

Stop Bipartisan Attack on Women's Rights!

Free Abortion on Demand!

Late last week, the U.S. House of Representatives, with the support of 63 Democrats, passed a bill banning a seldom-used abortion procedure usually practiced in the second or third trimester—grotesquely and misleadingly dubbed by anti-abortion bigots as “partial-birth abortion.” A similar bill was earlier passed by the Senate, and President Bush has vowed to sign the ban into law. It would be the wedge for overturning *all* abortion rights, striking a blow to the right of women in the United States to legal abortion, subjecting abortion doctors to possible prison sentences, and potentially throwing women back to the days of degradation, helplessness, fear and back-alley abortions. In fact, the bill is deliberately worded so vaguely that many obstetricians say that it could be interpreted to outlaw second- and third-trimester abortions entirely; other doctors believe even some first-trimester abortions would be rendered illegal. *The sinister assault on abortion rights must be stopped, now!*

Ominously, there has barely been a peep of protest against the reactionary attacks on abortion. What is needed are mass mobilizations, backed by the power of labor and independent of the Democrats, in defense of abortion rights. But the strategy of reliance on “pro-choice” Democrats and the courts pursued by the liberals and feminists has served to demobilize the struggle. A clear example of that was the demonstrations commemorating the 30th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision in January this year.

The most visible observance of *Roe v.*



WV Photo

Spartacists at 1994 Bay Area protest over murder of Florida abortion doctor John Britton. Liberals, feminists demobilized struggle to defend abortion rights in favor of appeals to Democratic politicians.

Wade was a rally of upwards of 50,000 anti-abortion bigots in Washington, D.C., who marched down Constitution Avenue to the Supreme Court brandishing posters of aborted fetuses. At the Washington Monument, the reactionary horde was addressed by telephone by bigot-in-chief George Bush, who took a break from

preparations for the slaughter in Iraq to praise their “devotion to the cause of life.”

The ostensible defenders of abortion rights used the days around the anniversary to advertise their capitulation in the face of the anti-abortion onslaught. As the anti-abortion mobs howled, the program director of the New York affiliate of

the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL), Cristina Page, joined forces with a leader of the deadly anti-abortion group Right to Life of Michigan, co-authoring an op-ed piece in the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (23 January), also published in the *New York Times*, titled: “Prolifers and Prochoicers Should Focus on Common Ground”! This is revolting. There should be no “common ground” between those committed to defending abortion rights and those committed to the enslavement of women.

NARAL, meanwhile, marked *Roe*'s anniversary by changing the organization's name so that the word “abortion” would no longer cause offense, becoming “NARAL—Pro-Choice America.” In a January 21 speech, Kate Michelman, president of NARAL—Pro-Choice America, pointed to the threat to abortion rights and remarked, “When historians write the story of this moment, they will say every trend pointed toward the end of *Roe*.” This is absolutely true. *But today's rollback and threatened defeat of abortion rights has been prepared by the program of such bourgeois feminists and their supporters preaching reliance on the Democratic Party.* Those who really want to champion women's rights must wage their struggle independent of the capitalist parties, breaking free from the “family values” framework laid down by the ruling class and fighting for free abortion on demand.

The rollback of *Roe v. Wade* got its real start with Democrat Jimmy Carter, who brought the religious right into mainstream politics after the Vietnam War and signed the Hyde Amendment which

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Murderous Zionist Provocations

OCTOBER 6—Yesterday's air strike against a Palestinian camp in Syria marks yet another dangerous escalation in the Zionist state's murderous war against the Palestinian people. Though the camp was unpopulated and no serious casualties were reported, this assault deep into Syrian territory was a statement by Israel's bloody-minded rulers that they accept no bounds to their anti-Arab terror. Even more ominously, the government of right-wing Likud prime minister Ariel Sharon has renewed its

threats to expel or assassinate Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, a move which would certainly entail a massive bloodbath of Palestinians. The Israeli rulers are encouraged and emboldened by their American imperialist patrons, who have armed Israel to the hilt. The U.S. has also singled out Syria as a target of the “war on terror” and last month vetoed a Security Council resolution simply urging Israel not to harm Arafat. Today President Bush refused to condemn the Israeli air strike in Syria, instead asserting Israel's “right to defend” its “homeland.” *U.S./Israel hands off Syria! Israel hands off Arafat!*

The immediate pretext for the Zionist provocations is the heinous suicide bombing of a Haifa restaurant on Saturday, killing 19 and wounding 50 others. This criminal act of indiscriminate terror,

for which Islamic Jihad has claimed responsibility, is the direct—and desired—result of the Sharon government's intensifying slaughter and brutalization of the Palestinian people. It comes after a series of deadly raids over the past two weeks by Israeli forces in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jenin, site of a Zionist army massacre of Palestinian refugees last year, and the regime's announcement that the wall it is building around the West Bank will drive deep into Palestinian territory around the Zionist settlement of Ariel, dividing Arab families and separating farmers from their lands. Speaking before the latest suicide bombing, one embittered Palestinian olive farmer told the *New York Times* (4 October): “When they take your land, kill your sons, deny you food for your family, demolish your houses, and deny you

any freedom of movement, what do they expect you to do?”

The Haifa bombing also underlined the symmetry of interests between the anti-Semitic, anti-woman reactionaries of Islamic Jihad and Hamas (as well as their nationalist counterparts like Al Qsa) and the far more powerful and dangerous Zionist state terrorists and their fascist settler auxiliaries. Both sides seek to widen the river of blood dividing the oppressed Palestinian Arabs from the Hebrew-speaking people and to poison any possibility of proletarian class unity across national lines.

Indeed, the Islamic Jihad attack was made to order for Sharon & Co. In the last week, the Israeli bourgeoisie has been confronted with a powerful strike by civil servants and port workers to protest long-planned government cuts in welfare spending. The port strike is centered in Haifa, which is, moreover, one of the few predominantly Hebrew cities with a significant Arab population. The restaurant that was struck by Islamic Jihad was co-owned by Arabs and Jews, and employed and served people from both communities. In timing the attack for a Saturday, the Jewish sabbath, the perpetrators effectively ensured that their target would

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Down With Government War on Civil Liberties!

The Bush administration's admission last week that the Patriot Act is being used in cases far removed from even its own sweeping definition of "terrorism" is a chilling confirmation that the "war on terror" is aimed against the civil liberties of the population as a whole. One Justice Department spokesman boasted, "There are many provisions in the Patriot Act that can be used in the general criminal law" (*New York Times*, 28 September). The *Times* article reports, "The government is using its expanded authority under the far-reaching law to investigate suspected drug traffickers, white-collar criminals, blackmailers, child pornographers, money launderers, spies and even corrupt foreign leaders" in "many hundreds of nonterrorism cases."

A measure of the breadth of the government's potential hit list is the Fed's recent announcement of a centralized "terrorist watch list" of over 100,000 persons, a throwback to the McCarthyite Communist Index and Security Index, which designated nearly 30,000 leftists to be rounded up and placed in detention

San Francisco, January 6: Protest against registration and detention of immigrants.



camps during a "national emergency." During the protests against the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the government used a "no fly list" to prevent activists from attending demonstrations against the war. In recent weeks, the government has

detained under suspicion of espionage at least three men—all of them Muslim—who were acting as chaplains or interpreters for the hundreds rounded up at the Guantánamo base in Cuba.

