

Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation"

The World Trade Center Attack

SEPTEMBER 12—Yesterday's attack on the World Trade Center, carried out through the hijacking of civilian airliners that killed hundreds of passengers and crew, was an indefensible act of criminal terror. While it may be viewed as a symbol of the wealth and global reach of U.S. imperialism, the World Trade Center had workers of all races, ethnicities and religions who were employed there. And at 9 a.m. on a workday morning, thousands of other workers—transit, construction, office and countless others—were traveling through or in the vicinity of the Twin Towers.

It is not simply that the target wasn't even an institution representing the brutal and murderous U.S. imperialist rulers. Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working*

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.

masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!

The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle "one nation indivisible" patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign "enemy," as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people. This is particu-

larly convenient as hundreds of thousands more jobs are being axed—adding to the mountain of human poverty, misery and all-sided degradation that has been created by the American ruling class over the past decade with the destruction of social programs benefiting the working class, minorities and the poor.

The theme is "rally 'round the flag" as Republican president Bush, with complete bipartisan support from Congress, readies the Pentagon war machine for terror attacks and worse against the people of those countries they claim "harbored" the terrorists.

The last such "retaliation," following the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, rained 80 cruise missiles down on Afghanistan and on a pharmaceuticals plant in Sudan. Previous to that, there was the all-out war against Iraq in 1991, a war which continues with regular U.S. bombing raids, while over one and a half million Iraqis have been killed by the UN starvation blockade. The capitalist media recalls "Pearl Harbor" in blaring headlines. But it was U.S. imperialism that was the first and only country in the world to use atomic weapons in the 1945 nuclear incineration of a *quarter-million people* in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As communists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we fight to mobilize the working people here in opposition to the war aims and military adventures

continued on page 10

Defend the Palestinian People!

Zionist Stormtroopers Rampage

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

SEPTEMBER 10—In a sharp riposte to escalating Zionist terror against the Palestinian people, two commandos of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) infiltrated an Israeli army post in the Gaza Strip on August 25, killing three soldiers and wounding seven. The DFLP raid provoked a furor among Israel's ultra-chauvinist rulers, who see themselves as a "master race" and deem the Palestinian Arab people *Untermenschen* (subhumans) capable of nothing more than suicide bombings against civilians. An embarrassed army high command launched an immediate inquiry, while a leading daily, *Maariv*, described the Palestinian raid as a "humiliating defeat."

Two days later, Israeli forces assassinated Abu Ali Mustafa, leader of another nationalist organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Mustafa is the highest-ranking of more

than 30 Palestinian militants murdered since the start of the uprising. In targeting the head of the PFLP, the second-largest group in Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Zionist rulers signaled that they can and will assassinate any Palestinian leader in order to suppress the Arab masses.

The day after Mustafa's murder, Israeli forces invaded Beit Jala, turning the Lutheran church compound in this largely Christian West Bank town into a snipers' nest as Palestinian children in the orphanage below huddled in terror. For nearly three days, besieged Palestinians armed with automatic rifles tried to defend themselves against Israeli tanks blasting away on the streets. A "ceasefire" brokered by the European Union (EU) resulted only in a pullback of Israeli forces to the town's outskirts, where they continue to menace the local population. The occupation of

continued on page 11

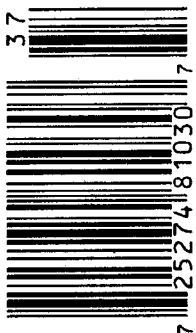


Reuters

Israeli tanks roll into West Bank town of Beit Jala.

Toussaint L'Ouverture's "Black Jacobins"

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy..... 6



Victimized in '80s Day Care Witchhunt

Free Gerald Amirault Now!

In the 1980s, a wave of vicious hysteria targeted day-care centers, leaving hundreds of shattered lives, innocent child-care workers imprisoned and children confused and manipulated, as ambitious prosecutors and politicians whipped up mass panic over supposed "satanic abuse" conspiracies. Today, most of these bizarre prosecutions have been overturned and many of the falsely accused have been released, often after spending years in prison. But in Massachusetts, Gerald Amirault still remains behind bars after 15 years. On July 6, the Board of Pardons unanimously recommended that acting governor Jane Swift commute Amirault's sentence. In a highly unusual statement, the Board stated that the case was "replete with inconsistent and conflicting judicial opinions concerning whether jus-

tice was done," and declared that "in the end this is a case of simple, fundamental fairness." Nonetheless, the politicians who put him there, Democrats as well as Republicans, are still stonewalling.

The Amirault tragedy began in 1984, when one unsubstantiated accusation of child abuse was made against Gerald Amirault, who worked with his mother Violet and sister Cheryl Amirault LeFave at the family's Fells Acres Day School in Malden, a suburb of Boston. This was enough to set off a full-scale witchhunt. The state shut down the school, and—as in other communities—a barrage of police, prosecutors, social workers and "child abuse" specialists descended, pressuring very young children into retailing incredible stories. At Fells Acres, these stories included "a secret room" where

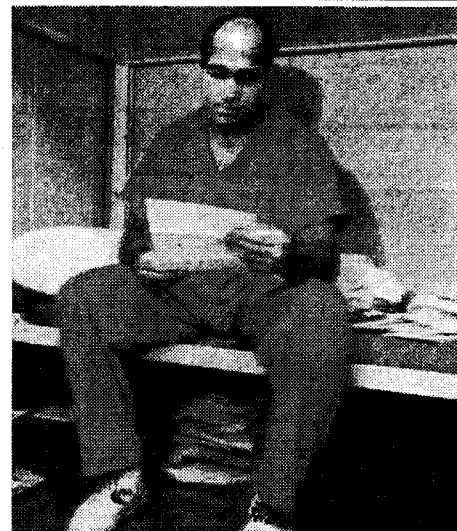
a "bad clown" tortured children, robots that ate children, teachers pulling the legs off squirrels and sexual penetration with large knives. There was no physical evidence of any of this.

Today, predictably, the now-grown accusers are being organized to oppose Amirault's freedom, since they were taught to believe that something bad had happened to them, even though it hadn't. With considerable dignity and intelligence, Amirault, who has a wife and two daughters of his own, has said that "these kids are victims, too." A large body of legal and psychological research has now confirmed that children will vehemently defend implanted memories as a result of intense pressure and repetition by adults.

Violet, Cheryl and Gerald were denied the chance to face their accusers at the trial. Dozens of other parents and teachers testified that they had never seen anything wrong. Nonetheless, in the loathsome atmosphere of sex hysteria that characterized the Reagan administration's all-sided attempts to reimpose religious and other reactionary superstitions while grinding down the poor and working people by slashing social programs like day care, Violet Amirault and her two children were railroaded into prison. Two prominent Massachusetts Democrats led the prosecution—Scott Harshbarger, who later became state Attorney General, and Thomas Reilly, the current Attorney General. A decade went by. In 1995, the Amiraults petitioned for new trials. Violet and Cheryl were released on bail after eight years in prison. Gerald was denied a new trial, while in 1997 the state Supreme Judicial Court reinstated the child molestation convictions against the two women. (Meanwhile, Violet died at the age of 74 of stomach cancer.)

The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, wrote in a protest to then-Governor Weld against the 1997 decision: "The Amiraults are no more child molesters than the citizens of Salem were witches. In both cases mass paranoia was engineered to terrorize innocent people. Government and media-fueled hysteria over 'child abuse' has little to do with protecting children, and a lot to do with a campaign against day-care centers as somehow dangerous, subversive institutions.... The Amiraults must not spend another day in prison. We demand all charges be dropped immediately!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 668, 16 May 1997).

Today, after a series of legal twists and turns, Cheryl Amirault LeFave is free, her sentence reduced to time served. Gerald has been left twisting in the wind, as the Middlesex District Attorney's



Richman/NY Times

Gerald Amirault, 15 years in prison.

office adamantly continues to oppose commuting his sentence of 40 years in prison, while all the bourgeois politicians, especially those planning a run for governor in 2002, now claim that they know nothing and need extensive time to "study" the issues. This despite a barrage of almost unanimous media editorials calling for commutation, from the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald* to suburban papers around the state, as well as a decade-long campaign by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* (hardly a bastion of democratic freedoms for the poor) to overturn the case.

Unlike the cowardly capitalist politicians trying to hide today, we Marxists of the Spartacist League forthrightly opposed these witchhunts from the beginning, as part of our obligation to act, in Lenin's words, as a "tribune of the people," opposing social injustice in every area of society. We understand that the state is not neutral but an institution created to maintain capitalist class rule, which also requires enforcing the reactionary monogamous family structure. Mass hysteria about sex periodically erupts in this scary society—whether over AIDS, gays, young people having sex, interracial sex, women's basic right to abortion—and will not fundamentally be overcome until this crazed, wilfully ignorant, brutal capitalist system is overturned through socialist revolution.

As we noted back in 1990 in "The McMartin Day Care Witchhunt" (*WV* No. 497, 9 March 1990), referring to the presidency of Bush senior:

"Bush's drug witchhunt today is a continuation of the sex witchhunts of the Reagan-Meese years, seeking to terrorize the American population through hysteria over the devil, drugs, day care—and abortion rights too—into blind obedience to the designs of this ruling class. This government has consciously condemned an entire generation of minority poor and working-class kids as it seeks to restore the capitalists' decaying profit system at our expense. The biggest child abusers in America reside in the Fortune 500's capitalist enclaves and the White House."

Gerald's wife, Patti Amirault, has requested that people write the Massachusetts governor to protest her husband's continued imprisonment. Send letters to: Governor Jane Swift, Room 360, State House, Boston, MA 02133. ■



TROTSKY

In Defense of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The October Revolution of 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and sparked insurrectionary workers struggles in other countries. While some anarchists joined with the Bolsheviks, others who had supported the struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie turned against the young Soviet workers state, which was beset by civil war, economic dislocation and all-sided attempts by the old



LENIN

ruling class to foment counterrevolution. Addressing both Soviet anarchist spokesmen and "Left Communists," Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin defended the iron necessity of consolidating proletarian state power to defend the revolution against the class enemy and begin economic reconstruction.

It is not difficult to see that during every transition from capitalism to socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there is no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos....

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not show salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength to suppress ruthlessly the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class, reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class-conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side *the majority* of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historic—economic and political—lesson that Marx summed up when he gave his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" (March-April 1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Anna Woodman

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Irene Gardner

EDITORIAL BOARD: Barry James (managing editor), Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Walter Jennings, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

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

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

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

The closing date for news in this issue is September 12.

No. 764

14 September 2001

Available in Chinese!

Just Out!

"Market Socialism" and the Legacy of Mao Whither China?

Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!

\$1 (24 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

斯巴达克斯 SPARTACIST

"市场社会主义"和毛泽东的遗产

中国往何处去?



保卫中国反对帝国主义和反革命! 为工人政治革命而斗争!

国际共产主义同盟(I.C.L.) Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Free Tom Green!

Mormon Polygamists: Leave Them Alone!



Tom Green and his wives, victimized for a consensual relationship.

People have the right to be left alone. Especially when it comes to the most private and personal matters—like consensual sex—we believe the government has no business interfering in people's lives. Thus we oppose the prosecution of Mormon fundamentalist Tom Green for polygamy. Convicted of felony bigamy charges in May, last month Green was sentenced to five years in prison by a Utah court, despite desperate pleas from his five wives. Not only was Green torn away from his family, but he was also fined nearly \$80,000 to "repay" support payments by the state to some of his wives and children. This is a twisted bureaucratic cruelty akin to imprisoning pregnant women who use drugs for "fetus abuse" and then ripping their kids away once they are born because the mothers are "criminals." Meanwhile, Green still faces an additional charge of "child rape" because one of his wives was 13 when she became pregnant with their child.

