bosses in the dustbin of history.

Despite his reformist flaws, Martin Luther King understood how nationalism and separation play into the bosses' hands, and how they undermine our class's common goal of a society organized around workers' needs. In his 1965 address at the end of the Selma to Montgomery march, he said:

"Racial segregation as a way of life did not come about as a natural result of hatred between the races immediately after the Civil War. There were no laws segregating the races then....[T]he segregation of



Protests in Baltimore following the non-indictment of Darren Wilson for the racist murder of Mike Brown. Black workers lead the way to revolution.

the races was really a political stratagem employed by the emerging Bourbon interests in the South to keep the southern masses divided and southern labor the cheapest in the land. You see, it was a simple thing to keep the poor white masses working for near-starvation wages in the years that followed the Civil War. Why, if the poor white plantation or mill worker became dissatisfied with his low wages, the plantation or mill owner would merely threaten to fire him and hire former Negro slaves and pay him even less. Thus, the southern wage level was kept almost unbearably low."

After the Civil War, King noted, as the poor white masses and former Black slaves moved to unite politically, the Southern ruling class "began immediately to engineer this development of a segregated society....

Through their control of mass media, they revised the doctrine of white supremacy....They then directed the placement on the books of the South of laws that made it a crime for Negroes and whites to come together as equals at any level."

In a reference to the legalized segregation in the South known as Jim Crow, King added: "If it may be said of the slavery era that the white man took the world and gave the Negro Jesus, then it may be said of the Reconstruction era that the southern aristocracy took the world and gave the poor white man Jim Crow."

Let's not do the bosses' job for them. Let's stay united, Black and white, Asian and Latin, as we fight together against racism and for a communist world!✊

## Anti-Racist Upsurge Goes International



### THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS, July 2

Three days of rebellion broke out after the kkkops murdered a Black tourist. The uprising in Ferguson, Missouri has spread beyond the borders of the U.S., setting the tone for a militant fight against global racist terror aimed at Black workers.

A multiracial group of young workers, out to enjoy a concert, witnessed the brutal murder. They saw the cops charge a concert-goer named Mitch Henriquez. Subsequently, five of the kkkops pinned Mitch down and choked him to death on the street. The workers responded immediately, organizing a march that turned into a battle with the police. When the Rebels

cornered one group of police, the cops had to fire live warning shots at the crowd to escape justice. For three days the country's largest city, Amsterdam, was shut down as rebels kept battling the kkkops.

These anti-racist, multiracial rebellions are inspiring our working-class sisters and brothers to realize our potential to defeat our oppressors and their racist system. Battles like these teach us how to fight and build unity for war. The next step in our battle is for workers to join the revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party and the movement to create a new world run by and for workers, not the ruling-class parasites.✊



# LETTERS

We encourage all CHALLENGE readers to send in letters and articles about their experiences fighting the bosses worldwide.

## A Hundred Anti-Racist Conversations

I am a member of the Kyam Livingston Justice Committee and have been active in meetings and demonstrations for 23 months. I've been constantly bringing the news back to the church I attend.

At a recent church convention, I discussed this struggle with more than 100 people in individual conversations. I was wearing a "Justice for Kyam Livingston" t-shirt with dozens of anti-racism buttons attached around her picture.

I did not need to approach other people; they came over to me. I told them the story of how she had died in police custody due to medical neglect and most people gave me a donation towards the struggle, for which I gave them an anti-racism button. They told me stories about the heinous crimes of this system against all workers — whether it was the mentally ill, the poor, women, gays, underpaid workers, undocumented immigrants.

I am more impressed than ever that the road to developing a movement is always through the working class. We should always be talking to people, no matter if we meet with them for two minutes or an hour. No matter if we see them regularly or only once in a while. We have a world to gain and only our fears and chains to lose.