As is stressed in the following speech by Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Paul Cooperstein at a September 25 Spartacist League forum in New York City, the principal targets of the Patriot Act and other such measures are immigrants, minorities, labor and all political opponents of racist U.S. imperialism. This was underlined by reports last week that the government is now using the Patriot Act in renewed efforts to deport two of the Los Angeles 8, Palestinian activists who have been in the state's cross hairs for 16 years for speaking out against Zionist repression. The vendetta against the L.A. 8 violates multiple constitutional rights, from First Amendment free speech protections to the prohibition on prosecutions using ex post facto laws. **Hands off the L.A. 8! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!**

* * *

I'm sure many of you noticed that we've just had about a month of the John Ashcroft traveling medicine show, a tour of the U.S. by the attorney general to promote support for the increasingly widely despised police state measures, centered on the Patriot Act. That they feel compelled to do this, to justify a law that was passed by Congress nearly unanimously, is quite striking. And, like so much of what this administration does, if it weren't so ominous it would be quite humorous. As opposition grows, Bush steps forward to call for even greater repressive powers such as those proposed in "Patriot II" which would

include a provision to strip citizenship from those who get in the way of Washington's imperial designs. In the administration's typically arrogant and ignorant way, they attempt to win over public support by touring possibly their most unappetizing figure—a man who among other things built a replica of the Statue of Liberty out of barbed wire and covers up the breasts of statues in the Justice Department when he gives speeches there. And who is this public whose hearts and minds Ashcroft seeks to win support for unrestrained police power—gatherings of cops and prosecutors!

Ashcroft's primary target in this tour has been those sweet little librarians who belong in Norman Rockwell paintings—their crime is warning library users that the Feds are monitoring what they read. So desperate is Ashcroft, an open lover of the Confederacy, he's even taken to invoking Abraham Lincoln as authority for the need for these police state measures.

This may have won Jon Stewart and the *Daily Show* an Emmy, but this is serious stuff. The Patriot Act and the other edicts mark a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. Using the September 11 attacks as a pretext, the government rounded up some 1,200 immigrants from Islamic countries and enacted the Patriot Act and a host of executive orders under which the government's secret police have vastly expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed. On top of this, the Defense Department has plans for a massive computer system which would allow the Feds to access financial, medical, communication and travel records of everyone living in or entering the U.S. In other words, the Bush administration will know what books and periodicals you read, what music you listen to, what movies you watch, what cities and countries you travel to, who you sleep with and what type of contraception you use.

Now the administration is creating a "counterterrorism" center to develop a master watch list of 100,000 "terrorism suspects." If you think this doesn't concern you, think again. In justifying its police state plans, the government's spokesmen rant that "terrorist sleepers" lead outwardly normal lives—students, businessmen, parents and soccer dads—i.e., everybody is suspect.

As we've pointed out from the beginning, while initially directed at immigrants from largely Islamic countries, these measures are ultimately to be used

Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," there has been a resurgence of interest in the petty-bourgeois ideology of anarchism as a seemingly "radical" alternative to Marxism. Yet when anarchism was tested as a political program during the Spanish Revolution, as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1937, the Anarchists of the FAI and the CNT trade-union federation helped to prop up the forces of bourgeois "democratic" counterrevolution, justifying this treachery in the name of opposition to all "dictatorships," including the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In and of itself, this self-justification that "we did not seize power not because we were unable but because we did not wish to, because we were against every kind of dictatorship," and the like, contains an irrevocable condemnation of anarchism as an utterly antirevolutionary doctrine. To renounce the conquest of power is voluntarily to leave the power with those who wield it, the exploiters. The essence of every revolution consisted and consists in putting a new class in power, thus enabling it to realize its own program in life. It is impossible to lead the masses towards insurrection without preparing for the conquest of power...

The renunciation of conquest of power inevitably throws every workers' organization into the swamp of reformism and turns it into a toy of the bourgeoisie; it cannot be otherwise in view of the class structure of society. In opposing the goal, the conquest of power, the Anarchists could not in the end fail to oppose the means, the revolution. The leaders of the CNT and FAI not only helped the bourgeoisie hold on to the shadow of power in July 1936; they also helped it to reestablish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and thereby saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism, which wished merely to be antipolitical, proved in reality to be antirevolutionary, and in the more critical moments—counterrevolutionary.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning," 17 December 1937, reprinted in *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* (Pathfinder, 1973)



TROTSKY



LENIN

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NEW YORK CITY

Amina Lawal Freed!

Nigeria

Fighters for women's rights around the world were relieved and heartened by the September 25 acquittal of Amina Lawal, the Nigerian woman sentenced to death by stoning for adultery. "I've never been this afraid," said the 31-year-old single mother as she entered the courthouse for her final appeal. Amina's plight came to symbolize the oppression suffered by women worldwide at the hands of religious and state authorities.

Shortly after her daughter Wasila's birth, Amina Lawal was dragged from her home in a nighttime raid by fundamentalist vigilantes. While the man accused of fathering her baby was allowed to plead innocent and was acquitted, she had no such option. At her sentencing in March 2002, Wasila was the only evidence an Islamic *sharia* court in northern Katsina state needed to convict her mother of the "crime" of sex outside marriage. Amina was sentenced to be buried up to her neck in sand and stoned to death. Joining an international outcry after Amina's appeal was denied in August 2002, we raised the call in "Save Amina Lawal!" (WV No. 787, 20 September 2002): "The workers

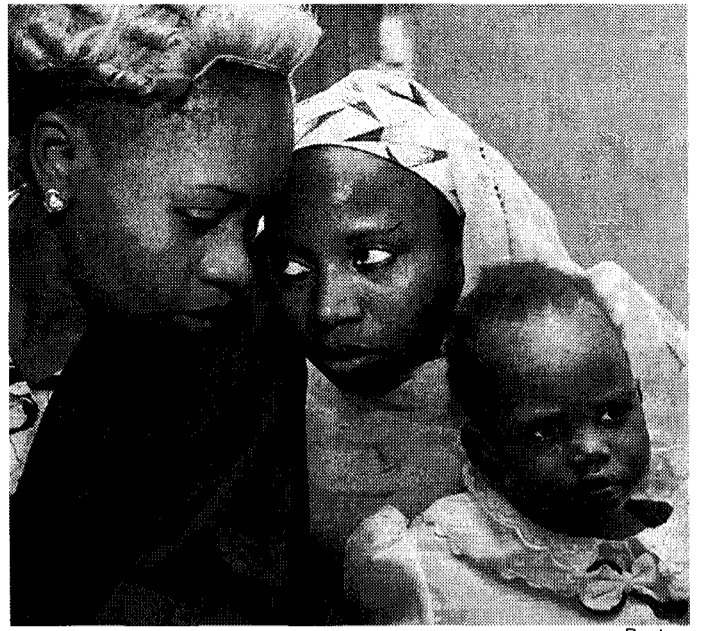
movement throughout the world must mobilize in protest action to stop this hideous execution!"

Following Amina Lawal's sentencing last year, the Brazilian and Italian governments both offered her asylum. The imperialist press was filled with denunciations of Nigeria; and the European Union, the U.S. State Department and the Canadian government all joined in condemning this "gross violation of human rights." What hypocrisy coming from the imperialist powers who in their own countries promote attacks on women's rights, from the axing of social programs to the U.S. Congress' current anti-abortion legislation! As we noted in WV No. 787:

"Barbaric practices oppressive to women are not confined to Nigeria or the Islamic world. In all societies based on private property, various forms of oppression have been meted out by all religions to buttress women's subjugation.... In all these class societies, the central source of women's oppression is the institution of the family, a vehicle through which property is transmitted from one generation to the next and the mechanism for raising new generations of workers.... The family is used to regiment society for the powers that be, instilling subservience to authority and reinforcing religious obscurantism."

For years, Nigeria has been racked by ethnic and religious conflicts. Over 10,000 people have been killed in the last

Amina Lawal (center) with her daughter Wasila and one of her attorneys at September 25 court hearing.