Although the official Mormons, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, formally renounced polygamy over a century ago, there are an estimated 30,000 fundamentalist Mormons, many successful small businessmen, still practicing the early church's preaching. But Green openly discussed his lifestyle on TV talk shows, and was vindictively targeted by Juab County prosecutor David Leavitt, brother of the state's governor, for the first polygamy trial in the U.S. in a half century. Following Green's conviction, a spokesman for the Women's Religious Liberties Union said: "It's like the Taliban here. In Afghanistan, the authorities force women to wear black robes. Here, they force women to become criminals to live their religion."

Why do we communists have any special interest in defending against the government this 52-year-old Mormon "patriarch" living out in the desert with his wives and 26 kids? Certainly it's not because we think the Mormons—whether the hardcore sects or the more mainstream elders of the Latter-Day Saints—are in any way progressive. On the contrary. We see religion (of all brands) as a bulwark of reaction in general and of the institutionalized oppression of women in particular.

One major reason we defend these relatively strange sects against government persecution is that we oppose the capitalist state's drive to suppress any form of social dissent or to outlaw any kind of social behavior it deems "deviant." This is literally deadly dangerous: look at the Feds' incineration of the back-to-nature MOVE commune and a whole black neighborhood in Philadelphia in 1985. Or Bill Clinton and Janet Reno's fiery assault on the racially integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas in 1993, killing over 80 men, women and children. Or Ruby Ridge, 1992, where

FBI snipers surrounded white separatist Randy Weaver's remote Idaho cabin, killing his teenage son with a bullet to the back and the next day shooting down his wife as she stood holding her baby daughter out on the porch.

This bloody trail of murderous terror is intended as a warning to all: any defiance of authority will be met by death. We have little in common politically with MOVE or the Branch Davidians, nor obviously with the Weavers. But we understand that it is this government, from city and state on up to the federal level, which is the main institution for the suppression of the working class and maintenance of the capitalists in power, through its cops, courts, prisons and army.

The Mormon polygamy case also touches on questions of sex, religion and the family. The family structure—whether monogamous or polygamous—necessarily oppresses women. However, not everybody understands the source of their oppression, and people do all sorts of things that are undoubtedly bad for them that the state still has no business throwing them in prison for. As Marxists we understand that the family serves a real social purpose and cannot simply be "abolished," even in a workers state, but

must be replaced with alternate social institutions. As we say in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S., citing Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*: "The monogamous patrilineal family arose to 'make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own.'" For the working class, which has neither incredible riches nor ownership of the means of production to pass on to their children, the purpose of the family is to instill obedience to bourgeois authority and bear the cost of raising the next generation of wage slaves.

That's why the family is propped up by the government—well, in one particular WASPy "one man on one woman for life" version, anyhow. Thus, George Bush, who recently said that "the absence of a father can shatter a child's world," has been promoting his "fatherhood initiative," which aims to gut welfare for single mothers by compelling them to marry. These days it seems that the only people who still *want* to get married are the ones the government won't allow to marry—like Mormon polygamists or gays and lesbians. In fact, only about 25 percent of the population today lives in the supposedly "model" nuclear family—one mom,

one dad and kids—and half of all marriages end in divorce.

What's forbidden and what's permitted by this government don't bear much resemblance to the messy reality most of us live in. We are for a socialist society in which privileges and penalties do not attach to whomever you happen to be living with or having children with, but in which the rights of the individual are paramount, regardless of "marital status." Nonetheless, if gays want to marry, of course they should have that right. As Richard Goldstein pointed out in his article "Love That Dare Not" in the *Village Voice* (26 May): "The core issue is whether any intimate behavior that doesn't cause harm should be allowed. If you say yes, you must consider the possibility that plural marriage, like gay marriage (or any gay relationship), is part of the panoply of choices free people are entitled to make."

The question of harm, and of free choice, is a vital consideration in any relationship. We uphold the principle of "effective consent" as the only guiding principle in sexual relations, which would necessarily have to be determined on an individual basis. Undoubtedly, the most socially explosive question in Tom Green's case is the "child rape" charge. On that question, we have a longstanding position against reactionary "age of consent" and "statutory rape" laws, which are designed to repress youth, strengthen the bourgeois state in regimenting the population and spread panic as a diversion from the real brutality of life in this society. Since none of Green's wives have raised complaints—on the contrary, they have adamantly asserted that the relationship is wholly consensual—we see no crime there. Ironically, the prosecution of Green will probably only increase the likelihood that real violent abuse may go unreported, as polygamous families retreat further underground in legitimate fear of the authorities.

However, in countries which never experienced bourgeois revolutions, where women are held to be little more than the property of their patriarchal masters, the need to liberate them from patriarchal practices oppressive to women takes on a strategic importance. Communists fight to end institutions such as the polygamy system and the bride price—legacies of social backwardness which are today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. That's not what's involved in this case, however. The Mormons are one of the many peculiar U.S. religious sects, essentially freely chosen by their practitioners, where government intervention only makes things worse.

The Utah polygamy ban is part of a broader anti-sex witchhunt targeting gays, teens and, above all, aimed at

continued on page 10

Spartacist Forums

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

BAY AREA

Saturday, September 15, 4 p.m.
YWCA of Oakland, Lounge Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or (415) 395-9520

VANCOUVER

Trotskyist League Forum
Saturday, September 29, 3 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L3
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

BOSTON

Saturday, September 15, 3 p.m.
Boston University
Marsh Room, Marsh Chapel
For more information: (617) 666-9453

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, September 22, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood
(one block east of Vermont, near
Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Reparations, Black Oppression and Racist Witchhunts on Campus

Workers Revolution: The Road to Black Freedom

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Thursday, September 20, 7 p.m.

Broadway Presbyterian Church
Broadway and 114th Street

Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers For Global Workers Rule!

TORONTO

Trotskyist League Forum
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Saturday, September 29, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. W. (west of Spadina)

Young Spartacus

Radicals Without a Compass

In the wake of the counterrevolutions that swept across the former Soviet Union and East Europe, anarchism is resurfacing as an avowedly revolutionary pole. Anarchists are posing as a revolutionary alternative to capitalism while chanting in unison with bourgeois democrats that "absolute power corrupts absolutely" and that state power was the original sin of the Russian Revolution. They posture as providing a way forward for would-be anti-capitalists who, despite their youthful rebellion, have yet to abandon prejudices from their parents and the renewed Cold War of the 1980s.

It is ironic that the modern anarchist movement, having gained so much notoriety at demonstrations against imperialist "globalization," is premised on renouncing the Russian Revolution and its surviving offshoots in China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, the greatest anti-imperialist victories in history. Railing against "all dictatorships," today's anarchists confusedly equate these workers states with the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies that in fact threaten their very existence. In no case is this clearer than in China, where the bureaucracy is pushing market reforms that encourage the forces for capitalist counterrevolution. That would mean the imperialists could gorge themselves on the unimpeded exploitation of the Chinese proletariat for the first time since the 1949 Chinese Revolution. On behalf of the American bourgeoisie, U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld has increased the military budget next year by \$18.4 billion to a post-Cold War record of \$343.5 billion.

The efforts to shut down or sell off state-run factories and grant ever greater concessions to foreign companies have already sparked massive revolts by the Chinese working class, which understands that capitalist restoration would condemn millions to a life of poverty, homelessness and no medical care. Anarchists, if they are consistent, are at best indifferent to these bloody designs of the world's most powerful imperialists; at worst, in the name of "anti-totalitarianism," they join in the anti-Communist crusade of their own rulers. Intervening at the demonstrations in Washington, Quebec and Genoa, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have sought to win over aspiring revolu-

The Resurgence of Anarchism

tionaries with the class-struggle demand: *Defend China against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution! For proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy!*

An Unbridgeable Chasm?

The anarchist component in the anti-globalization movement has become more

Direct action, a modern adaptation of 19th-century "propaganda by the deed," is another version of anarchist "moral diffusion." The idea is that you set an example of what an outstanding moral citizen should do, be it by throwing bricks like someone in the Black Bloc or by passively enduring massacres like Mahatma Gandhi. Others are inspired by your phys-



July anti-G8 protests in Genoa. Anarchism has seen resurgence of popularity in post-Soviet period as youth looking to radical politics buy into anti-working-class, anti-Marxist bourgeois ideology.

visible with each anti-summit demonstration, but politically remains inchoate. Those subscribing to some form of anarchism vary widely: vaguely "anti-authoritarian" elements who try to lead a "non-corporate" lifestyle; so-called "deep ecologists" who reject modern civilization; undisguised liberals like Noam Chomsky who called for sanctions against Iraq and plead for the U.S. to respect international law; "direct action" Black Blocs targeting corporate symbols. The approach posed by militant youth in Quebec and Genoa, direct confrontation with the police, can seem like a step to the left away from both petty-bourgeois lifestylism and the prating of anarchist intellectuals. However, at base there is no real difference.

ical sacrifice and moral victory so they do the same, and soon, the theory goes, you have a mass movement.

What especially white middle-class youth have yet to learn is that setting yourself up as an easy target for state repression is hardly inspiring to the oppressed masses who face factory exploitation and police terror on a daily basis. This is part of the reason why the most militant contingents of anarchist youth are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois and the movement against "globalization" as a whole has yet to attract much from the barrios and the ghettos. It is the potential for *victory*, not for victimization, that will rally the oppressed masses to a revolutionary movement, and in 1917 it was Lenin's Bolsheviks who did exactly that.

One attempt at a crude polarization of the anarchist movement comes from octogenarian green/anarchist academic Murray Bookchin, whose 1995 book *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* has achieved recognition in some anarchist circles that see it as a legitimate call for an effective movement. Bookchin postures as the socialist "old guard" of the movement and posits that the recent growth of primitivism, mysticism and transparent quackery in its burgeoning camp of individualists could be detrimental to the future of anarchism as a whole. He asserts that in "today's reactionary social context," "issues of lifestyle are once again supplanting social action and revolutionary politics in anarchism."

Arguments against anti-technology primitivism from an anarchist perspective gain some currency because these theories are indeed revolting. For example, Bookchin targets Hakim Bey, whose

introspective, navel-gazing slogan "Kill your inner cop" is one of the least offensive to appear on the pages of Bey's book *Temporary Autonomous Zone*. Bey does his part to uphold bourgeois law and order when he cautions against approaches other than his "personal insurrection" which result in "dangerous and ugly spasms of violence." Reactionary primitivists like George Bradford and John Zerzan play a crasser version of the same role, alibiing capital by asserting that the real enemies of human freedom are technology and civilization. Deep ecologists argue that humanity should return to small-scale local agriculture based on pre-industrial methods—this would mean the destruction of contemporary society. And with such a drastic lowering of productive output to a level that could sustain only a fraction of the earth's population, the logical extension of this theory is utterly fascistic; who decides who would live and who would die?

Murray Bookchin devotes a considerable portion of *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism* to refuting primitivism and counterposes his alternative, "municipal confederalism." However, any decentralization or attempt to extend a community's control over its own resources would create a regional barter system. Alternatively, cut off from international resources, even the most advanced "anarcho-commune" would revert back to sustenance agriculture. The extreme decentralization and technological standstill advocated by anarchists could only perpetuate the division between the imperialist countries and the "Global South." How could a world based on autonomous communes ever bridge the gap in wealth between Chiapas and Manhattan's elite neighborhoods, for example? Only world socialist revolution and the creation of an international division of labor can even begin to redress the centuries of imperialist plunder which have made of the "Global South" a sea of poverty and backwardness. We are for an internationally centralized, planned economy as the only way to eliminate scarcity.

At his best, Bookchin and those who subscribe to his theories present an idealistic defense of technology, rationalism and collectivity. But anarchism is a trans-class theory that writes off the proletariat and advocates a moral regeneration of society *at large*. Some anarchists may consider their theories a revolutionary alternative to individualistic lifestylists. But without a program to mobilize the multiracial proletariat together with minorities to smash capitalist oppression, there is no revolutionary ideology, only abstract rhetoric and moralism. Bookchin has no strategy to lead the struggles of workers and the oppressed to victory, so he is left only to bear witness, hoping that his idea will somehow "catch on," just like the personalistic fads of Bey & Co.