★★★★

## FDR Needed Lynchers

One could add to the excellent article exposing the massive lynchings of Black people in the U.S. (CHALLENGE, 7/1) to reveal how President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) refused to support the anti-lynching campaign mounted during his four-team presidency. During the 1930s and '40s, communists led a movement to pass an anti-lynching law but Roosevelt refused to back it. With the Great Depression sparking ideas of revolution against capitalism, he collaborated with the racist Southern Senators "to save the system":

"Several thousand blacks were killed by lynching in the United States.... Southern Senators angrily filibustered [the legislation] and FDR...refus[ed] to throw his support behind the measure....Roosevelt said, 'I've got to get legislation passed...to save America. The Southerners...occupy strategic places on most of the Senate and House committees. If I come out for the anti-lynching bill...they will block every bill...to keep America from collapsing' (David Kennedy, Freedom from Fear, 1929-1945; p. 210).

Roosevelt has been hailed by liberal historians as a "friend of the working people," but his "New Deal did little to advance the cause of racial equality in America" ("Race in FDR's New Deal," Shmoop.com). His alliance with Southern racists ensured the super-exploitation of Black people. "Domestic workers and agricultural laborers — the leading employment sectors for black women and men respectively — were excluded from many of the benefits of labor legislation and social security" (Lorena Hickok, et. al., One-Third of A Nation: Reports on the Great Depression; U. of Illinois, 1981, p. 154).

No matter what reforms were instituted to save capitalism — most of which were the product of militant, communist-led mass movements — Roosevelt followed the path of main-

taining the profit system to continue the exploitation of the working class, and especially of Black workers.

★★★★

## Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Counter-Revolution

Both the film, The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution, and the related letter in CHALLENGE (July 15) mostly overlook the main weakness of the Black Panther Party: an ideology of Black nationalism and guerrilla adventurism. By contrast, Progressive Labor Party stands for multiracial, internationalist, working-class unity and mass revolutionary violence.

PLP understands that all forms of nationalism spring directly from capitalism. Nationalism—along with racism and sexism, its partners in crime—is the bosses' main tool to divide, deceive, and exploit the working class. It misleads workers into the fatal trap of false unity and identity with a group of bosses, whether defined by nationality or the anti-scientific concept of race.

The Panthers' corrupt ideology led inevitably to corruption in practice, from its top leaders' drug addictions and gutter sexism to Bobby Seale's mayoral candidacy in Oakland. It's no surprise that Seale has spent the last quarter-century as a barbecue entrepreneur—he was always a capitalist at heart. And it's no surprise that the New Black Panther Party endorsed Barack Obama for president in 2008. That's the end game for all nationalists: cutting opportunistic deals with mass-murdering enemies of the working class.

It should be noted that right-wing forces in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who would soon devolve into the Weathermen, used Black Panther Party forces to attack PLP. At the final SDS convention in 1969 in Chicago, when our Party won a majority of the organization to support the Worker Student Alliance and multi-racial unity in the fight against racism, the right-wingers had a BPP spokesman deliver a vicious, sexist speech attacking PLP.

Although the BPP paid lip service to the need for armed revolution and socialism, the organization's practice was essentially counter-revolutionary.

★★★★

## PL Exposes Phony Anti-Racists

I attended the annual Unitarian General Assembly hosted this year in Portland, Oregon, along with other PLP comrades. It was quite the event and I got to learn a lot about the politics of the Unitarian Church. Sadly, its politics, as with everything else in a capitalist society, are controlled by right-wing, ruling-class agents.

There were workshops that delegates and non-delegates could attend. The most reactionary and racist one was sponsored by the Diverse Revolutionary Unitarian Universalist Multicultural Ministries, or DRUUMM, and the Young Adult Office, called "You are home : Supporting Youths/Young Adults of Color." This was a clever con game try-

ing to come off as progressive, but it was anything but that.

The two moderators started by having a multiracial group of attendees identify themselves by the question: "What race do you consider yourself? Black, white, Asian, or other?"

People started going along with this nonsense. I raised my hand, and said, "Why is it so important to identify ourselves by designations created 300 years ago to justify slavery and oppression? Its outrageous for you to ask such a thing to divide us up! The only race is the human race!"