Reuters

four years alone. Since the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo, a "born again" Christian, allowed the imposition of *sharia* law in the north in 1999, women in particular have faced increasing repression, from being forced to wear the *hijab* headscarf, in Kano state to medieval punishments like the 100 lashes one teenage girl received for the "crime" of premarital sex. Others face the surgical removal of eyes or amputation of hands for minor crimes.

Since Amina Lawal was acquitted on technicalities, the door is left open for more women to be sentenced to death for violating Islamic moral strictures; she was not

the only person facing death by stoning in Nigeria. Three other alleged adulterers have been acquitted, and now a young couple of ex-lovers, Fatima Usman and Ahmadu Ibrahim, are appealing their death sentence for adultery in Niger state. On September 23, a 21-year-old man in Bauchi state was condemned to death for "sodomy" after he confessed to homosexual acts; other cases are pending. Homosexuality, like women's sexuality, is seen as a threat to the patriarchal family. We stand firmly for the absolute non-interference of the state into consensual sexual relations. *For the separation of religion and state! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

against the labor movement, blacks and opponents of U.S. imperialism. When New York transit workers voted to go on strike last year, the media screamed they were launching a "jihad," and the strike-breaking Taylor Law was invoked. On April 7, based on so-called intelligence information, riot-equipped cops at the Oakland docks fired on longshoremen and antiwar protesters, including supporters of the Spartacist League, with wooden bullets and concussion grenades.

Much of what the government seeks to do is seen particularly in the case of Jose Padilla. An American citizen, Padilla was arrested in May 2002 at Chicago's O'Hare Airport and held as a "material witness" for a month before the Bush administration declared that he had fantasies of setting off a radioactive "dirty bomb." So they declared him an enemy combatant and shipped him off to a military brig, where he remains today without access to an attorney, without charges being filed, without any prospect of a hearing or trial to challenge the accusations against him—the very essence of what we were taught in seventh grade as due process of law.

This is a truly dangerous precedent. It represents the government's assertion of

the right to disappear people as well as a frontal attack on the very right of citizenship itself. This is the Dred Scott case of today—a declaration that American citizens have no rights the government is bound to respect.

The SL and PDC filed a friend of the court brief in the federal court of appeals on Padilla's behalf. I would urge all of you to pick up a copy of the brief, printed here in the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. We point out that "the Government seeks to institutionalize in the American justice system the arbitrary deprivation of rights that are the hallmarks of right-wing dictatorships propped up around the world by U.S. imperialism." We point out that the "war on terrorism" is not a war in a military sense at all but a political pretext to justify the vast enhancement of the repressive powers of the capitalist state.

The brief traces the evolution of the democratic rights under attack today, won through centuries of struggle, including the Civil War that smashed slavery and the pitched battles that gave birth to the organized labor movement in this country. It describes as well the history of government lies and slander to justify its wars abroad and repression at home, including pinning the terrorist label on leftist political opponents—a label that left 38 Panthers dead and countless others imprisoned on frame-up charges for decades, among them death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

This brief is critical reading for defenders of democratic rights, workers, fighters for black freedom, radical youth and all who seek to oppose the current all-sided attack on democratic rights. It illustrates that under capitalism no democratic right is secure and, in reviewing the history of repression, that in times the rulers call "national emergencies" you can't fight repression with Democrats. This is a critical lesson right now. With a good portion of the population troubled by the Patriot Act, the Democrats have made Ashcroft a campaign issue. But to say that their opposition is superficial would be a gross understatement. The Democrats voted overwhelmingly in support of the law, were the moving forces for the Homeland Security Department and have made as their primary campaign issue Bush's failings on "homeland security." Many of the Patriot Act's provisions build on laws enacted under Clinton and proposals he

sought but was unable to implement.

We have continuously emphasized that what the government gets away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. We have called on the multiracial labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrants—calling for full citizenship rights for immigrants—and in opposition to the capitalist rulers' phony war on terrorism. A year ago February the PDC and Labor Black League initiated a united-front demonstration of 300 in Oakland—

centered on the powerful longshoremen's union—in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the Patriot and Maritime Security Acts. This mobilization, like the anti-fascist mobilizations we have organized independent of the capitalist Democrats, is an expression of our determination to act as a tribune of the oppressed and a small but significant step in building the revolutionary party that will lead the workers to power and consign the racist capitalist state to the scrap heap. ■

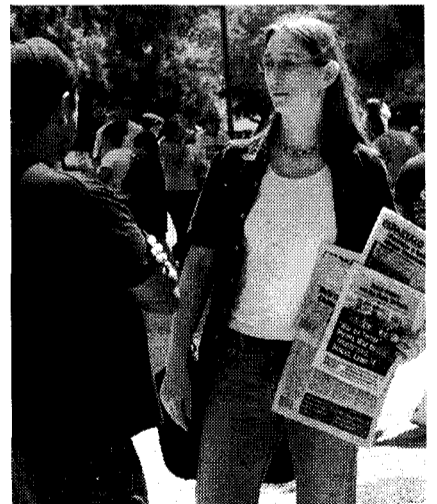
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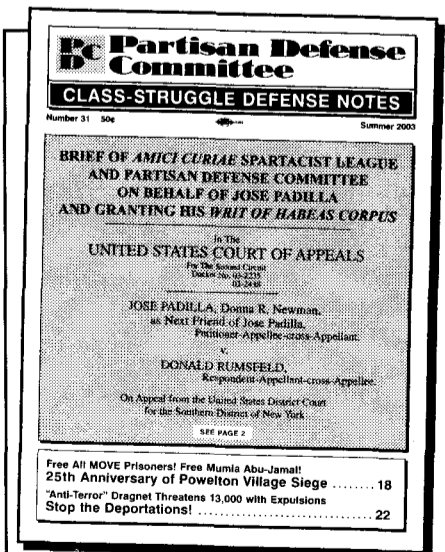
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Stop Expulsions of School Girls Wearing the Headscarf!

Racism and Islamic Fundamentalism in France

The following article is translated from *Le Bolchévick* No. 163 (Spring 2003) published by the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, section of the *International Communist League*. The article is a polemic against the minority in *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO), a long-time opposition grouping in LO that publishes a regular column in their press.

LE BOLCHEVIK

APRIL 18—On March 13, around 80 percent of the teachers at the Martinière-Duchère high school in Lyon went on a one-day strike to protest against a woman student's wearing of a colored bandanna (described as a "headscarf"). Once before, in December 2002, most of the teachers had refused to allow this student into their classes and had called on the bourgeois state to expel the girl wearing the headscarf. The teachers' spokesman declared: "We have the moral duty to try to recall what secularism means. If we let this go, tomorrow we will be encouraging acts of intimidation by fundamentalist movements, which will try to weigh in concerning the curriculum" (*Le Monde*, 15 March).

Since the conflict over wearing the Islamic headscarf in schools exploded in 1989, "secularism" has been cynically manipulated to cover up anti-Islamic bigotry in the name of the "values of the Republic." The separation of church and state and "secular" education are cherished gains, rooted in the French Revolution, which must be defended. However, these principles are completely *deformed* when they are used to attack these Muslim girls who wear the headscarf. It is nothing but the worst hypocrisy for this capitalist class, which uses every kind of backwardness and discrimination in order to maintain the capitalist system, to speak in the name of "secularism." The principle of secularism derives from the struggle to *defend freedom of expression* and to tear society from the clutches of the Catholic church. In France, Islam is a religion of the *oppressed*, a religion of the ghettos, which accepts segregation. The main enemy here is not Muslims but the racist, anti-working-class, anti-women French state. We defend the girls who wear the headscarf against the reactionary bourgeois state and against those who call on the bourgeois state to expel them. Meanwhile, the headscarf is oppressive and represents a reactionary social program of confining women in the family, in the home and in a position of servitude. Nevertheless, expelling these Muslim girls can only result in further reinforcing their isolation and oppression.