Anarchism: Polarized and Defeated by Class Struggle Decades Ago

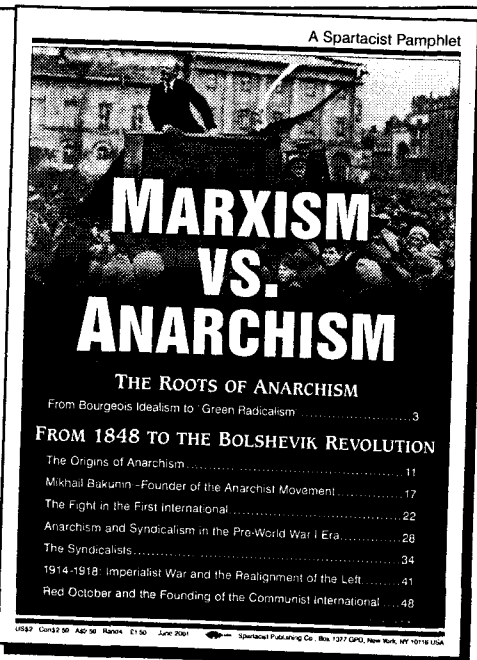
Like his lifestylist opponents, Bookchin denies the revolutionary centrality of the proletariat. In streams of polemics, notably "Listen, Marxist!" and *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, written in the late 1960s as an attempt to counter the influence of a pro-working-class pole in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), he tries to pass off the proletariat as

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

\$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116



A Spartacist Pamphlet

MARXISM VS. ANARCHISM

THE ROOTS OF ANARCHISM

From Bourgeois Idealism to Green Radicalism	3
FROM 1848 TO THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION	
The Origins of Anarchism	11
Mikhail Bakunin - Founder of the Anarchist Movement	17
The Fight in the First International	22
Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Pre-World War I Era	28
The Syndicalists	34
1914-1918: Imperialist War and the Realignment of the Left	41
Red October and the Founding of the Communist International	48

1987 Copyright © Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

bought off, conditioned to obedience, and (occasionally) even nonexistent. Thus he claims in "Listen, Marxist!" that "in fact the traditional class struggle stabilizes capitalist society by 'correcting' its abuses (in wages, hours, inflation, employment, etc.)." Don't try those lines on the hundreds of millions of workers who toil for a pittance producing the wealth of societies internationally, for whom class struggle is the only defense against their exploiters. In the same polemic, he describes the class struggle as a "disease," saying: "If the byproduct of this disease has been technological advance, the main products have been repression, a horrible shedding of human blood and a terrifying distortion of the human psyche."

The working class has the strategic and numerical power to incapacitate the capitalists, with the capability to strike and hurt the capitalists where they feel it—in profits. This social power means that it is only the working class that has the power to overthrow the bourgeois order and smash the capitalist state—petty-bourgeois radicals do not. Without such a mobilization of the social power of the working class, there will be no revolution, only the continued hegemony of capital.

The profound failing of anarchism on the question of leadership lies in the complete inability of anarchists to pose the following question: what obstacles today prevent the revolutionary struggle of the masses for the seizure of power? Flowery rhetoric about spontaneity and the mass awakening of humanity simply serves to mask the fact that leadership already exists. Misleadership must be politically exposed and defeated; it will not just disappear. The politics of union bureaucrats and reformist "socialists" reinforce the powerful hold alien class forces have over the working class. In the U.S., the workers are bound to the racist Democratic Party by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which falls in line with the bourgeoisie's use of religion, anti-immigrant chauvinism, nationalism and especially anti-black racism to fragment the proletariat and obscure the fundamental class division between the exploiters and the exploited.

We want to build a party to defeat the pro-capitalist leadership of the working class, making possible a revolutionary struggle in this country. But you will not find a single word about these questions in the writing of *any* contemporary anarchist: Chomsky, Bob Black, Bookchin, *Anarchy*, *Fifth Estate*, whoever. They drivel on about moral revulsion and speculations about the ideal anarchist commune and spout anti-communist propaganda. But they say precious little about the actual battles of the working class today, and nothing about the political forces in the labor movement binding the workers to their class enemy, or about what it will take to transform isolated defensive strikes into a determined struggle for power. Denouncing the struggle for leadership serves as an easy and cheap cover to make peace with the existing, false leadership and accommodate the current consciousness of the masses. The logic is simple: if you do not lead, you follow.

To communists, the concept of a fatal contradiction within the anarchist movement is hardly new. Because anarchism is a trans-class ideology, the anarchist movement suffered a devastating split in the '20s that reflected the unprecedented wave of *class struggle* sweeping the world in the aftermath of Red October in Russia. Many anarchists sided with capital in the face of a workers insurrection. They often turned a blind eye to social backwardness among non-proletarian oppressed strata, championing small proprietors like the Ukrainian-nationalist, anti-Semitic Makhnovists and the Kronstadt peasant-sailors against the young workers state. Others like the once radical French syndicalists Léon Jouhaux and Alphonse Merrheim rapidly degenerated into trade-union bureaucrats. But

the most revolutionary elements of the anarchist movement, exemplified by Victor Serge and Alfred Rosmer, merged with the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War. James P. Cannon, a leader of the early American Communist Party and the eventual founder of American Trotskyism, had also earlier been in the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World.

Many courageous labor activists abandoned anarchist moralism and embraced the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship when they witnessed the unrelenting carnage and counterrevolutionary intransigence of the White forces. The generation of young workers and leftist intellectuals whose hatred of the bourgeois order

skyline Felix Morrow explained at the time why the anarchists failed and indeed refused to seize power:

"Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to 'all dictatorships,' including the dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers."

That is precisely what happened in Spain. In July 1936, the attempted right-



Roger Viollet

Spanish Civil War: workers man barricades in Barcelona, May 1937 (top). Anarchists like Juan García Oliver (far left) became ministers in capitalist government which suppressed armed workers struggle.



Historia 16

was formed amid the mud and blood of the battlefield in World War I, whose hope for a better future was inspired by Red October, abandoned anarchism en masse for the Communist International. The one exception was Spain, where, tragically, the lessons learned by Cannon and his co-thinkers were not grasped by the anarchist movement two decades later.

Anarchists Sell Out the Spanish Revolution

Uninvolved in the First World War and sheltered from the earthshaking political developments that followed, Spain was the last great bastion of traditional anarchism. At the height of a vast revolutionary upsurge in the '30s, when workers and peasants had seized their factories and land in the name of revolution, the anarchist-led National Confederation of Labor-Iberian Anarchist Federation (CNT-FAI) entered the capitalist Popular Front government, along with their supposed arch-nemeses, the Stalinists. A popular front is a coalition of workers parties and bourgeois parties through which the workers' interests are subordinated to those of the capitalists. In the name of the "people's front" against fascism, this class-collaborationist popular front strangled an uprising of the working class on May Day 1937 and broke the revolutionary tide, preparing the way for the triumph of the Franco dictatorship.

It is immensely difficult to grasp the magnitude of the Spanish defeat in modern terms. The political consciousness of the working class in Spain at that time was, according to Trotsky, even more advanced than that of the Russian workers in 1917, and the anarchists numbered one and a half million. American Trot-

wing military coup led by Francisco Franco was defeated in Catalonia mainly by the anarchist-led workers militias of the CNT-FAI. Garcia Oliver and other CNT-FAI leaders then met with the head of the Generalitat (Catalan government), the liberal bourgeois nationalist Luis Companys. In an interview the following year, Garcia Oliver, then a government minister, recounted what happened at this fateful meeting.

Companys said to the anarchist leaders: "You have won, and everything is in your hands; if you do not need me nor

wish me to remain as President of Catalonia, tell me now, and I will become one soldier more in the struggle against fascism." But, Companys continued, if you consent to my remaining as president, "you can count on me and on my loyalty as a man and as a politician who is convinced that to-day a whole past of shame is dead and who desires sincerely that Catalonia should place herself at the head of the most progressive countries in social matters."

Garcia Oliver and his comrades responded:

"The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. decided on collaboration and democracy, renouncing revolutionary totalitarianism which would lead to the strangulation of the revolution by the anarchist and confederal dictatorship. We had confidence in the word and in the person of a catalan democrat and retained and supported Companys as President of the Generalitat."

—quoted in V. Richards, *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939* (1953)

Following the anarchists' treacherous collaboration with and entry into the Popular Front, the bourgeoisie taught the working class a deadly lesson: no war in history has ever been won through democratic consultation with the enemy; the class war, waged for the largest stakes in history, the earth and all its fruits, is no exception. This understanding is at the core of the Trotskyist call for a *dictatorship of the proletariat*. And to an extent, many of the workers in Spain understood. They had no intention of deserting the May Day barricades in Barcelona as part of a deal that the CNT-FAI cut with the bourgeoisie. The popular-front government's move to suppress the uprising was successful because the workers lacked a well-established revolutionary vanguard party to organize and lead the insurrection to victory.

Bookchin, who claims the defeated Spanish Revolution as his own, does not deny the anarchists' treason in May '37. Instead, he denounces the CNT-FAI leaders and the capitalist Popular Front for creating "a civil war within the civil war, irrespective of its toll on the struggle against the Francoists" (see his book *To Remember Spain: the Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936* for more details). This "secondary" civil war was in fact an expression of the fundamental class divide between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It was precisely the task of every class-conscious worker to mount such a civil war in advance to purge the revolution of its bourgeois-democratic betrayers who, in the end, proved to have more in common with Franco than they did with the left-wing insurgents. But history has shown that even the most militant anarchists are too intoxicated

continued on page 10

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

Introduction to Marxism

September 18: **Historical Materialism**
UC Berkeley, 155 Kroeber Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5 p.m.

Workers of the World Unite!

September 19: **Basic Marxism and the Fight for a Workers State**
222 South Morgan (ring 23 on buzzer)
(near Blue Line at UIC-Halsted stop)
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, September 27, 7 p.m.

Meet the Marxists at UCLA

Royce Hall #166
Information: (213) 380-8239

Visit the ICL Web Site!
www.icl-fi.org

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

September 18: **Marxism: The Fight for Socialist Revolution**

Columbia U, 302 Hamilton Hall
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

September 19: **The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action**
York University Student Ctr., Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

September 19: **The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action**

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Toussaint L'Ouverture's "Black Jacobins"

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy

"When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world."