PLP lost out on getting a left-wing communist platform adopted, but we got out 100 CHALLENGEs, plus leaflets. Also, we made contacts, and got out communist ideas about the need for revolution globally! We will do better next time!

★★★★

## What I Learned at a Communist Wedding

You wouldn't know it was a communist wedding just by looking at it. But then came the clues. First, the officiant welcomed friends, family and comrades.

Then, he moved swiftly into a spiel on the sexist history of marriage, before promising the couple that, nevertheless, they could create a unique, equal union.

Weddings are built of stories. How a couple met, fell in love, what each of them is like. What their future holds, what their love means to each other and to the group.

And in a communist wedding, what their loves means to the revolutionary struggle.

"The ruling class of Los Angeles should be shaking in their boots," the officiant quipped. The crowd laughed. He was a very funny communist.

He quoted Karl Marx, Che Guevara, and even Jesus (the revolutionary).

The way some priests talk of God, this orator expounded on the dream of a communist future.

During her vows, the bride talked of how love blossomed when the couple went to Ferguson to protest after the non-indictment of Darren Wilson for Michael Brown's death and were arrested. The groom had himself locked up so he could be with her; he found a way to hold her hand in jail.

At a communist wedding, there are frequent references to protests, arrests and the police. Also: frequent praise for elders, now in their 60s.

I had believed communism was mostly ideological history, laid to rest after the Cold War. What could anyone find in it in now? I wondered.

The wedding had the answer. The guests behaved like a village, bound so tightly that it was hard to tell who was related by blood. They shared a bond of more than love. It's a common path.

For a Catholic at an atheist communist wedding, it felt oddly familiar to see love bound up in a belief about a life worth living.

I had to hand it to the happy couple. Who gets married these days not just to change their own lives, but the world?

★★★★



Masses of workers rebel in Athens against "austerity" cutbacks, European bankers, and phony leftist Greek prime minister, Alexis Tsipras—yet another capitalist sell-out politician.

# McFarland USA Runs on Nationalism

Superficially, *McFarland USA* is another movie in a long line of “feel good” stories of sports teams (typically made up of Black, Latin or Asian students) up against impossible odds, who somehow overcome them and emerge victorious (frequently with the help of a tough but caring white coach). The film details the story of the McFarland (California) High School cross-country team. The team did not even exist until 1987, when a seemingly washed-up, volatile coach who had been fired from a job in Boise, Idaho, arrives in McFarland with his family to take a job as a health and physical education teacher at the high school.

The coach, Jim White (played by Kevin Costner and sarcastically called “blanco” by his amused working-class Mexican students), soon realizes that the difficult working lives of his students require them to run everywhere. They run after class from the school to the fields to help their families pick cabbages and oranges. To get to work on time, they run on weekend mornings to reach the trucks that would otherwise take off without them. Smelling success, he organizes a cross-country squad of seven young men from his PE class.

The team is the victim of racist and anti-working class jibes (which White never takes on) from all-white teams from rich suburbs like Palo Alto. They place last in their first big meet because the other schools’ budgets give them the ability to practice in the mountainous areas that are frequently the meet sites, and the McFarland runners have run only on level tracks. So White has them practice running up and down mounds of almond shells near the fields. After months of hard practicing, an inspirational speech by White telling them why their working-class lives make their team tougher than anyone else around, and a tremendous

team effort, they win the state championship and silence the smart-mouth sons of the petty bourgeoisie.

Great, right? But things aren’t always what they seem to be. First, White and his family have a racist outlook when they arrive in McFarland, his daughter asking “We’re going to live in this dump?” White and his family stereotype the working-class youth as gangbangers who drive their noisy, low-riding cars through town at night for fun. When his oldest daughter (who later falls in love with one of the team members) is injured while with the team during a late-night run-in with other youth who attack them, White immediately assumes his team members are at fault. In fact, they risked their own safety to protect his daughter. But these reactions from the movie’s hero are made to seem innocent and natural.