One "left" group well known since 1989 for its *support* to the expulsion of young girls wearing the headscarf is *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO). In 1994 LO even organized a counterdemonstration in Lille against students who were striking in order to defend 19 girls who had been expelled from school (*Libération*, 7 October 1994). Characteristically, LO ignores racial and sexual oppression, falsely arguing that struggles against these forms of oppression "divide" the workers. In this way, LO capitulates to social backwardness in the French proletariat and glorifies the working class as it is, instead of fighting as Leninists for the working class to achieve a higher level of consciousness



Above: Protest against ban on headscarves in public schools in Lille, 1994. Below: November 2002 Paris protest demanding papers for all undocumented immigrants.



in order to fight all forms of oppression and exploitation in bourgeois society and open the road to a socialist future.

As for the LO minority, they wrote an article entitled "Does Radical Islam Challenge Imperialism?" (*Lutte de Classe*, January-February 2003), which falsely seeks to present LO (or at least its minority) as the best fighters against Islamic fundamentalism, and polemicalizes on this basis against the rest of the left. The LO minority uses the method of the Big Lie: they make a false amalgam between, on the one hand, the well-known opposition of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France* to Islamic fundamentalism and all forms of religious backwardness and, on the other hand, the *Cliffites'* cynical enthusiasm for Islamic fundamentalism which they present as supposedly opposed to Western imperialism. Thus, the minority writes:

"Since the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism in Algeria and the affair with the veil in France (the expelling of three veiled students in Creil in October 1989), a debate has taken place within the far left concerning the attitude to take toward Islamic movements. Some far-left groups, notably the LTF (*Ligue Trotskyste de France*) and the *International Socialist current* (...in France today, *Socialisme par en Bas*) or even *Workers Power* have explained that state racism was solely responsible for the defiance of veiled students and that Islamic fundamentalism can be the expression of na-

tional or community feelings of Muslims in France which it is necessary to defend against the state and school.... As if, for these veiled girls, the main enemy is secular school!"

The fact that the *Cliffites support* reactionary Islamic forces is nothing new. They hailed the Islamic "revolution" in Iran, which threw leftist militants in prison and imposed the veil on women. They proclaimed that the oppressive *chador* was a "symbol of resistance," and they fully supported the anti-women *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. In this, they were united with Ernest Mandel's *United Secretariat (USec)*, to which the LO minority endlessly seeks to cozy up. The leaders of the *USec* saluted Islamic reaction in the streets of London and Paris (even chanting *Allah akbar!*) even as their supporters in Iran languished in Khomeini's prisons. In sharp contrast with this criminal and disastrous tailism by the "far left," we fought on the basis of the slogans "Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!" We published our propaganda in Farsi in order to win Iranian militants to breaking with the disastrous course of subordinating the workers movement to Khomeini. In 1979, we launched, under the slogan "No to the veil," an international campaign in which a woman comrade of Muslim origin carried out an international speaking tour to

address the left and the workers movement against the enslavement of women by Islamic reaction.

We in the LTF and the ICL have always been the greatest opponents of Muslim fundamentalism and *every form* of obscurantism and religious reaction. We also defend secularism, but a "secular" state is based on the idea that the state *should not get involved with people's personal beliefs*. The principle of "secularism" is grossly deformed by the Catholic majority in France to oppress the Muslim minority, and *Lutte Ouvrière* sings the same tune. In so-called "secular" France, the state partly subsidizes the private schools, including Catholic schools, and Catholic chaplaincies can be opened in *public* junior and senior high schools. Where there is so-called "separation" between the state and organized religion, now [interior minister] Sarkozy has set up a "French Council of the Muslim Religion" to directly involve the French state in running the mosques in order to better use them to more closely control the *banlieues* [working-class and minority suburbs]. According to *Le Monde* (1 April), Sarkozy "asked the imams to call for 'calm and serenity' in the context of the war in Iraq." Before the French Revolution, one spoke of an alliance between the sword and the cross, but in the *banlieues*, the French state uses the alliance of the billy club and the Koran in order to better police youth.

The increasing expulsions of Muslim women who wear the headscarf from schools (and the workplace) are an integral part of broader attacks which target immigrants in French society. The bourgeoisie took advantage of the Iraq war to massively deport *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] in charter flights. *Vigipirate*, which was put in place during the first Gulf War and reinforced several times since September 11, 2001 and again during the second Iraq war, aims to criminalize all immigrants, especially Maghrebins [North Africans], as potential "terrorists." This campaign of daily terror divides the working class by making them believe that the enemy is the Maghrebini co-workers of French workers and not the French capitalist class. We say: *Down with Vigipirate!* The workers movement must fight for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!

Even a march of women under the slogan "Neither whores nor submissive women" [a reference to the perceived alternatives of accepting seclusion or being considered "whores"] was manipulated in order to step up repression in the *banlieues*. Courageous women participated in this march. They were rebelling against the particularly oppressive conditions for women of immigrant origin. They are rejected by racist French society and also crushed by the oppression of religious traditions, arranged marriages, domestic slavery in the home and a stifling "modesty" brutally imposed on them by their "older brothers." The young women who free themselves from these constraints are often called whores and face social disgrace, the degrading violence of gang rapes or even death. The "Neither whores nor submissive women" march began in Vitry in memory of Sohane, a young woman who had been burned alive, and it passed through 24

cities, culminating in a demonstration of 20,000 people in Paris on March 8, International Women's Day.

In all struggles against oppression, it is necessary and fundamental to have a clear understanding of class society and the bourgeois state. As the "Neither whores nor submissive women" march did not orient toward the proletariat as the agent of revolutionary change in society, it finished by providing a "progressive" veneer to the campaign of cop terror by the French capitalist state in the poor neighborhoods and the largely minority *banlieues*. The "Neither whores nor submissive women" march was led by SOS-Racisme, which is allied with the Socialist Party (PS) (a founder of SOS-Racisme, Julien Dray, wrote the last racist, repressive laws passed under the Jospin government). "Neither whores nor submissive women" reinforced a media campaign aimed at depicting all Muslim men as anti-women criminals, when it is these North African men who suffer the most from the police violence and repression in the *banlieues*. In reaction, some young men published their own leaflets in Asnières under the title "Neither Machos, nor Pimps." One youth explained: "The problem is this amalgam between ghetto youth and rapists. We're already labeled delinquents. That's enough, we've had it!" (*Libération*, 6 March). On the last day of the march, on International Women's Day, Prime Minister Raffarin invited the marchers to Matignon—not exactly the "normal" place for ending a protest march in Paris. Normally, they are policed by riot cops who come down particularly hard on *banlieue* youth who dare to march in Paris! Television news showed women marchers demanding that the government intervene without further delay to protect women in the *banlieues*. The [Gaullist] UMP spoke of creating a crime of sexual harassment precisely under this pretext, since "the macho culture of the *banlieues* has greatly influenced our society" (*Le Monde*, 9-10 March).

It is criminal to sidetrack the anger and courage of these young women into calls on the class enemy, the bourgeois state, to protect them! It is not with calls for more police repression in the ghettos that one can resolve the pathology of the ghettos, which are hit by the economic crisis and where social backwardness is encouraged by the systematic segregation of minority communities! As we wrote in "Women and Immigration in France" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 57, Winter 2002-2003):

"This national isolation is created by the indifference to these questions on the part of the major left parties and trade unions. While the Communist Party [PCF] in particular engages in a certain amount of face-saving social work in municipalities it runs, sometimes assisting desperate individuals, they no less than the Socialists are on the wrong side of the fight to mobilize the whole of the powerful workers movement to act in defense of immigrants and in defense of women. The political abdication of a 'leadership' that won't fight on behalf of the specially oppressed means weak unions that don't



February 15 Paris antiwar protest. Sign reads: "Immigrant Women Workers: Triply Oppressed—Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

defend the interests of any of their members and a political climate dominated by racist arguments in the mouths of both the right and the 'left'."