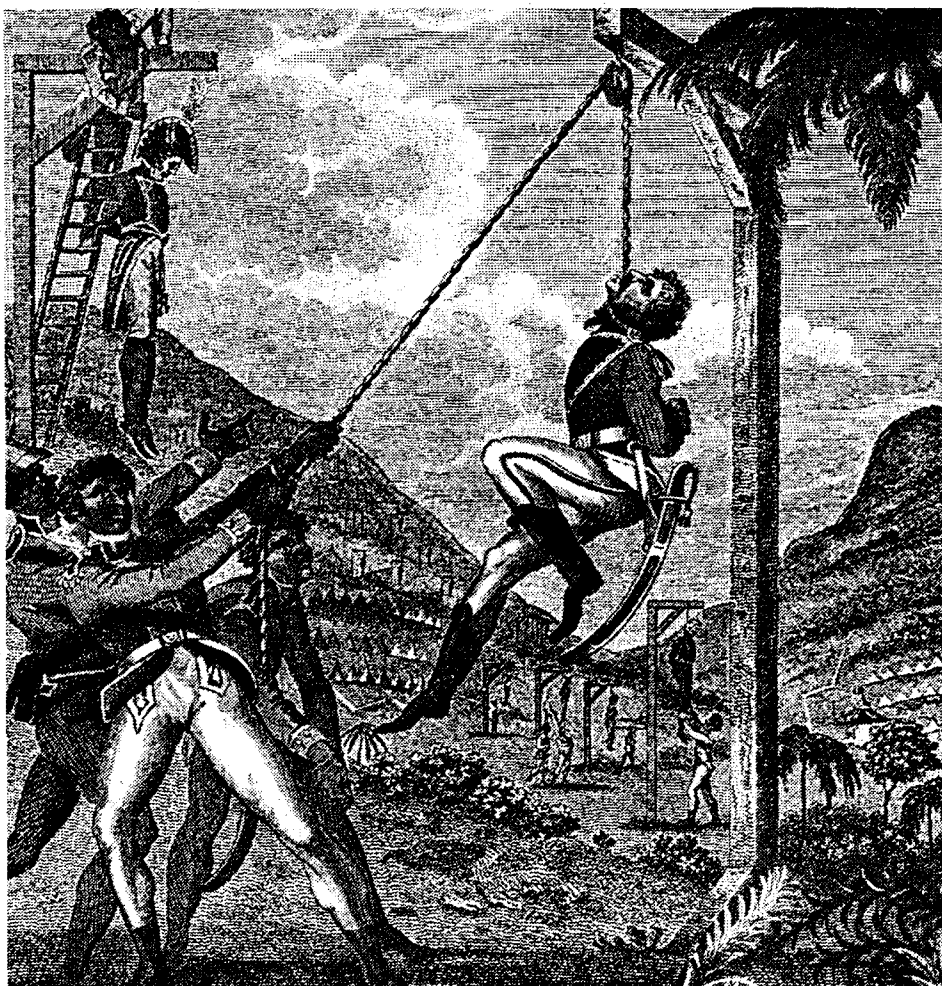
—Black abolitionist
Frederick Douglass on the
Haitian Revolution

Amid the usual patriotic hoopla around this year's Fourth of July holiday, there was an interesting piece in the *New York Times* (1 July) titled "Founding Fathers Dreamed of Uprisings, Except in Haiti." The author, Thomas Bender, a history professor at New York University, focused on the racist character of American "democracy" from its very origin. While Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was a staunch supporter of the French Revolution, he was hostile to its offspring, the Haitian Revolution.

Why? Because the Haitian Revolution was a revolt of black slaves against white colonial planters. When in 1799 the U.S. Congress passed a bill opening trade with Haiti under its revolutionary leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jefferson, himself a wealthy slaveholder, wrote to his colleague James Madison: "We may expect therefore black crews, and supercargoes and missionaries thence into the southern states.... If this combination can be introduced among us under any veil whatever, we have to fear it."

Jefferson's fear proved well-founded. While Haiti is today a desperately impoverished and brutalized neocolony of U.S. imperialism, in the early years of the 19th century it stood as a beacon of freedom for oppressed blacks and other peoples throughout the Americas. The Haitian Revolution and the establishment of an independent black republic in the Caribbean was an example and an inspiration for all the major slave revolts in the American South that followed. Many black freedmen in the U.S. refused to celebrate the Fourth of July and instead commemorated Haitian Independence Day.

The United States, then politically dominated by the Southern slavocracy, refused even to extend diplomatic recognition to Haiti until the government of Abraham Lincoln did so during the Civil War. In the 1820s, Senator Thomas Benton, a Jacksonian Democrat from Missouri, explained that the United States



Hulton Archive

Saint-Domingue (Haiti), 1802: Former slaves hang French soldiers as revolutionary army defeats attempt to re-establish slavery.

could receive "no mulatto Consuls or black Ambassadors" from Haiti because "the peace of eleven States in this Union will not permit black Consuls and Ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through the country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them, for a successful revolt on their part."

The American, French and Haitian Revolutions were all bourgeois revolutions fought under the banner of "the rights of man"—individual liberty, equality before the law, opposition to tyrannical government. Yet these upheavals were very different from one another. The Haitian Revolution rose out of the soil of the Great French Revolution of 1789-1793, the most radical of the bourgeois revolutions. What happened in the France of Robespierre's Jacobin dictatorship and in the Haiti of Toussaint were *social* rev-

olutions. What happened in the America of Washington and Jefferson was not. France and Haiti underwent a massive downward redistribution of wealth and a radical change in class structure and power. Not so America.

Thomas Jefferson: Bourgeois-Democratic Ideologist, Racist Slaveholder

How is it that the democratic principles inscribed in the Declaration of Independence were written by a slaveholder? The basic underlying cause of the War of Independence was the increasing conflict of economic interests between the propertied classes in the American colonies—Southern plantation owners and Northern merchant-traders—and Britain's ruling circles. In order to mobilize the mass of the white populace—small farmers, artisans and shopkeepers—to risk their lives and livelihoods in going to war against Britain, the wealthy colonial elite had to tell them that all men, having been created equal, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

At the level of practical politics, black chattel slavery made the democratic enfranchisement of white farmers and artisans in the early American republic less economically threatening to the Southern ruling class. Liberal planters like Jefferson could advocate extending voting rights to most white males since their own labor force, on which their wealth and social power depended, was made up entirely of black slaves. In the early 1800s, a British diplomat, Sir Augustus John Foster, observed that Virginia planters could "profess an unbounded love of liberty and of democracy in consequence of the mass of the people, who in other countries might become mobs, being there nearly altogether composed of their own Negro slaves" (quoted in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* [1993]). At the same

time, the ideology of racial supremacy facilitated the political dominance of the planter aristocracy over the Southern white lower classes.

To be sure, some radical elements in the American Revolution, including Thomas Paine, denounced slavery as a moral evil and called for its abolition. And Jefferson himself was well aware—and was constantly reminded by his liberal and radical English and French friends—that black chattel slavery was blatantly incompatible with the democratic principles he so eloquently proclaimed. He sought to resolve this glaring contradiction by projecting that slavery would be abolished through the enlightened benevolence of the slaveholders themselves. But since the overwhelming majority of Southern planters (including Jefferson) were not willing to give up their valuable "property," he postponed this liberating act to a future generation.

"I had always hoped that the younger generation," Jefferson wrote in 1814, "would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it." Joseph J. Ellis, a critical student of Jefferson's thought, commented: "He thereby kept his principles pure and intact by placing them in a time capsule; there they could stay until that appropriate moment in the future when the world was ready for them" (*American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* [1997]). Jefferson did not even free his slaves as he was dying, as Washington did.

Jefferson's weaselly positions and apparent hypocrisy with regard to slavery and black oppression were subject to sharp attacks in his own lifetime. One political opponent, the Federalist Timothy Pickering, baited Jefferson that he refused to support the black rebels on Saint-Domingue (Haiti) because they were "guilty" of having a "skin not colored like our own." It would, however, be an oversimplification to maintain that Jefferson regarded the "rights of man" as the exclusive province of white European males.

Were Jefferson and the other founding fathers simply cynics and hypocrites who outwardly professed principles in which they did not believe? No, they were governed by what Marxists call false consciousness: the denial and distortion of reality practiced by all ruling classes as a self-justification for exploitation and oppression. Jefferson truly believed that blacks were inherently inferior to whites, even though this flatly contradicted the basic premises of Enlightenment rationalism to which he generally subscribed.

Like some other Enlightenment thinkers (e.g., the French philosopher Voltaire), Jefferson considered American Indian tribes to be most admirable in combining social harmony with individual freedom and dignity. In his 1787 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he describes Indians as "endowed with faculties and rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence." He contrasted the heroic virtues of American Indians with the servility, corruption and decadence of monarchical Europe.

But when Jefferson compares European-derived whites with African-derived blacks, he paints just the opposite picture: "Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and compre-



Schomburg Collection

Toussaint L'Ouverture forged a disciplined army out of illiterate slaves. Drawing depicts Toussaint's council of war interrogating an English spy.

hending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous.... Never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration."

—excerpted in Isaac Kramnick, ed., *The Enlightenment Reader* (1995)

The difference between Jefferson's enlightened, even idealized, attitude toward American Indians and his racist disdain for black people was conditioned by his *class allegiance*. The Native American Indian peoples, decimated by diseases brought by the European colonists and driven ever farther west (including under Jefferson's presidency), posed no serious threat to the Southern planter aristocracy. But Jefferson and his fellow plantation owners lived in constant and mortal fear of slave revolts.

When in 1775 colonial militias led by the Virginia planter George Washington took up arms against the British crown, the royal governor of Virginia offered freedom to any slave who joined the British army in its effort to suppress the rebellion. This move infuriated Jefferson. Included in the famous indictment of King George III in the Declaration of Independence was the charge that "he has excited domestic insurrections against us." Historian Paul Finkelman explained in *Jeffersonian Legacies*: "For southern slaveowners 'domestic insurrections' had only one meaning: slave revolts."

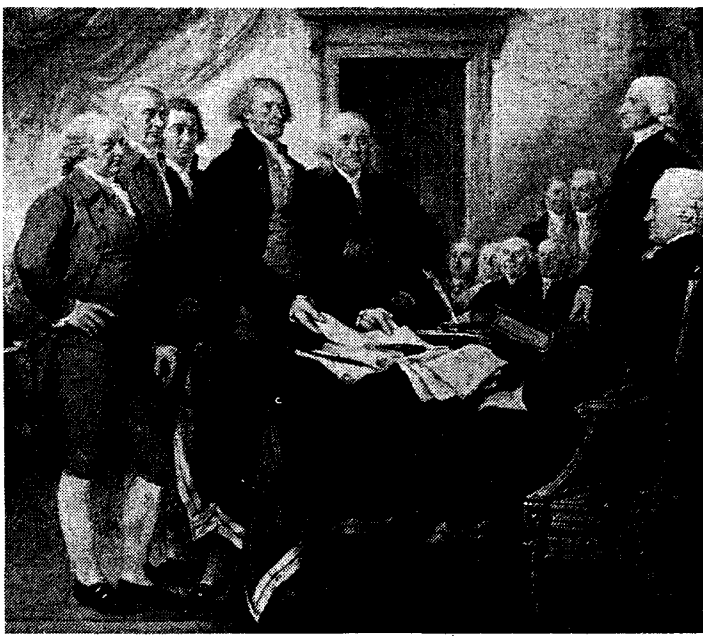
That the founding father of American liberalism was a racist slaveholder has posed an embarrassing problem for present-day American liberals. Some, like Finkelman, scathingly denounce Jefferson for betraying democratic principles. More generally, however, liberal intellectuals seek to divorce the message from the messenger. The now-standard argument is that the democratic principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence proved to be far more powerful than the retrograde prejudices of its author. Thus Joseph Ellis writes:

"The entire history of liberal reform in America can be written as a process of discovery, within Jefferson's words, of a spiritually sanctioned mandate for ending slavery, providing the rights of citizenship to blacks and women, justifying welfare programs for the poor and expanding individual freedoms.

"No serious student of either Jefferson or the Declaration of Independence has ever claimed that he foresaw all or even most of the ideological consequences of what he wrote."

This is a typical liberal-idealist version of American history, the notion that American democracy strode forward, as if based on some kind of "manifest destiny," to satisfy the political and economic aspirations of ever greater sectors of the populace. What this ignores is the *class struggle*. In particular, the emergence of an industrial proletariat and the influx of large waves of immigrants all led to tumultuous struggles to secure the rights which had previously been the preserve of white, Anglo-Saxon, property-owning men.

Slavery was abolished not as a result of a "spiritually sanctioned mandate" but through a bloody civil war, in which



John Trumbull

Signing of Declaration of Independence. Ideals of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were belied by institution of black chattel slavery. Right: Jefferson with slave at Monticello.



Stanley M. Arthurs

200,000 blacks fought in the Union Army. Women did not get the right to vote until 1920, after almost a century of political agitation and in the aftermath of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which enfranchised women *before* "democratic" America. The "New Deal" reforms of the 1930s (e.g., Social Security) were won through mass labor struggles with workers battling the police on the picket lines, with the American ruling class increasingly worried about the attraction of Communism among workers and oppressed minorities. To the extent that the democratic principles

propertied classes on the two sides of the Atlantic, although a sizable section of the upper classes in the colonies remained loyal to Britain. Most of these Tories, as they were called, emigrated to Canada or England during or right after the war, leaving their property behind. This was then taken over by those men of wealth who became the rulers of the new American bourgeois state.