Perhaps the emotional center of the movie is the singing of the U.S. national anthem by the players of all the teams just before the championship run. The camera pans White and all the McFarland players, their families and supporters proudly joining in. The message is clear: immigrant workers have just as much to feel loyal to as their suburban counterparts. This is also the message of the DREAM Act, the law that encourages immigrant youth to enlist in the U.S. military to obtain legal status.

## Movie Ignores Local Fightback

The movie shows nothing about the fightback of farmworkers against the horrendous working conditions they face. This reviewer participated in two Progressive Labor Party Summer Projects in McFarland, Delano and other California towns around the time of the events described in the movie. There was a sharp

struggle in the fields over low wages, long working hours, and the criminal use of dangerous pesticides by the growers, all of which grew out of a capitalist system which must produce food and other commodities for profit, not human need. McFarland and other towns in the San Joaquin Valley saw openly communist-led union organizing of farmworkers for the first time since the 1930s and ‘40s.

Starting in 1984, McFarland also became the center of a cluster of child leukemia cases. Rank-and-file farmworkers, with help from local researchers, were able to show that the most likely cause for these cancers was the gradual downward seepage of pesticides into the soil and then into the water supply. PLP and InCAR organized a campaign to put the growers’ profit motives on trial for the death of our young brothers and sisters. We pointed out the role of U.S. imperialism in forcing immigrant workers to choose between crossing the border and working under these dangerous conditions, and facing mass unemployment and starvation in their countries of birth.

The lesson of *McFarland, USA* is that, under capitalism, the media can never honestly address issues like exploitation, racism and sexism. That is because mass culture is run by money (for corporations like Disney, which made this movie), and inevitably reflects the dominant bourgeois ideology. So what we get instead is feel-good pap meant to mislead honest, anti-racist workers into supporting dangerous pro-boss ideas like patriotism. After a communist revolution, artistic creation will serve the working class by promoting communist values of class love and solidarity in the struggle for a world without borders, profits and exploitation.✪



## RED EYE ON THE NEWS . . .

Below are excerpts from mainstream newspapers that may be of use for our readers. Abbreviations: NYT=New York Times, GW=Guardian Weekly, LAT=Los Angeles Times

### Air pollution time bomb for millions

GW, 7/3 — A survey...by the World Health Organization found that Delhi was the most polluted city in the world....

The level was six times the WHO’s recommended maximum....

The worst hit...are children, particularly those aged between two and seven....Millions of children in India will suffer serious health problems later in life.

“If you look at lung function in children...there is significant decline with constant exposure. This will probably be irreversible....

Some suggest it is the equivalent of smoking around ten cigarettes per day. There is also a higher chance of developing coronary and arterial disease,” says Dr. Ran-deep Gularia, a lung specialist....

The WHO found India has the highest rate of death from respiratory disease....

Half of Delhi’s 4.4 million schoolchildren would never recover full lung capacity....

According to the WHO, 13 of the dirtiest 20 cities in the world are in India.

### Remember when PLP was condemned for criticizing Vietnam?

NYT, 7/6 — Vietnam is now an enthusiastically capitalist society....Vietnam is pushing the United States to officially recognize it as a market economy and [to] lift its embargo on the sale of lethal weapons to the country.

### South Africa rulers whitewash massacre of miners

GW, 7/3 — South Africa’s deputy president...has been cleared of responsibility for the police massacre of 34 striking mineworkers at the Marikana mine by a judicial commission of inquiry.

Other ministers do not have a case to answer either, according to the...report....

The killings at the British-owned Lonmin mine in the Platinum belt on 16 August 2012 marked the bloodiest massacre by South African security forces since the end of apartheid.

### U.S. backed coup in Honduras

GW, 7/3 — [letter] Nina Lakhani (Corruption scandal embroils Honduras, 19 June) states that Honduras had good quality government-run health-care until the military-backed coup and that corruption runs rampant as President Barack Obama urges millions in funding for anti-immigration measures.