In the current climate of witchhunts against immigrants and especially Maghrebins, *Lutte Ouvrière* cannot even bring itself to oppose the stepped-up repression of *Vigipirate*. This is not new. In the middle of the security campaign by the Jospin government in 2001, they even supported the cop demonstrations (see our article in *Le Bolchévique* No. 158, Winter 2001-2002). Now, in its article on "radical Islam" in *Lutte de Classe*, the minority seeks to provide a cover for the majority by referring once to opposition to "Vigipirate." It is also new that the minority's article describes the racist campaigns of the 1980s: the Mauroy government (which the PCF participated in) indeed denounced in 1982-83 striking auto workers as being manipulated by the ayatollahs in order to break the strike. However, LO pretends that the situation will change if only the workers' militancy increases: "What is certain is that the youth in revolt in the *banlieues* need perspectives" because there are no perspectives in bourgeois society, and therefore it is possible that "part of the youth turn toward the far right and part toward the Islamic fundamentalists. That would be catastrophic. Things have not gotten to that point, and the entire work of revolutionaries must aim at creating a situation in which workers struggles spread and various factions of the working class and its youth are not divided" (*Lutte de Classe*). The LO minority has some nerve giving lessons on "divisions" in the working class when they put the far right (that is, Le Pen's fascist goons) on the same level as their victims, who out of despair turn to Islam! The development of religion, this "opium of the people," is the result of despair and the absence of any perspective in the face of massive unemployment and segregation. What is necessary is to fight to raise the level of political consciousness in order to mobilize all the workers against racism and the anti-women and anti-gay bigotry that divide

them, under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, a Leninist party which is a tribune of the people.

Despite their attempt to present LO as the most consistent fighter against Islamic fundamentalism, the minority "forgets" to mention the role that LO itself played by refusing to fight against Islamic reaction in the world for the past 20 years, from Iran to Afghanistan. In Iran at the end of the 1970s, there was enormous social upheaval and struggles by the working class, the left and the petty bourgeoisie against the tyrannical, U.S.-supported Shah. However, opposition to the Shah was politically dominated by reactionary Islamic fundamentalists, led by Khomeini. At the time, nearly the entire left internationally supported Khomeini, the anti-women fundamentalist and, later, killer of communists. LO documents effectively the LCR's prostration before the ayatollahs during the Iranian revolution of 1978. At the time, LO recognized the reactionary character of the Iranian Shi'ite clergy, but they refused "to directly go up against the current leadership at the level of slogans and immediate objectives" (*Lutte de Classe*, 8 January 1979). Above all, the minority "forgets" to mention the main thing that fomented religious reaction in the world: the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

Islam, Women and the Counterrevolution in the USSR

In the ex-Soviet Union, across East Europe, in Central Asia—where previously there had been deformed workers states, where capitalism had been overthrown—the counterrevolutionary reintroduction of capitalism in 1989-1992 meant that women were thrown back at every level. Birth control pills and abortion were accessible and free for East German women, but they have lost those gains in reunified capitalist Germany. In countries like Poland, today again dominated by the Catholic church thanks to the Solidarność counterrevolution of 1989, women have practically no access to abortion. Out of despair, women from the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere in East Europe who previously could have been scientists or doctors, today survive only through prostitution. With the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan in 1989, Afghan women who had been trained as nurses and teachers by the Soviets were abandoned to the worst pillaging at the hands of the Northern Alliance, the Taliban and other backward Afghan forces supported by the imperialists against the Soviet Union. For the past ten years, the sun has not shone on Afghan women, veiled from head to toe and treated worse than cattle. Despite all the imperialist hypocrisy about "Afghan women" at the same time that they carried out a war against Afghanistan in 2002, it was the imperialists of the world and their reformist waterboys in the workers movement internationally (and LO played their part in this) who opposed the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and who applauded or acquiesced in counterrevolution in the Soviet

Union, and who have the blood of Afghan women on their hands.

The superiority of the Soviet economy can be clearly seen with regard to Afghanistan. A unique case in modern history, the rights of women constituted a central question in the Afghanistan war in the 1980s. After taking power in an April 1978 coup, pro-Moscow intellectuals and army officers of the PDPA tried to implement some minimal reforms in order to bring Afghanistan closer to the 20th century: land distribution, liberation of women from wearing the *burka*, reduction of the bride price. Such minimal democratic reforms triggered an explosion in this country, which was and is terribly backward without the slightest industry and with largely feudal conditions. Tribal chiefs and landowners declared a holy war (*jihad*) against the PDPA, skinning teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read. When Moscow sent Red Army troops to Kabul following the Afghan government's request, American presidents Jimmy Carter (a Democrat) and then Reagan (a Republican) supported the anti-women *mujahedin* against the USSR. [Socialist Party president] Mitterrand's France also gave support to the anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan. We in the ICL said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" The Soviet bureaucracy did not intervene in Afghanistan to make a revolution, but simply to defend the Soviet border threatened by the imperialists. From the beginning of 1980, we warned that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow could withdraw the troops from Afghanistan in order to appease the imperialists and promote an illusory "peaceful coexistence" with them. Gorbachev's cowardly withdrawal from Afghanistan, in the face of the imperialist campaign to supposedly help the Afghan people, opened the road to counterrevolution in Poland, East Germany and, finally, in the USSR.

In the 1980s, the entire "Trotskyist" fake left, in one way or another, took a side against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Today, in *Lutte de Classe*, the LO minority insists that Bin Laden, et al. were the creatures of the CIA in order to fight against the Soviet Union, but they disappear the fact that they opposed the only force which opposed Bin Laden & Co. at the time: the Red Army. They refused to take the side of social progress against imperialism, comparing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to that of the imperialists in Vietnam (*Lutte de Classe*, 7 July 1980). In *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky chastised those who confuse the expansion of the workers state with imperialist aggression:

"In contemporary literature, at least Marxist literature, imperialism is understood to mean the expansionist policy of finance capital... To employ the term 'imperialism' for the foreign policy of the Kremlin... means simply to identify the policy of the Bonapartist bureaucracy with the policy of monopolistic capitalism on the basis that both one and the other utilize military force for expansion. Such

continued on page 11



Franklin/Magnum

Women in 1980s Afghanistan took up arms to defend social progress against CIA-backed mujahedin.

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Young Spartacus

Exchange with NEFAC Open City Anarchists *Trotskyism vs. Anarchism on the State and Revolution*

2 July 2003

To Workers Vanguard:

In your May 9, 2003 issue you have a discussion of our leaflet *Anarchists Against the War*, which was produced for the February 15 antiwar demonstrations. We are the Open City Anarchist Collective of NEFAC (Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists) in New York City. You accuse us of Pressure Politics in Militant Clothing. This is our response.

Taking your last argument first, you say that the workers movement needs to be organized and led, specifically by your type of party. NEFAC is part of the tendency within international anarchism which believes that anarchists should build an organization around a revolutionary program. This is called Platformism. We are a democratic federation of collectives. We are working to increase our unity in action on the basis of programmatic and theoretical agreement and collective responsibility of each to all. We believe that such a revolutionary organization should work inside broader, mass, organizations to fight for a working class anarchist program. Our aim, however, is not to become the new rulers but to call on workers to form mass organizations (federation of councils) to replace the state (which is what should have been done in the Spanish Revolution of the thirties). This was explained in our leaflet.

What we are against is a centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine, whose form prefigures a new centralized, bureaucratic, state. Following Lenin and Trotsky, your aim is to create a centralized party which will rule a centralized state which will manage a centralized economy. The result must be, and has been, monstrous state-capitalisms, economically inefficient in the extreme, which have murdered tens of millions of workers and peasants.