In France, the revolutionary turmoil enabled the peasants to seize the land from the feudal-derived aristocracy. The landed nobility, most of whom fled the country in fear for their lives, ceased to

emerged or could have emerged in the America of Washington and Jefferson.

The American Revolution was led throughout by the political agents of the propertied classes—Washington and Jefferson representing the Southern plantation owners, the Adams family in Massachusetts representing Northern mercantile capital. A Philadelphia newspaper at the time described the Virginia delegation to the 1775-76 Continental Congress as the "haughty sultans of the South." By contrast, during the course of the French Revolution the initial moderate leaders—wealthy liberal noblemen like Mirabeau and Jefferson's friend Lafayette—were displaced by middle-class radical Jacobins like Danton and Robespierre.

In their own way, the rulers of the early American republic understood that "their" revolution was very different from the social explosion in France. The founding fathers generally condemned the French Revolution when it entered its radical Jacobin phase, although Jefferson was an exception. But the antipathy of the new American rulers toward the French Jacobins was relatively mild compared to the intense hatred and fear felt by Southern plantation owners toward Haiti's "Black Jacobins," as C.L.R. James titled his classic 1938 history of the Haitian Revolution. Writing in the 1940s, historian Rayford W. Logan commented: "It would perhaps not be too much to say that the spectre of a free Negro republic that owed its independence to a successful slave revolt frightened slaveholding countries as much as the shadow of Bolshevik Russia alarmed capitalistic countries in 1917" (*The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti 1776-1891* [1941]).

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy

The Haitian Revolution was in a sense an extension of the French Revolution to its richest and most important slave colony, Saint-Domingue, the western half

continued on page 8

Bibliothèque Nationale



Contemporary print shows 1791 French decree giving civil rights to free black men and Declaration of Rights of Man. Reason is seen holding a level to symbolize equality of black and white.

inscribed in the Declaration of Independence were translated into reality, it was through generations of struggle by the exploited and oppressed *against the American ruling class*, of which Jefferson was indeed a founding father.

France 1789 vs. America 1776

The American War of Independence was a conflict within the English-derived

exist as a ruling class. Moreover, the pressure of the Parisian working people and poor forced the government for a time to limit the maximum price of necessities like bread. It was in the crucible of the French Revolution that the forerunner of the modern communist movement, Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, originated in 1796. No such revolutionary egalitarian movement

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 23 to October 3

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Two	%
Bay Area	750	173	23
Boston	150	79	53
Chicago	450	404	90
Los Angeles	300	94	31
New York	900	428½	48
At Large	250	105	42
National Total	2,800	1283½	46



WV Photo

Subscribe Now!

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail New Renewal
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (_____) _____ E-mail _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Haiti...

(continued from page 7)

of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. (When the country became independent in 1804, the name was changed to Haiti, derived from an Arawak Indian word for mountains.)

Like other West Indian French colonies, Saint-Domingue had a large population of mulattos, free men of mixed race who constituted an intermediate social layer between the French planters and black slaves. In the early stages of the French Revolution, the mulattos of Saint-Domingue demanded full citizenship rights from the Constituent Assembly in Paris. Opposition to the democratic enfranchisement of the mulattos by a reactionary section of the French planters precipitated a civil war on the island beginning in 1791. Combined with the deepening revolutionary turbulence in France, this civil war opened the way to a full-scale slave insurrection led by Toussaint. Under the impact of the events in Saint-Domingue, in 1794 the Jacobin regime in Paris declared the abolition of slavery in all French colonies.

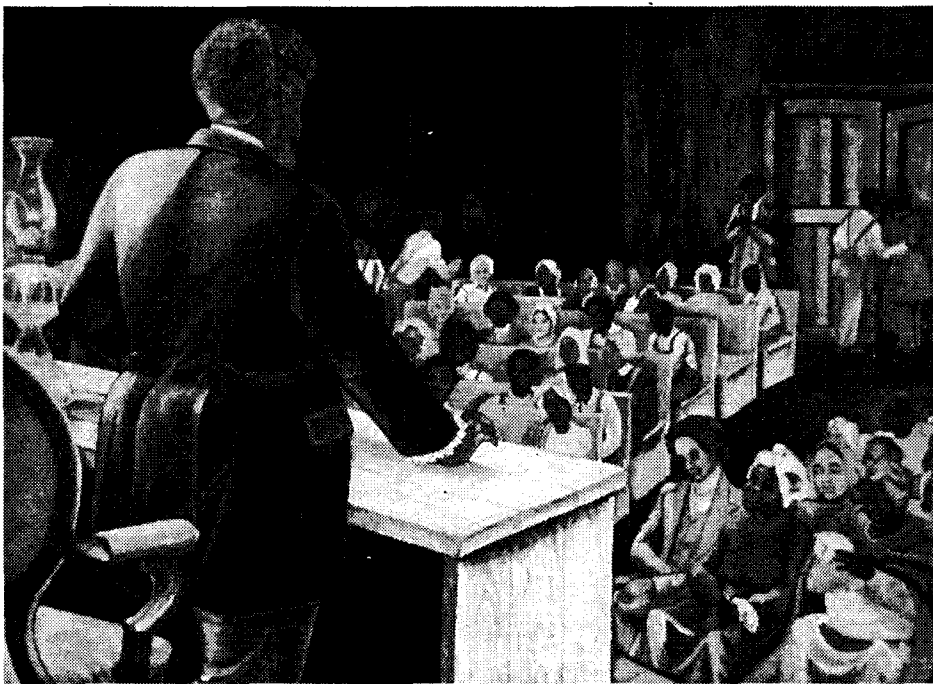
A former slave, Toussaint benefited from an enlightened master who allowed him to get a liberal education. He read extensively, including works by Enlightenment *philosophes* whose views shaped the outlook of the most radical leaders of the French Revolution. In *The Black Jacobins*, written when he was a Trotskyist, James rightly emphasizes Toussaint's deep commitment to the French Revolution as the highest level of social and political progress then attained in world history:

"What revolutionary France signified was perpetually on his lips, in public statements, in his correspondence, in the spontaneous intimacy of private conversation. It was the highest stage of social existence that he could imagine.... No one else was so conscious of its practical necessity in the social backwardness and primitive conditions of life around him."

Toussaint strongly opposed the indiscriminate killing of whites and made every effort to enlist those former French planters who were willing to work under a revolutionary-democratic black government.

Toussaint was unquestionably one of the greatest military leaders of the late 18th century. In ten years of warfare, he forged groups of illiterate slaves into a disciplined army that drew the astonishment of European commanders and defeated the best troops Napoleon could muster at the height of his power. In 1802, he was kidnapped and deported to a damp mountain cell in eastern France, where he soon died of mistreatment and lack of medical care. Shortly thereafter, the French army, stricken by yellow fever, withdrew from Saint-Domingue. One of Toussaint's former generals, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, declared independence on New Year's Day 1804.

Ever since the early 16th century, there had been slave revolts in the colonies, which were always viciously sup-



Dorothy B. Wright

Painting of Denmark Vesey addressing his followers in South Carolina. Vesey planned to lead slave revolt and escape with fellow insurrectionists to Haiti but was betrayed and executed along with 35 others.

pressed. At most, these revolts resulted in some slaves escaping the master's whip and setting up isolated, primitive communities in the hinterland. As we wrote in "Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 6 [1989]):

"The Haitian Revolution changed all that, shifting the goal from restoration of primitive communal African social relations to the spread of social revolution. And this was made possible precisely by the combination of the greatest slave revolt of all with the bourgeois revolution in France."

The Haitian Revolution inspired slave uprisings throughout Britain's Caribbean colonies. Its impact was felt as well throughout Latin America. In 1815-16, Haiti provided refuge, as well as money and arms, to Simón Bolívar as he led wars of independence against Spain; at Haiti's urging, he proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Spanish America.

The immediate and direct effect of the Haitian Revolution on U.S. politics was somewhat confused by partisan maneuvers and rhetoric. Both the two rival parties of the day—John Adams' Federalists and Jefferson's Republicans (predecessors of the present-day Democrats)—sought to use the slave insurrection on Saint-Domingue as a political weapon against the other. The Federalists blamed the slaves' uprising on the radical doctrines of Jacobinism with which it falsely identified the Jeffersonians. The Jeffersonians countered that at one point the Adams administration had given military aid to Toussaint's forces as part of its de facto alliance with Britain against France.

In fact, the Haitian Revolution had a profound impact on the early American republic at two polar levels, that of the Southern planter aristocracy and that of their black slaves. The Haitian Revolution turned the Southern wing of the American ruling class into counterrevolutionaries in deed and in doctrine.

From the very outset of the civil war in Saint-Domingue in 1791, Southern leaders advocated American military intervention on behalf of the beleaguered French planters. South Carolina governor Charles Pinckney wrote to George Washington urging this policy lest the insurrection become "a flame which will extend to all the neighboring islands, and may eventually prove a not very pleasing or agreeable example to the Southern States" (quoted in Winthrop D. Jordan,

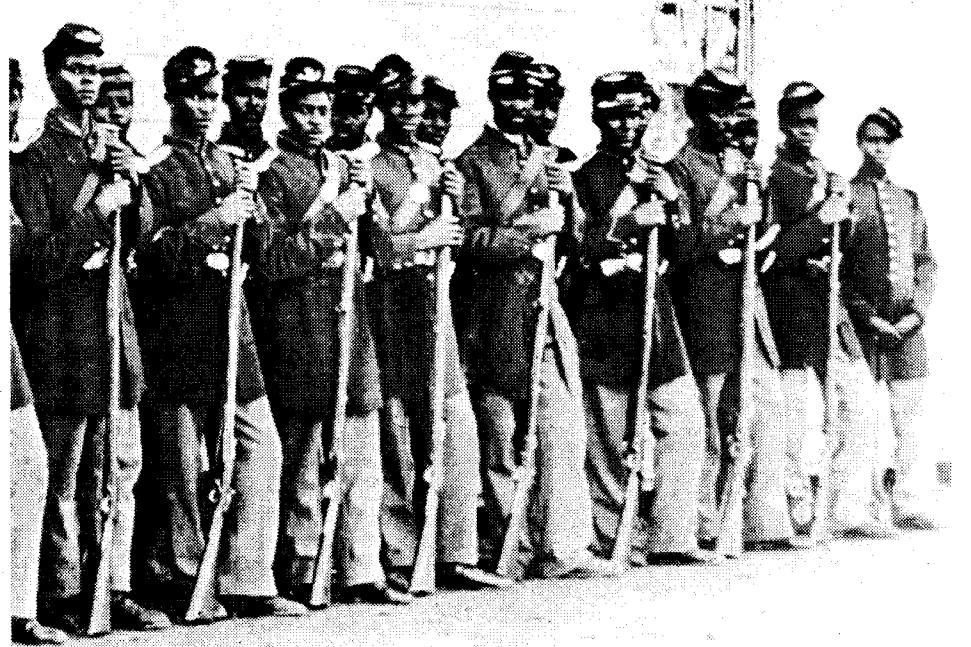
Civil War, a South Carolina newspaper denounced what it called the "black Republican" party of Abraham Lincoln as "ready for bloody and forcible realities as ever characterized the ideas of the French revolution."

Inspiration for American Slave Revolts

What Southern reactionaries decried as "the horrors of Saint-Domingue" was for their slaves a liberating example. During the 1790s, large numbers of French colonial planters fled to the American South, where they naturally felt more at home than they would have in revolutionary France. Many brought along their slaves, who spread the message of revolution from the plantations of Louisiana to the cities of Charleston and Richmond. At the same time, Toussaint sought to strengthen the anti-slavery forces in the United States by having his revolutionary decrees published in American newspapers, including in Southern cities like Charleston.

In 1793, a New York City newspaper reported: "They write from Charleston that the NEGROES have become very insolent, in so much that the citizens are alarmed, and the militia keep a constant guard. It is said that these St. Domingo negroes have sown those seeds of revolt." All slave revolts, real or suspected, were now blamed on the pernicious influence of the French Revolution and its extension to Saint-Domingue.