Yet Lakhani is strangely silent on the U.S. role in the 2009 coup; even Hillary Clinton (in her memoir “Hard Choices”) admits that she used her powers to make sure elected president Manuel Zelaya would not return to power. Another U.S. “triumph” which we should not forget.

Christine Barnard, London, UK

### Rich get richer, inequality soars

NYT, 7/7 — “Some argue that we can close the income gap by pulling down the top,” New York’s governor Andrew Cuomo wrote in...The New York Times....“I believe we should do it by lifting up the bottom.”

It’s a nice thought....[but] there’s little reason to believe it will work....Let’s...imagine increasing the minimum wage to \$15 an hour for all workers....but [it’s] not enough to undo the escalation in the income gap....

...The top 10 percent would still have emerged from the 2009-2014 period with a substantially larger share of the increase in the nation’s income than the bottom 90 percent. Inequality would still have increased....

...Between 1992...and 2000, the last full year of Bill Clinton’s [administration], the average income of families in the bottom 90 percent grew by...15.4 percent. But the average income...in the top 10 percent grew by over 50 percent. (The average income of the top 1 percent nearly doubled.) Inequality between the bottom 90 percent and the top 10 percent increased substantially....

...[In] the Clinton years....a majority of the growth benefitted those in the top 10 percent, who took home nearly two-thirds of all the income gains as a group.

### Welcome to Hooverville, California

NYT, 7/6 — LOS ANGELES. The cost of housing is up



dramatically, and so is homelessness.

“If it feels like there are people living on the streets and under the bridges everywhere you look, it’s because there are...[website L.A. Curbed]...after a survey by the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority found an 85 percent increase in the number of people living in tents and cars over the past two years....

California has both the most “ultrarich” (people worth more than \$30 million) and the worst poverty rate in America...The gap between rich and poor has been building here for 40 years. Every boom and bust simply accentuates the trend.

### Phony stop-and-frisk figures in NYC

NYT, 7/10 — ...New York City police officers have been stopping people for questioning but not documenting the encounters..., calling into doubt the official accounting of a significant decline in stop-and-frisk activity, according to the first report of the federal monitor overseeing the Police Department....Late last year, the Police Department began...to find instances where stops were conducted but not recorded....increas[ing] to a high of nearly 20 percent in 2012.

MORE ITEMS AVAILABLE AT WWW.PLP.ORG



## PLP History

# Anti-Racism at Forefront of Communist Fightback



From left to right, Member of PLP rips off hood of Mississippi KKK's Grand Dragon Bill Wilkinson in October 1978.  
In 1973, Princeton students oppose Eugenicist Shockley's right to promote genocide.

To mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of Progressive Labor Party, CHALLENGE is publishing a series of articles on our Party's history, from its origins as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) to its presence today in more than two dozen countries worldwide. This is the second part of an article on PLP's historic fights against racism. The previous part discussed the Harlem Rebellion and PLP's leadership in fomenting it.

The Harlem Rebellion of 1964 raised the fight against racist oppression to a new level while exposing the class treason of Black reformist leadership. After Harlem, more than 100 cities in the U.S. felt the torch of rebellion. PL's leadership in this struggle set the tone for our unceasing fight against racism:

- From the 1970s to the current day, PLers have organized hundreds of attacks on the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis wherever they spread their racist garbage. Rejecting the pacifist mythology that these gutter racists would fade away if ignored, we have attacked them head-on—and confronted the capitalists' cops who protect them. We have mounted these anti-racist, multiracial actions in New York City, Baltimore, Washington, DC, Detroit and St. Louis. We've done the same in smaller communities like Tupelo, Mississippi; Scotland, Connecticut; Jamesburg and Morristown, New Jersey; and scores of cities and towns in California. We invaded the Nazis' headquarters in Chicago. We beat a white supremacist leader in a Boston television interview. These militant anti-KKK/Nazi actions have involved an estimated 100,000 or more workers and youth.
- On May Day, 1975, we mobilized 2,500 anti-racists in Boston to march against the segregationist, terrorist organization called ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights, accurately nicknamed Racists On A Rampage). When they physically attacked us, we routed them. We subsequently organized a summer project to combat ROAR's mob violence and its anti-busing racism. We integrated formerly all-white beaches, held anti-racist summer schools for Black children, and rallied to escort Black children into their first day of integrating formerly all-white schools. Our efforts smashed ROAR.
- On May Day, 1976, we marched into Chicago's Marquette Park, where Nazis had barred Black people. We integrated that neighborhood.
- Simultaneously, PLP exposed academic charlatans — like E.O. Wilson, Richard Herrnstein, and Arthur Jensen — who spewed racist filth about the "inferiority" of Black workers and the Nazi fantasy that unemployment was inherited in their genes. We mobilized demonstrations wherever these racists appeared, chased them off auditorium stages, and even poured a pitcher of water over Wilson's head in the middle of a lecture. (Our member called out, "Wilson, you're all wet!") PL's

position was clear and uncompromising: No free speech for racists.

- Throughout this period, PLP helped organize the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), a mass anti-racist, multiracial group that led many of these struggles.
- In Southern California, our Party has organized against the anti-immigrant Minute Men. We have gone to border towns to fight racist attacks on immigrant workers from Mexico, rallying support from citizen workers around the slogan, "Smash All Borders!"
- More recently, PLers have taken to the streets in Brooklyn and Los Angeles to protest the police murders of Black women, men, and youth by racist cops.
- Currently, PLP is advancing the protest against the cops' murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. We are raising our slogan — "Fight Like Ferguson!" — among thousands across the country. Our Party is building a movement for rebellion against racist police terror, not pacifist appeals to ruling-class officials from Barack Obama's Justice Department on down. We are doing the same in solidarity with workers and youth in Baltimore who are outraged by the cops' murder of Freddie Gray.

### Anti-Racism on the Shop Floor

PLP has consistently raised the issue of racism among organized workers to unite them against the bosses' racist attacks. In 1973, when a New York City Police Department undercover cop shot a Black 10-year-old in the back in Queens, a PLP club at the Ford auto plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, brought the atrocity onto the factory assembly line. Our Party petitioned the do-nothing union local leadership to take a public stance and demand that the cop be indicted for murder. The workers' response was electric. They were galvanized into action during a contract struggle that previously had been limited to economic issues. Their heightened political consciousness and militancy led to a weeklong

wildcat strike against 100-degree temperatures in the plant, which in turn set the tone for the Chrysler Mack Avenue sit-down strike two months later (see CHALLENGE, May 6).

Beginning in the 1980's, PLP has provided anti-racist leadership to 6,000 Washington, DC Metro transit workers. At one point, the local's overwhelmingly Black membership elected a white PLer as their president, defeating a passive Black incumbent. As Metro bosses exclude people convicted of crimes by the rulers' criminal injustice system, they close one of the few avenues for many Black workers to obtain a decent-paying job. PLP has demanded that the union oppose racist background checks. Many workers have been won to our Party in this anti-racist fight.

### Fighting Racism Internationally

PLP is now actively organizing on five continents.

In the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, with tens of thousands still living in tents, we have spread the struggle against U.S. imperialism and racism, which have enslaved workers there for two centuries.

In Israel-Palestine, PLers are exposing and fighting the intense racism of the Israeli bosses (with U.S. ruling-class support) against workers from Africa and Palestine, who are victims of super-exploitation. We are also organizing workers against the Israeli rulers' mass evictions of villages inhabited by Palestinians.

In Pakistan, PLers are mobilizing thousands of workers to fight racist super-exploitation by Pakistani bosses in alliance with U.S. imperialism. The bosses have slaughtered thousands in sweatshops and in Obama's drone attacks.

These are only a few highlights of PLP's long fight against racism, the ideological foundation of the profit system. The struggle against racism will prepare our class to overthrow capitalism and obliterate exploitation and divisions among workers. It is the watchword of our Party.✊

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