You seek to defend the former Soviet Union by pointing out the suffering which has fallen on its people since its collapse. That suffering is real, but why did it collapse? Was it overthrown by a US invasion or a CIA plot? No, while Western pressure was continuous, Russian state capitalism collapsed from its own, internal, weaknesses, its decades of economic stagnation and decay. It was the Stalinist state capitalism of the Soviet Union which has resulted in the present stage of mass misery. To return to that system, as you wish, would be no solution.

You charge that we are merely for pressure politics, as in our participation in the Feb. 15 antiwar demonstration. As you say, revolutionaries cannot work out a common program with nonrevolutionaries against war. But, of course, we did no such thing. After all, our only agreement with the liberal and Stalinist leadership of the demonstration was a negative one, that we were against the war, and, following this, that we were for a

demonstration against the war. This is not exactly a common program against war. It was a temporary, limited, and practical de facto agreement for one day. What we did, in New York City, was to organize a Red-and-Black contingent of pro-working class anarchists which marched within the labor contingent. We put out the leaflet you cite, which denounced the Democrats and the union bureaucrats, called for revolution against capitalism and the state, explained what anarchism was, and advocated increased

win even limited reforms is to build a militant mass movement from below which threatens the capitalists with revolution. In fact, the memory of the anti-Vietnam war movement (combined with the Vietnamese struggle) had limited the ability of the US to wage war due to what they call the Vietnam Syndrome (popular hatred of war). This was, they hope, finally eroded by September 11. Your criticism sounds like you do not think that it is possible to win even temporary and limited reforms, which of

make crystal clear our opposition to US imperialism—which NEFAC has done.

Open City Anarchist Collective
of NEFAC-NYC

Young Spartacus replies:

We welcome the opportunity to continue the exchange with the Open City Anarchist Collective because it has provoked broader interest among anarchists and at its heart is the question: what methods will lead to the abolition of the state and creation of an egalitarian, classless society?

Anarchists view revolution as a transcendent act that in one stroke does away with all the material inequalities and cultural rubbish inherited from the past. Marxists understand that a classless society cannot be willed into being; it has to be prepared through eliminating material scarcity. We fight to mobilize the working class—the revolutionary class created by capitalism—to smash the bourgeois state, with the recognition that workers revolution will only open the road to a classless society; it cannot in and of itself achieve it. That's why we seek to replace bourgeois class rule with workers rule, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The socialist revolution wrests industry, banks, transportation, etc. from the bourgeoisie and places them in the hands of society as a whole. Through eliminating the anarchy of production for profit, economic planning under a workers state will raise the level of productive forces and eliminate the basis for social inequality. This must be the joint enterprise of the world proletariat and is the only way to eliminate the state and create a society based on "from each according to his ability, to each

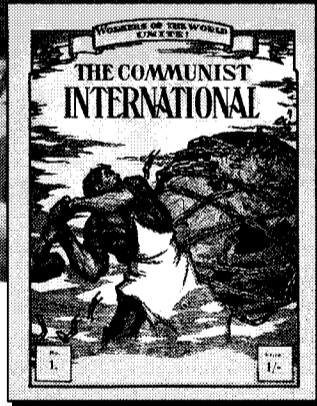
according to his need." We advocate a state that is different from any previous state in history in that it is an instrument of the toiling masses and, from its inception, begins to wither away.

All modern experience shows that it is fatuous to expect the capitalist class and its partisans—be they reformist, liberal or reactionary—to give up their tremendous power and wealth without a bitter fight. For the bourgeoisie, expropriation signals the loss of its "right" to extort profit, interest and rent through the blood and sweat of working people. The working class needs its own state to defeat the inevitable attempts at counterrevolution and to effect the economic transformation of society. As the revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg observed:

"It is impossible to imagine that a transformation as formidable as the passage from capitalist society to socialist society can be realized in one happy act.... The socialist transformation supposes a long and stubborn struggle, in the course of which, it is quite probable, the proletariat will be repulsed more than once."

—Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (1900)

Open City's letter drips with hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state.



May 1920: Lenin in Moscow addressing Red Army troops leaving for Polish front. Defending Soviet workers state required organizing and fighting for world socialist revolution.

class struggle and unrest by the military ranks. To call this a common program with liberals is bizarre.

What did the Spartacists do which was different from what we did? According to your statement, you also organized contingents to march in the demonstrations, under your slogans. By building a part of the demonstrations (your so-called Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents) you were building the demonstration. You urged people to participate in the demonstration by joining your contingent. Whatever you were doing in your sectarian heads, in material reality (in your actual behavior) you were participating in and building the antiwar demonstrations in a de facto coalition with everyone else who was marching—while raising your own program. This was the right thing to do, and is what we did also.

We wrote, "To limit their wars, we must put pressure on these states. To end their wars, we must end all states." You call this a "two-stage program" and fly off into never-never land by saying that this means "an appeal to the good conscience of the capitalists." Actually it says the exact opposite: the only way to

course is not what you believe.

Our leaflet said, "We hope the US is defeated in its aggression." You agree with this and try to counterpose it to the NEFAC slogan, "No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!" Actually there is no contradiction between support for the workers and peasants of Iraq fighting against the US capitalists and a class struggle, anti-nationalist, position (granted that slogans cannot express all the complexities of a political analysis). We called for the defeat of the US (which implies the victory of the Iraqis), but did not use the explicit slogan of Victory to Iraq. As an immediate slogan, this would not have made much sense when the mass of Iraqis hated Hussein's dictatorship, for good reasons, and did not want to fight for it. The Kurds in the north were actually fighting on the side of the US (unfortunately) and the Shiites in the south were holding off largely because they feared that the US would not overthrow Hussein, as it had not in 1991. (But now that Saddam Hussein is gone, we can expect increased conflict between the Iraqi workers and peasants and the US state.) In any case, our primary job in the US was to

It is inconsequential for the anarchists that the destruction of the world's first workers state was a historic disaster for working people all over the world, not least for the suffering masses in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. The world is now a far more dangerous place; no longer challenged by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists run roughshod over semicolonial peoples from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf.

Open City sees in the Soviet Union only a "centralized, bureaucratic, state" and "monstrous state-capitalism." In this, Open City follows in the footsteps of the late, nominally Trotskyist (but actually New Leftist) Revolutionary Socialist League, some of whose former members are now in Open City. From Karl Kautsky in Lenin's time to the reformist International Socialist Organization today, "theories" of state capitalism have proven to be vehicles for a fraudulent neutrality behind which lurks the appetite to support one's "own" bourgeoisie in its crusade against the workers states.

Decentralization: Recipe for Disaster

Open City condemns the "centralized, bureaucratic, state" and sneers at the Bolshevik party as a "centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine." They see "centralism" as an evil in itself, irrespective of the class forces involved. This is an old debate between Marxism and anarchism which has gone under the rubric of different terms in different periods: authority vs. autonomy, leadership vs. spontaneity, centralism vs. federalism.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who first coined the term "anarchy" in 1840, envisaged a society of more or less equal small-scale property owners, reflecting the views of the artisan layer which was then being ruined by large-scale industrial capitalism. Anarchists believe that communist society can be based on inherent human goodwill (see Spartacist pamphlet, *Marxism vs. Anarchism*). But as Marx noted in his classic polemic, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847): "Proudhon does not know that all history is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature." A socialist transformation becomes possible only with the emergence of an industrial economy, originally a product of capitalist development. In order for the proletariat in power to eliminate scarcity, centralism is essential, as Friedrich Engels explained in his polemic against anarchism, "On Authority" (1873):

"On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains.... Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action

speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?... "Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."