So fearful was the planter aristocracy of black Jacobinism that several Southern states barred entry to all "colored"



Library of Congress

Black troops in Union Army played decisive role in defeat of Southern slavocracy.

White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 [1968]).

The ruling elite of the American South now allied themselves with the forces of European reaction ideologically as well as in practice. Whereas Washington and Jefferson regarded slavery as a temporary evil, the subsequent generation of Southern plantation owners declared slavery to be the economic basis of a superior civilization, namely their own. Beginning in the 1790s, influential voices in the South renounced the democratic principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence as an incitement to slave revolts. In *White Over Black*, Jordan quotes a contributor to the *Fredericksburg, Virginia Herald* who wrote following the slave revolt led by Gabriel Prosser in Virginia in 1800:

"Liberty and equality have brought the evil upon us. A doctrine which, however intelligible, and admissible, in a land of freemen, is not only unintelligible and inadmissible, but dangerous and extremely wicked in this country, where every white man is a master, and every black man is a slave. This doctrine, in this country, and in every country like this (as the horrors of St. Domingo have already proved) cannot fail of producing either a general insurrection, or a general emancipation."

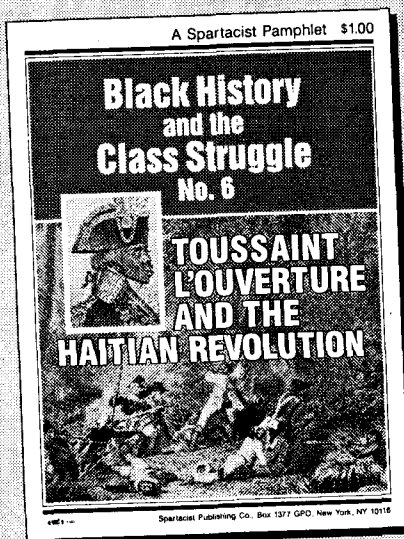
Hostility to Jacobinism became a central element in the ideology of the Southern slavocracy. In 1861, on the eve of the

persons from the West Indies, whether mulattos, free Negroes or slaves. In the early 1800s, the federal government under Jefferson adopted a similar policy, declaring the importation of slaves from the West Indies as "fraught with danger to the peace and safety of the United States." But the American ruling class was unable to completely seal off the slave South from black Jacobinism. A free mulatto from Saint-Domingue, Charles Deslondes, was one of the leaders of a major slave revolt in 1811 in southern Louisiana. Some knowledge of the French and Haitian Revolutions was evident in the two major slave revolts in Virginia, that of Gabriel Prosser in 1800 and of Nat Turner in 1831.

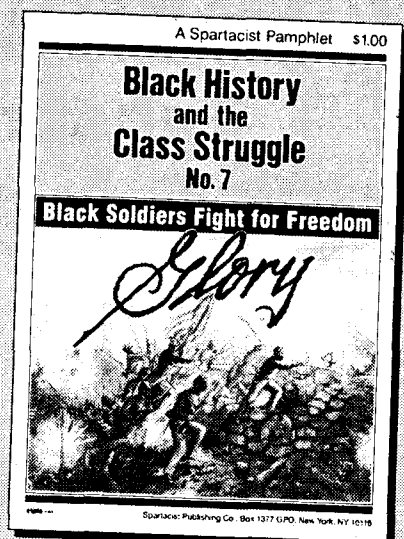
The long shadow of Saint-Domingue was even more strongly visible in the insurrectionary conspiracy led by Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822, as detailed, for example, in a recent book by David Robertson, *Denmark Vesey*. The South Carolina port had attracted the largest number of French colonial émigrés of any American city after New Orleans. Hence, knowledge of the successful slave insurrection on Saint-Domingue was more common among black people in Charleston than elsewhere in the South.

Denmark Vesey had himself been a slave in Saint-Domingue prior to the

Black History and the Class Struggle



No. 6 \$1.00 (32 pages)



No. 7 \$1.00 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

French Revolution. He was purchased by an English sea captain and slave trader, Joseph Vesey, who settled in Charleston and made Denmark his personal servant. In 1800, Denmark used his winnings from a local lottery to buy his freedom and opened a carpentry shop. Apparently, beginning in 1817 Vesey sought to organize an insurrectionary conspiracy using the black churches as his main base of operations. The insurrection was suppressed at the eleventh hour when a house servant who was approached to join it informed the authorities, leading to the execution of 35 people. Many were tortured to reveal their accomplices.

The historian Robert S. Starobin, who edited a documentary account of these events, commented:

"Compared to other insurrections, the Vesey Plot embodied an extraordinarily rich ideology. Beyond a general anti-white attitude, Vesey combined the Old Testament's harsh morality and the story of the Israelites with African religious customs, knowledge of the Haitian Revolution, and readings of antislavery speeches from the Missouri controversy."

—Denmark Vesey: *The Slave Conspiracy of 1822* (1970)

One insurgent recounted that Vesey frequently read aloud from newspaper articles about Haiti as well as the controversy in the United States over the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Another participant, awaiting his execution, said of Vesey:

"He said, we were deprived of our rights and privileges by the white people, and that our Church was shut up, so that we could not use it, and that it was high time for us to seek for our rights, and that we were fully able to conquer the whites, if we were only unanimous and courageous, as the St. Domingo people were."

Had the insurrection been successful, Vesey's plan was for the liberated slaves to commandeer ships and flee to Haiti.

In its own way, the Southern ruling class understood that the liberating message of the Haitian Revolution had penetrated their own slaves as well as black freedmen. In the panic following the suppression of the Vesey conspiracy, a pro-slavery apologist, Edwin C. Holland, declaimed: "Let it never be forgotten, that 'our NEGROES are truly the *Jacobins* of the country; that they are the *anarchists* and the *domestic enemy*'" (quoted in William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* [1965]).

Unlike in Saint-Domingue, other West Indian islands and parts of South America (e.g., Brazil), a successful slave revolt was not feasible in the Amer-



WV Photo

Union banner at August 1997 NYC protest that brought out thousands of Haitian immigrant workers against sadistic cop torture of Abner Louima.

ican South, where black slaves were outnumbered by whites and dispersed over many plantations across a wide expanse of territory. In the United States, black Jacobinism became incorporated into a broader and racially integrated radical democratic current—the abolitionist movement. Black activists, many of them escaped slaves like Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass, played a central role in this movement.

The abolitionist movement involved not only political agitation but also organized defiance of the laws upholding slavery. Tubman and other heroic black militants conducted the "underground railway" which transported escaped slaves from the South to the North and often into Canada. Abolitionist-led forces physically confronted government agents seeking to recapture runaway slaves. In the Pennsylvania town of Christiana in 1851, a few dozen armed black freedmen prevented a Maryland slaveowner aided by U.S. deputy marshals from retaking two runaways.

The Haitian Revolution was an integral part of the historic tradition claimed by black abolitionists. Some, like Douglass and James T. Holly, themselves visited Haiti. In 1858, amid the deepening crisis that would soon lead to civil war, Holly praised Toussaint L'Ouverture in a public talk titled "The Auspicious Dawn of Negro Rule." It was historically fitting and symbolic that one of the first American ambassadors to Haiti was Frederick Douglass, who, shortly after returning from Port-au-Prince, declared that "the

freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago."

Finish the Civil War!

In a certain sense, the American Civil War ranks as one of the great slave revolts in world history. When the Union Army entered the upper South, hundreds of thousands of slaves fled the plantations and took refuge with the Northern forces. Initially the Lincoln government, sensitive to racist sentiment in the North as well as the South, used the former slaves solely as laborers. But as Northern casualties mounted, black men were recruited into the Union Army en masse. Their numbers and courage provided a crucial margin of victory for the North.

When Northern Democrats demanded in 1864 that Lincoln rescind the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery in the Confederate states, he responded: "No human power can subdue this rebellion without using the Emancipation lever as I have done." Lincoln pointed to the 130,000 black soldiers and sailors then fighting for the Union:

"If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motives—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept.... Abandon all the posts now possessed by black men, surrender all these advantages to the enemy, & we would be compelled to abandon the war in 3 weeks."

—quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (1988)

The Civil War was the second Ameri-

can Revolution. But while the Union victory ended chattel slavery, the Northern ruling class soon betrayed the promise of black freedom. After the few tumultuous years of Radical Reconstruction—the most democratic period in American history, especially for black people—total white supremacy was restored in the South as blacks were stripped of their rights and exploited as sharecroppers by the Southern gentry allied with Northern capital.

In the 20th century, the massive migration from the rural South to cities across the country changed the character of black oppression and exploitation, as the vast majority of those who had been sharecroppers became part of the urban proletariat. As a result of the Civil War and the mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s, black people in the U.S. now have the formal democratic rights denied them by the "founding fathers" of the American bourgeois state, although those rights are still often denied in practice. Black people remain deeply oppressed as a race-color caste concentrated at the bottom of American society.

The black masses are penned in the inner-city ghettos, ravaged by disease, alcoholism and drug addiction and brutalized by murderous police terror. Infant mortality rates in America's ghettos are higher than in many "Third World" countries. Almost a million black men and women in the U.S. today are in prison hellholes, and one in eight black men are disenfranchised due to felony convictions. It will take a third American revolution—a proletarian socialist revolution—to genuinely liberate black people from the chains of racist oppression and attain full social equality.

A leading role in that revolution will be played by the black workers who constitute a strategic part of the multiracial proletariat. In New York City and elsewhere along the Eastern seaboard, these workers include a significant number of Haitian immigrants, who will serve as a living bridge to the downtrodden masses in Haiti in the fight for their liberation from American imperialism and its local enforcers. The road to black liberation lies in the integrated fight of labor to smash the capitalist system and its state and to replace them with a workers government. Success in this fight requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component. We say: Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

phony "eyewitness" testimony and concocted a "confession." The prosecution hid crucial evidence from the defense and, aided by Sabo, engaged in blatantly racist jury-rigging. Sabo was openly hostile to Jamal, denying him the right to represent himself and even expelling him from the courtroom as he fought for his very life.

Sabo employed the same kangaroo court methods during the Post-Conviction Relief appeal hearing for Jamal beginning in 1995, leading even the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 July 1996) to chastise him for "undue haste and hostility toward the defense's case." A pamphlet published last year by Amnesty International, *The*

Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—A Life in the Balance, briefly details Sabo's sordid history as a racist hanging judge, noting that he had been an undersheriff for 16 years and a member of the Fraternal Order of Police, which has spearheaded the drive to see Jamal executed.

Fueling growing popular opposition to the death penalty, in the last few years numerous death row prisoners—who, like Jamal, had been framed up and denied effective legal counsel—have had their convictions overturned after proving their innocence, often through DNA tests. Last month, a Pennsylvania state court threw out the conviction of Dennis Counterman, who was sentenced to death eleven years ago, when it emerged that the cops and prosecutors had withheld critical evidence of his innocence at the time of his trial.

But unlike Counterman, Mumia is black and was targeted by the cops because he is a supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist who has been defiant and eloquent in his opposition to racist capitalist injustice. The Philly cops and FBI spied on and hounded Jamal from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in 1969. And when they found him at the scene of Faulkner's killing in December 1981, they seized the opportunity to set him up for a legal lynching.

The liberals would like to depict Sabo as an aberration in an otherwise fair and impartial system of justice. Sabo is truly a racist pig. But as Yohn's recent ruling and the whole history of Jamal's case demonstrate, the capitalist state is a machinery of racist frame-up from top

to bottom. Mumia's fate must not be allowed to rest on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." What's urgently needed is mass protest centered on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday in September on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at (212) 267-1025 for further information.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net

National Office

Box 1377 GPO,
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Public Office:

Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York

Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

Public Office:

Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 395-9520

Public Office:

Tues. 6-8 p.m.
564 Market St., Suite 718

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

WTC Attack...