In its original leaflet, "Anarchists Against the War," Open City advocates replacing capitalism with "networks of self-governing worker and consumer co-operatives." But such "networks" are utterly incapable of running a modern world economy, which is much more complex and integrated than when Engels was writing. Who is going to coordinate, control and make decisions about the power grid, water supply, telecommunications, air transport, etc.? Anarchists should contemplate the recent power failure in the northeastern U.S., which occurred because the bourgeoisie's irrational campaign to privatize public utilities means that there is no central authority in charge of the power grid. Open City's program is utopian, i.e., incapable of being realized. But if it were, the absence of centralized planning would in all likelihood trigger the collapse of the world economy and a reversion of human civilization to pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. At best, competition between various cooperatives would eventually lead to the reintroduction of the capitalist mode of production.

Open City does not subscribe to the revolting views of the Primitivist anarchists. But the Primitivists at least have the courage of their convictions and take the shared anarchist prejudice against "centralism" to its logical conclusion. Their program to abolish all technology and "authoritarian" civilization means a return to a hunting and gathering society and could only be achieved by the death of most human beings on the planet.

Many youth in recent years have sought to fight the glaring inequalities of the imperialist world order by protesting "globalization." Some of these youth identify themselves as anarchists. But the anarchist economic program of decentralization can only perpetuate the division between the imperialist countries and the neocolonial Third World. Only centralized planning on an international scale, based on global exchange terms favorable to underdeveloped nations, can narrow and eventually overcome the divide that separates rural Peru from the Upper East Side of Manhattan.

While anarchists cling to the dogma of "decentralization," Marxists do not fetishize "centralism" for its own sake. As Engels noted in "On Authority":

"It is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word."

In the end, the real issue is not the degree of centralization but which class holds state power.

The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution

The 1917 Russian Revolution took Marxism out of the realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood. The experience of October won many anarchists to its banner. The dictatorship of the proletariat in practice proved vital to the consolidation of the social revolution. In mid 1918, the counterrevolutionary White armies, supported, armed and financed by the imperialist powers, launched a savage Civil War against the fledgling workers state. There were anarchists who actively fought in the Red Army to defeat the forces of reaction. One such was Vladimir Shatov, who nevertheless remained an anarchist throughout the Civil War. According to Emma Goldman:

"The Russian experience had taught him [Shatov] that we anarchists had been the romanticists of revolution, forgetful of the cost it would entail, the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact, the fiendish methods they would resort to in order to destroy its gains. One cannot fight fire and sword with only logic and justice of one's ideal. The counterrevolutionists had combined to isolate and starve Russia, and the blockade was taking a frightful toll of human life. The [imperialist] intervention and the destruction in its wake, the numerous White attacks, costing oceans of blood, the hordes of [White military chiefs] Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich; their pogroms, bestial revenge, and the general havoc wrought had imposed on the Revolution a warfare that its most far-sighted exponents had never dreamed about."

—quoted in Paul Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (1973)

Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders viewed the Russian victory as the opening chapter in the international workers revolution. The only way the workers state could survive in the economically backward old tsarist empire was through the extension of the revolution, especially to the advanced capitalist countries. By the end of the Civil War, Russia was exhausted and devastated. Famine and pestilence claimed millions of victims. Agricultural output had dropped precipitously. Industry and trans-

port were in shambles. Many of the militant, class-conscious proletariat had sacrificed their lives in defense of their state. The lengthy isolation of Soviet Russia, its material privation and the devastation of the Civil War gave rise to the bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin.

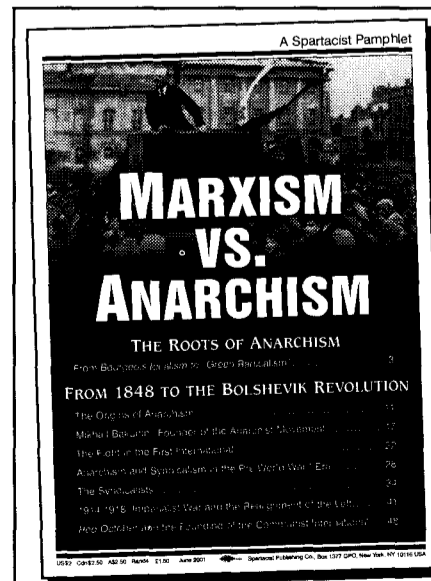
The genuine Bolsheviks—led by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition—waged a life-and-death struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which usurped political power and began to consolidate its position of privilege atop the workers state in early 1924. While the Left Opposition fought to maintain the revolutionary internationalist program that had animated the early years of the revolution, the Stalinists proclaimed their dogma of "socialism in one country." For its part, anarchism shares common ground with Stalinism. Open City's "networks of self-governing worker and consumer cooperatives" sounds a lot like socialism in one region to us.

Stalin's political counterrevolution was only accomplished by the destruction of the Leninist vanguard. By 1939, Stalin and his narrow clique were left at the head of a party membership of some 1.5 million, a full 70 percent of which had joined after 1929. The only human continuity with Lenin and Trotsky's party was Stalin and his cohorts. Open City must ignore these facts to assert that the "centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine" supposedly created by Lenin was the cause of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Stalinism was not the product of Bolshevism but rather its political negation.

The Class Nature of the Soviet Union

The consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was not a *social* counterrevolution, but a *political* one—the socialized and collectivized property forms remained. The Soviet Union uniquely did not suffer the tremendous falloff in industrial production suffered by the capitalist world during the Great Depression; instead the Soviet economy expanded significantly. The USSR's rapid economic development established as *historical fact* the superiority of a centralized, planned economy.

continued on page 8



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 and discusses the impact of the 1917 October Revolution. 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.

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NEFAC...

(continued from page 7)

Although the Soviet economy was terribly mismanaged by the bureaucracy and the Soviet Union lost over 20 million people and a great deal of its industrial base in defeating Hitler in WWII, the Soviet Union was the only country in the 20th century to build itself up from a largely peasant, agrarian economy to an advanced industrial power. It provided full employment, housing and free health care and education for its entire population, made possible only because capitalism was overturned.

Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union against the forces of capitalist restoration, whether imperialist armies or internal counterrevolution, and today defend the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea and China. Our call for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish a regime of democratically elected workers councils constitutes the most effective defense of these states and is part of the strategy of world revolution against imperialism. The International Communist League (of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section) fought to mobilize the East German and Soviet proletariats against the capitalist counterrevolutions that destroyed these workers states between 1989 and 1992.

Trotsky made an analogy between the Soviet Union under Stalin and a highly bureaucratized trade union. Unlike some anarchists, Open City does not equate the mass organizations of the working class with the bureaucratic misleaders. It advocates that revolutionaries work within the trade unions and defend them against bourgeois repression. Yet in the case of the Soviet Union, it insists that there was nothing to defend. It is in the crucible of class struggle that misleaders are exposed and revolutionaries acquire the confidence of the working masses; to abstain, to not defend gains already won, is to cede the field to the class traitors and make new conquests impossible.



Doan Cong Tinh

October 1973: North Vietnamese display Soviet-supplied arms outside Hanoi. Soviet workers state as economic powerhouse, military bulwark made possible victorious anti-capitalist struggles.

With the USSR isolated from the world economy and hampered by bureaucratic mismanagement and inefficiency, the productivity of labor within the Soviet Union did not surpass that of modern imperialist capitalism. The relentless military pressure of U.S. imperialism also took its toll. The collapse of the Soviet bureaucracy is graphic confirmation of Trotsky's understanding: the bureaucracy was not a ruling class but a bureaucratic excrement resting on the planned, collectivized economy.

Open City does not and cannot explain why the Soviet bureaucracy collapsed. What ruling class in history has exited the historical stage without a fight? Capitalism does not collapse of its own internal contradictions—even Open City recognizes that “an organization around a revolutionary program” is required to overthrow it. Why should “state capitalism” be any different?