(continued from page 1)

of the American rulers abroad. We stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the Gulf War and in the face of the subsequent terror bombing, and opposed the starvation blockade—an act of war—from the outset. Likewise, in the face of the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia two years ago, which destroyed the entire infrastructure of that country, we raised the banner: Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! In the case of both Iraq and Serbia, we said that it was the task of the workers of those countries to overthrow the bloody nationalist regimes that oppressed them.

In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, various concocted “incidents” have been flying fast and furious in the bourgeois media. Stories that the plane which crashed in Pennsylvania was on its way to Camp David (how would they know?), that a bomb had been planted at the Washington Monument, that the military had shot down a plane over Washington, D.C.—all vanished almost as soon as they were reported. This is standard imperialist war propaganda, just like the manufactured Gulf of Tonkin incident which the U.S. used to escalate its war against Vietnam, killing three million Vietnamese before the heroic workers and peasants of that country defeated the American behemoth.

The attack on the World Trade Center has been attributed to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic groups like Hamas, the Afghan Taliban government and Osama bin Laden. All have vehemently denied any responsibility. But even if it were bin Laden, now the all-purpose enemy of U.S. imperialism, he is the creature of the American imperialist rulers who bought and paid for his services in the Islamic “holy war” against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. We *hailed* the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, noting that this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution particularly to the hideously oppressed women

of Afghanistan. The purpose of bin Laden and his CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists was to perpetuate barbarity and enslavement in Afghanistan.

But it is not simply the apparently ubiquitous and unidentifiable “enemy without” that they are gearing up to brutally repress. The capitalist rulers will also seize on the attack on the World Trade Center to dramatically increase the powers of their state—the cops, courts, prisons and armed forces—against the “enemy within.” In the aftermath of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton’s Democratic Party administration enacted the “Omnibus Counterterrorism Act” under which immigrants and all “aliens” can be subjected to star chamber proceedings in secret trials without any charges even being presented. The Democrats, with the full support of the Republicans, also enacted the Effective Death Penalty Act greatly extending the number of crimes punishable by death.

The most immediate targets of the forces of repression will be any and all people of Near Eastern descent, as this chauvinist hysteria goes into overdrive. This is true not only in the U.S. but in West Europe where, for example, the French government has flooded the subways with paramilitary police forces to terrorize those of North African and Near Eastern origin. More fundamentally, the purpose is to intimidate and constrain the multiracial working class from any social struggle. To be sure, the bourgeoisie’s labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—who tie the workers to the parties of their exploiters, particularly the Democrats—do their utmost in this regard. But as the gap between the handful of filthy rich who profit from the increasingly brutal exploitation of labor and the rest of the society grows exponentially, the rulers fear that even the spark of protest could provoke a social conflagration. Continuing to build up their forces of domestic repression, which they have long deployed against the hideously oppressed ghetto and barrio masses, is crucial to maintaining their class rule.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, a workers state which however bureaucratically degenerated did represent an alternative to capitalist exploitation and oppression,

the U.S. boasted of being the “world’s only superpower” and the American imperialist rulers thought they would face no challenge as they run roughshod over the rest of the world. It is a measure of the intense hatred for U.S. imperialism that the destruction of the World Trade Center, at the cost of likely thousands of innocent lives, could be greeted enthusiastically by many around the world. It is also a measure of the lack of any perceived possibility of defeating U.S. imperialism from within. The men who run Wall Street and Washington can and must be swept away *from within* by the working class in the U.S., which includes large numbers of black, Latino and, increasingly, immigrant workers from the Near East, the Indian subcontinent and East Asia.

The pusillanimous reformist “left” in this country, particularly typified by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), now points a finger at the American rulers’ support to bin Laden and the Afghan Taliban as “freedom fighters” during the Cold War. Left unsaid is the ISO’s own support for these reactionaries against the Soviet Red Army. In Europe, the groups that were once called the “far left” long ago sold their political souls to their “own” bourgeoisies. For them, railing against American imperialism as the “main enemy” is simply an alibi for their fealty to the social-democratic governments that were installed to carry out massive austerity against the working class.

In the neocolonial countries, where the masses of people are confronted with the complete bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, there has been a growth of religious obscurantism, particularly Islam. In the face of the armed might of the U.S. imperialists, and the genocidal Zionist rulers they bankroll and arm, some see little alternative than to strap their bodies with explosives and hurl themselves against their perceived oppressors.

Whoever the perpetrators of the suicide attack on the World Trade Center, it demonstrated the mindset of those who, typically religious fanatics, believe they have a god-given mission to exterminate all “non-believers.” Such Islamic zealots see trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women as infidels deserving of god’s wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no

different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S., where the domestic secret police, the FBI, was until recently headed by Louis Freeh, a member of the truly sinister Catholic Opus Dei. Nor is this outlook any different than that of fascist Zionists who seek to “cleanse” the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish “holy land.”

Terrorist bombings tend to be carried out by nationalist or religious forces because they are at best indifferent or at worst hostile to the entire population they consider to be the enemy. The World Trade Center attack was and could only have been aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many—ordinary, multiethnic, working—people as possible.

As Marxists, we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even that which derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions of state repression, which was manifestly not the case in the attack on the World Trade Center. Substituting individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, is counterposed to proletarian *class* struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of all the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the entire system of imperialist exploitation and repression. Rather, such terrorism serves mainly to provide a pretext for the bourgeois state to intensify repression.

In the aftermath of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, the American imperialist rulers have sought to find a surrogate for the war against “godless Communism” in the spectre of “Islamic terrorism.” This is the new external enemy against which they have sought to rally the population, and they aim to use the attack on the World Trade Center for furthering public support for their imperialist terror abroad, fostering the lie that the working people of the U.S. have a common interest with their capitalist exploiters. We say: U.S. imperialism hands off the world! The main enemy is at home! Our purpose is to build the proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party that will infuse the working class with the understanding of its social power and historic interests as the gravedigger of U.S. imperialism. ■

Anarchism...

(continued from page 5)

with liberal rhetoric to draw a clear class line through the “democratic movement against fascism.” Incorrigibly, and against the necessity of what Bookchin labels “a contrived ‘program,’” he and other modern-day anarchists vaunt their petty-bourgeois disdain of the working class by claiming that the CNT-FAI leadership betrayed the interests of its proletarian base merely because it was not democratic enough.

The Vanguard Party and Revolutionary Program

The question of leadership dominates the history of workers revolutions. It was the Bolsheviks that made the Russian Revolution different from all others, which were either betrayed and defeated by class-collaborationist sellouts like the anarchists in Spain and social democrats in Germany two decades earlier, or bureaucratically deformed from their outset by the Stalinists in China and elsewhere. The Spartacus Youth Clubs exist to break revolutionary-minded youth and young workers away from the false consciousness that paved the way for the betrayals in history. We defend the gains of revolutions past in order to fight for new Octobers worldwide. In this process, our revolutionary program, described in our slogans and demands at demonstrations, at speakouts and in our press, is absolutely indispensable.

Murray Bookchin cites the goals he sees as central to the anarchist movement in the conclusion of *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism*: “a confederation of decentralized municipalities; an unwavering opposition to statism; a belief in direct democracy; and a vision of a libertarian communist society.” But he gives no viable revolutionary program to achieve them. In fact, this is not a new problem for the movement Bookchin represents. Opposing the vanguard party on principle, anarchists have no means of establishing a coherent strategy toward leading the real-life struggles of workers and the oppressed to a worldwide victory. Rejecting the “Leninist tyranny” of a unitary revolutionary program, modern anarchists like the Quebec-based CLAC (Anti-Capitalist Convergence) among others issue calls for “a diverse and pluralistic resistance movement.” Faced with the highly organized, ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state—and ask anyone from the Balkans and Iraq to Hiroshima, the terror in Genoa was a very small taste—this is a call for impotence. Defeat and disillusion are the result, paving the way for a return to the “politics of the possible” espoused by the very national-reformist sellouts that anarchist youth claim to oppose. This would not be the first time that anarchists end up ceding leadership to opportunistic mainstream politicians.

Like the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917 and the Spanish Trotskyists in 1937, the Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win the most revolutionary elements from all

subjectively anti-capitalist movements to the perspective of socialist revolution internationally. That begins with a party that will mobilize the social power of the proletariat in defense of the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed—and that intransigently defends the conquests of workers against

U.S. imperialism abroad. This is the only way to bridge the chasm between the ideal of a classless, stateless society and the day-to-day struggles that workers and minorities take up against capitalist oppression. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: *For new October Revolutions, worldwide!* ■

Polygamist...

(continued from page 3)

rolling back women’s right to abortion, both in the U.S. and Europe. Such social reaction often hits minorities and immigrants particularly hard. In a recent case in France, a 59-year-old man from Mali and his two wives, who entered the country perfectly legally and have lived there for nearly 30 years, were suddenly targeted in a new ban on polygamy that is being applied retroactively. His residence permit was downgraded, and he and his wives were denied the right to work. “It’s not humane,” said Kouly Konate. “You can’t just say to a wife after 20 or 25 years, there is no more marriage between us. And what will she do? Where will she go? I can’t afford two homes, and I’ve nothing in Mali” (London *Guardian*, 9 May). This bureaucratic cruelty is purely punitive, with a particularly racist, anti-immigrant twist.

There are practices, religiously or traditionally sanctioned, which we do support state intervention against; for exam-

ple, the hideous permanent mutilation of young girls through clitoridectomies. Like foot-binding in prerevolutionary China, violent, life-threatening, disfiguring acts must be opposed. Religious freedom does not include the freedom to wound or kill. A classic example is, what should you do when the child of a Christian Scientist (who believes “sickness is error” and faith alone will heal) is threatened with death from a ruptured appendix? Obviously take the kid to the hospital, against the parents’ will if necessary.

President Abraham Lincoln, though he later signed a bill outlawing plural marriages, made an early statement to a Mormon journalist regarding the Mormons, a model of good sense and tolerance which this decaying capitalist society has long since abandoned. When he was a boy on the farm, he said, “Occasionally we would come to a log which had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. That’s what I intend to do with the Mormons. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will let him alone.” ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Beit Jala was the most sustained of the ever more frequent incursions into "autonomous" areas supposedly under the control of Arafat's Palestinian Authority. Combined with the escalating military attacks on Palestinian Authority offices, officials and police forces, this is a brutal statement by the government of Ariel Sharon that the U.S.-sponsored 1993 "autonomy" accord with the PLO is now a dead letter.

Armed to the teeth with high-tech weaponry supplied by their U.S. imperialist quartermasters, Israel's rulers have carried out a virtually one-sided war against the Palestinian people over the past eleven months. Over 600 Palestinians have been killed, including infants and children, and more than 15,000 more wounded. Three million people have been subjected to virtual house arrest, denied access to jobs, schooling and medical care as their villages are blockaded by barriers, troops and tanks. Farms have been destroyed to cut off local food supplies. With disease and malnutrition already rife, United Nations officials warn that by year's end half the population of the Occupied Territories will be getting by on the equivalent of \$2 a day.

In the wake of the latest bloody provocations, the *Jerusalem Post* (31 August), effectively a government mouthpiece,



Damascus, August 28: Palestinian refugees protest Israeli assassination of PFLP leader Abu Ali Mustafa.

imperialist and Israeli mass murderers condemned any talk of equating Zionism with racism and walked out in protest. With the Bush administration currently opposed to even cosmetic concessions to the PLO, the rival EU imperialists have tried to put themselves forward as "peacemakers" in the hope of wresting some influence from the U.S., with German Green foreign minister Joschka Fischer and EU chief Javier Solana both

tories; Palestinian areas were carved into mini-bantustans by "strategic highways" open only to Jews. We say: *All U.S./UN imperialist forces out of the Near East! Down with the bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq!*

True to form, Israeli spokesmen responded to attacks in Durban with screams of "anti-Semitism" and cynical invocations of the Nazi Holocaust. In fact, it is the Zionist rulers who bring to mind the Nazis, with their "lightning strikes" (*Blitzkrieg*), pogroms and "collective punishment." The fenced-in ghettos imprisoning and starving the Palestinians recall the Jewish ghettos erected by the Nazis in East Europe as they geared up for their genocidal "final solution." And it was current Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon who ordered the massacre of more than 2,000 Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. Warsaw Ghetto 1943, Sabra/Shatila 1982, West Bank/Gaza 2001—We will not forget!

Zionism, like all nationalism, is inherently chauvinist and ultimately genocidal in its logic. In countries where two or more peoples lay claim to the same land, national consolidation under capitalism inevitably means driving out or forcibly assimilating national and ethnic minorities through "ethnic cleansing" or brutal repression—whether it is carried out in the name of Zionism, Arab nationalism or "nation-building" in Africa. In the case of Israel/Palestine, the Zionists got the whip hand—with the backing of first British and then American imperialism—and proceeded to systematically subjugate and expropriate the Palestinians.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Zionist rulers' murderous onslaught against the Palestinians over the past eleven months has further cemented a chauvinist consensus among the Hebrew-speaking population. The liberal Zionist "peace camp" has all but disappeared, while the (bourgeois) Labor Party with which the Palestinian nationalists hoped to cut a deal is firmly ensconced in Sharon's bloody "national



South African protesters outside Durban conference on racism. Zionist rulers have locked Palestinians into impoverished mini-bantustans.

declared that "inevitably" Israel "will have to launch a massive lightning strike on the Palestinian Authority." The article continued:

"Every element of Arafat's police state infrastructure will have to be destroyed: headquarters and commanders of his personal security services, police stations, weapons depots, training camps, communications and propaganda facilities, including radio, TV, and government-controlled newspapers....

"Who will then rule the Palestinians? Perhaps it will be chaos, but chaos is preferable to the current unholy alliance of Arafat's Palestinian Authority and the Islamic terrorists."

Whatever the pretext cited for each particular escalation by the Israeli occupation forces in recent months, their murderous provocations all underline our warning that "the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions" ("Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians," *WV* No. 760, 8 June). It is vitally necessary to fight for powerful protest action by working people around the world, especially in the U.S., to demand: *Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!*

No to Imperialist Intervention!

While the DFLP raid deeply embarrassed the Zionist stormtroopers, it is obvious that the Israeli garrison-state cannot be repulsed militarily by the Palestinians. The aim of the petty-bourgeois nationalists, whether Arafat's Fatah or the DFLP and PFLP, is to secure imperialist intervention, either through direct appeals or through using the Arab bourgeois regimes as intermediaries. That is what was behind the hoopla at the UN conference against racism in Durban, South Africa last week.

With consummate chutzpah, the U.S.

visiting Sharon and Arafat recently. As for the "anti-Zionist" rhetoric of the venal Arab bourgeoisies at Durban, the *London Independent* (5 September) aptly observed that it boosted their "credentials as enemies of Israel in a way that cost neither money nor blood." While seeking to assuage popular anger over the Israeli slaughter of Palestinians, the Arab regimes brutally enforce the oppression of working people, women and religious and national minorities—including Palestinians—in their own countries.

In the U.S., appeals to the "human rights" pretensions of American imperialism are promoted by reformists like the International Socialist Organization, which is one of the chief movers behind the campus campaign for universities to "divest" themselves of stock in companies that do business in Israel. This campaign is aimed at conning students into believing that the American bourgeoisie, which has greased the Zionist terror machine to the tune of more than \$92 billion since Israel seized Gaza and the West Bank in 1967, can be pressured to come to the defense of the oppressed Palestinians. Such appeals are particularly grotesque as Washington again escalates its terror bombing against the Iraqi people, while domestically an FBI-led "terrorism task force" last week raided a Dallas-based host of Arabic Web sites, including that of the Arab world's leading independent news channel.

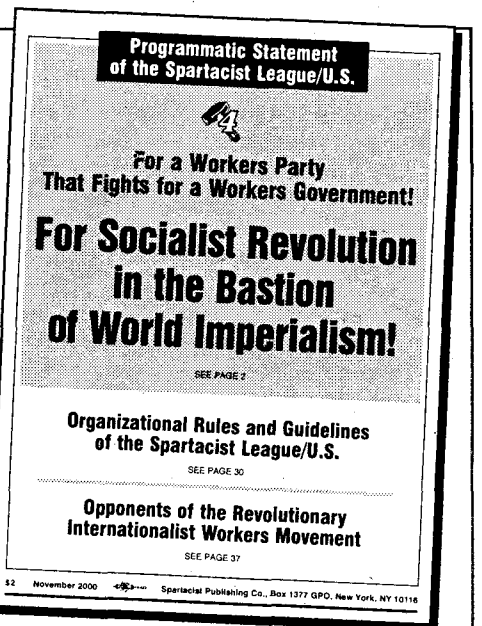
The last time U.S. imperialism intervened in "defense" of Palestinian national rights, the vaunted "peace process" led to a deepening of the Israeli state's apartheid-style practices. An electrified fence was erected around Gaza; the "settlements," which are in effect fortified military outposts manned by fascist auxiliaries to the Israeli occupation forces, were vastly expanded throughout the Occupied Terri-

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

\$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/
mail to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Reporter Testifies on 1982 Trial

Lynch Law Judge Vowed to See Mumia Dead

At an August 28 press conference at Philadelphia City Hall, Mumia Abu-Jamal's attorneys announced a spectacular new revelation exposing the sham of a "trial" under Judge Albert Sabo that railroaded Jamal to death row in 1982. In a sworn statement, court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter reports a discussion she overheard Sabo having with others in the courthouse where Jamal was tried: "Judge Sabo was discussing the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In the course of that conversation, I heard Judge Sabo say: 'Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the n---r.'" What sharper evidence could there be of the lynch law "justice" that put an innocent man on death row!

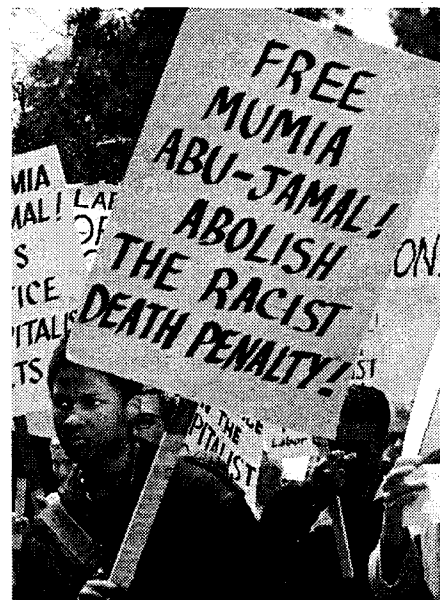
By the time he presided over Jamal's

case, Sabo had already achieved notoriety as a racist hanging judge, a "prosecutor in robes." In the mid-1970s, Philadelphia became the first city in the country to direct all homicide cases to a specialized group of judges. Even among this select gang of executioners, Sabo stood out as the "king of death row," responsible for meting out more death sentences than any other judge in the country. Of those 31 death sentences, 29 were handed down to minority defendants. And it was to Sabo's Courtroom 253 that Jamal's case was steered when he was framed up for the December 1981 killing of Philly policeman Daniel Faulkner.

Mumia has affirmed his innocence from the outset. It was dramatically

reaffirmed in May when Jamal's new legal team brought forward a 1999 confession by Arnold Beverly, the man who actually killed Faulkner. Underlining the determination of the forces of racist "law and order" to see Jamal executed, two months ago U.S. district court judge William Yohn, who is presiding over Jamal's federal *habeas corpus* appeal, barred the introduction of Beverly's confession, ruling in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Mumia's innocence! Aiding the cops and prosecutors, the capitalist media outside Philadelphia has imposed a blackout on the Beverly confession.

As we documented in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted in *Black*



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 12 San Francisco rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

History and the Class Struggle No. 15, August 1998), Jamal's trial was a travesty of justice in every respect. The cops manufactured bogus "evidence," coerced

continued on page 9

Furor over NYC Little League Champs

Bigotry, Baseball and the "Baby Bombers"

Almost two weeks after the Little League World Series ended, the New York papers from the tabloids to the *Times* prominently display articles about

Young Spartacus

the Bronx "Baby Bombers," who took third place in the tournament. Sparked by outbursts of anti-immigrant racism against the team and its star pitcher, the media has gone into a frenzy, arguing with astonishing hypocrisy about "ethics" in sports in the U.S.

The controversy started when a team from the overwhelmingly white and heavily police-populated borough of Staten Island lost to a Latino team from the South Bronx 13-0 in a semifinal in August. Following rumors about the age of the Bronx team's pitcher, Danny Almonte, the coach of the Staten Island team spent \$10,000 to investigate Danny's age. Even though this investigation came up empty-handed, it kept the issue hot after the pitcher launched his team into the national spotlight on August 18 by pitching the first perfect game in the Little League World Series since 1957. When Danny brought his team to the American finals, posing the possibility of a non-white team representing the U.S. in the World Series finals, the

investigation went into high gear.

Soon after the Bronx team lost the American finals, allowing a white team from Florida to represent the United States in the final game of the tournament, *Sports Illustrated* released a document from the Dominican Republic showing that Danny is 14, two years too old to play in the Little League. After Dominican Republic officials declared *Sports Illustrated's* document to be the accurate one, as opposed to the one presented to the Little League by Danny's father, the Bronx team was penalized. All



AP

of the team's victories were forfeited, including the third place final, and the coach of the team, Rolando Paulino, and Danny's father, Felipe Almonte, are banned from any further involvement with Little League worldwide. Now the district attorney for Almonte's hometown in the Dominican Republic has

charged Felipe Almonte with falsifying public documents; if convicted, he could be sentenced to two to five years in prison, possibly ten.

If it were a white Little League team that had overage players, such age forgery would go completely unnoticed, as it has for years. It is common practice in sports at all levels to falsify age, district, school records and any information necessary to allow players to play on teams they are not technically eligible to play on. Little League is no exception to this rule. Children who show promise are

Dad could get jail or boot

By RALPH H. ORTGA
DAILY NEWS STAFF WRITER

Baby Bomber Danny Almonte is 14, not 12. Officials in the Dominican Republic finally set making an umpire-like call that drew cheers and

Daily News

1 September 01

erday,

ngo to

Hypocritical anti-immigrant outcry targeted NYC Little League team, star pitcher Danny Almonte.

tracked from very early on to play on a Major League team. So it was for Danny Almonte, who seems to have been recruited out of the Dominican Republic for the express purpose of playing for the Bronx Little League team. The outcry over this player, and the attendant media blitz, are an expression of the vile racism

and xenophobia of American society. The bourgeoisie's need for cheap labor during the '90s economic boom slightly dampened its expression as regards immigrants, but by no means erased it.

These events come in the context of multiple outbursts of anti-immigrant racism in the New York area. Prominent among them was the brutal beating of two immigrant day laborers by racist thugs on Long Island last year. In the midst of the Almonte saga, a legislator from Suffolk County, Long Island, commented at a public hearing that if his town "was attacked tomorrow with [an influx of 'illegal aliens'], we'll be up in arms; we'll be out with baseball bats" (*New York Times*, 31 August). In response to the case of Danny Almonte, Turk Wendell, a former Mets pitcher, summed up the vehement response to the idea of an immigrant team playing for the U.S., saying, "I thought it was kind of funny. Here's a kid playing in the Little League World Series for an American team, holding an American flag and he can't even speak English. I was like, 'No way. He can't speak English?'" (*New York Post*, 2 September).

Against the racism and xenophobia promoted by the American ruling class, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club say: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the rights of racial and ethnic minorities!* Racism is used to divide the working class so that it doesn't unite against its common enemy, the bourgeoisie. We seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and INS raids, a common occurrence in the '90s which can only increase in times of economic contraction. We call to organize immigrant workers into the unions with full rights and protections. Through such mobilizations we seek to imbue the working class with a sense of its own power as well as the common interests it has with fellow workers of all races. We struggle to forge a workers party in the United States, a party which could lead a socialist revolution to eradicate once and for all the material basis for all forms of racism. ■