Open City admits that the collapse of the USSR has brought untold misery to post-Soviet Russia. Implicit in its position is that there are two fundamentally different kinds of capitalisms, one more

beneficial to working people than the other. Is this what the members of Open City actually believe?

Platformism and Program

Open City identifies not with the anarchists who fought to defend the Russian Revolution but with those who actively sided against it. The “Platformist” trend in anarchism (which also calls itself anarcho-communist and libertarian communist) takes its name from the *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists*, issued in Paris in 1926. Associated with the newspaper *Dielo Truda*, the *Platform* was signed by Nestor Makhno and four other émigré anarchists. Makhno had led a peasant army in the Ukraine in 1918-21. It initially worked with the Soviet Red Army during the Civil War but later polarized as its anti-Bolshevik core attacked the workers' Red Army and carried out anti-Semitic pogroms (a documented fact denied by most anarchists today—see “An Exchange on Nestor Makhno: Peasant ‘Anarchism,’ Pogroms and the Russian Revolution,” WV No. 656, 22 November 1996). Peter Arshinov (a cosigner of

the *Platform*) and the anarchist historian Voline joined Makhno's forces. But as Arshinov (in *History of the Makhnovist Movement, 1918-1921*) and Voline (in *The Unknown Revolution*) both recount, very few other anarchists followed them. The partisan army led by Makhno was composed overwhelmingly of Ukrainian smallholding peasants, who were motivated not by anarchist theory, but by their own material interests as petty proprietors.

The *Platform* represented in the first instance an attempt to come to terms with the fact that the Bolsheviks, not the anarchists, had the support of the toiling masses and had led the Russian Revolution. Makhno's forces had consisted of wealthier peasants and smallholders and had no base in the Ukrainian working class or in the cities. This, along with the anarchist lack of collective organization, Makhno recognized in hindsight was a crucial weakness:

“It was during the Russian revolution of 1917 that the need for a general organization was felt most deeply and most urgently. It was during this revolution that the libertarian movement showed the greatest degree [sic] of sectionalism and confusion. The absence of a general organization led many active anarchist militants into the ranks of the Bolsheviks. This absence is also the cause of many other present day militants remaining passive.”

—*Organisational Platform of Libertarian Communism*, reprinted by Workers Solidarity Movement (2001)

The *Platform* advocates that anarchists participate in the mass organizations of the working class and that they organize themselves into a “General Union of Anarchists” based on “precise positions: theoretical, tactical and organisational.” The Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC), to which Open City belongs, is based on a set of “principles” broad enough to encompass different, and even counterposed, political programs. Open City claims there is no contradiction between the NEFAC slogan “No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!” and Open City's statement that “we hope the U.S. is defeated in its aggression [against Iraq].” But the first represents their program of neutrality in the conflict between U.S. imperialism and neocolonial Iraq, and the second clearly takes a side. Who has the final say on the organization's program?

Open City calls NEFAC a “democratic federation of collectives.” A federated organization by its nature gives rise to amorphous ruling cliques not subject to any definite political accountability. Open City follows the *Platform* in criticizing classical anarchism for lacking any provision for the political accountability of its membership and calls for an organization based on the “collective responsibility of each to all.” This is only so much verbiage in the absence of real programmatic agreement and leadership bodies.

Class Collaboration and the Antiwar Movement

As Open City acknowledges, war can only be eliminated by abolishing capitalism. The brokers of the antiwar coalitions perpetuate the illusion that war can be stopped by pressuring the capitalist state or the United Nations for “peace.” The entire purpose of limiting the program of these coalitions to “stop the war” or other pacifist slogans is to not go beyond the framework of bourgeois politics. Thus, Democratic Party “doves” like Barbara Lee and Jesse Jackson have spoken from coalition platforms. These politicians hold a place should the ruling class decide it necessary to co-opt growing social discontent.

In its original leaflet, Open City glowed about the Iraq antiwar movement: “Along with established left groups and peace organizations, the new movement includes neighborhood and church groups. It includes working people, as

Architect of Imperialist Starvation Columbia SYC Slams Jeffrey Sachs

The bourgeoisie's yuppie lapdog Jeffrey Sachs was hosted by the Columbia Faculty Peace Committee (CFPC) on September 17. Sachs made his name as an infamous braintruster for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) whose “free market” impoverishment plans granted nothing but devastation to millions. A representative of the SYC intervened before an audience of about 500 against Sachs' repulsive presentation on world poverty, titled “How the Neo-Cons Flunked Economics,” and exposed Sachs for what he is: a counterrevolutionary hired gun of the CIA and Vatican-backed Solidarność regime who played a key role in reducing Poland to starvation and the Soviet Union to desperation. At this event, Sachs offered unsolicited advice to the U.S. state on how to best exploit Iraq and the world, substituting economic for military subjugation.

That Jeffrey Sachs was feted as an opponent of the Iraq occupation is truly grotesque. The CFPC sponsored Sachs in a move to present “respectable,” i.e. loyal, opposition to the Bush administration's policies and, as forum chair Eric Foner made clear, to distance itself from the anti-imperialist statements made by Professor Nicholas De Genova at a CFPC teach-in last March, sparking a witchhunt against him.

During the war in Iraq, the Spartacus

Youth Clubs and Spartacist League built Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents at the antiwar demonstrations under the demands: **All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers!** Our contingents were built counterposed to the reformist politics of groups like the International Socialist Organization, ANSWER and Not In Our Name, who sought to funnel justified anger against the war into the Democratic Party, capitalist party of racism and imperialist war. Today, we protest the colonial occupation of Iraq and call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S./British troops. The international working class and the oppressed people of countries like Iraq and Afghanistan are now facing the consequences of the destruction of the degenerated Soviet workers state, which was a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. We defended the Soviet Union against counterrevolution despite its Stalinist bureaucracy because of the gains of the 1917 Revolution: the end of private property, a socialized planned economy and enormous social advantages for the entire population.

Despite his claims to be concerned about world poverty, it was evident from his summary, in which he applauded the inroads of capitalist property relations in

China, that Sachs salivates at the prospect of China becoming a giant sweatshop. We fight for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam against imperialism, including their right to develop and possess nuclear weapons. We seek to lead workers political revolutions to sweep away the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies and establish workers democracies. As the SYC speaker said during the discussion period before being cut off by Foner:

“My concern is not whether or not the U.S. will be a successful empire by exploiting and oppressing the whole world. Rather, my concern is how to get rid of U.S. imperialism and to smash capitalism. I take a side actually with the oppressed people of Iraq, and we in the Spartacus Youth Club know that the only way to defeat U.S. imperialism is through class struggle here at home, for workers revolution internationally. My question to you is: Isn't it the case that the destruction of the Soviet Union is the reason that the U.S. imperialists have been able to bomb, rob, starve and colonize Iraq? In fact, Jeffrey Sachs should know, as he was one of the architects of counterrevolution in Poland and the Soviet Union.... How can you justify the destruction of the Soviet Union, where your shock therapy plans there have meant massive unemployment, women's oppression, extreme poverty and death? And this is the same thing he has [planned] for China today—”

Chicago SYC Speaks Out Against the Iraq Occupation

On September 16, the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), under the slogans: "Down With the Colonial Occupation of Iraq! For U.S./UN Troops Out of the Near East Now! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!"

Just like our Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents did at the protests during the war on Iraq, we drew a hard line against the left's coalitions with liberal Democrats, calling for class struggle against U.S. imperialism. Our speakers pointed out that the only way to end the brutal imperialist slaughters abroad and the racist state terror at home is to mobilize the power of the working class to bring the capitalist system to its knees through socialist revolution.

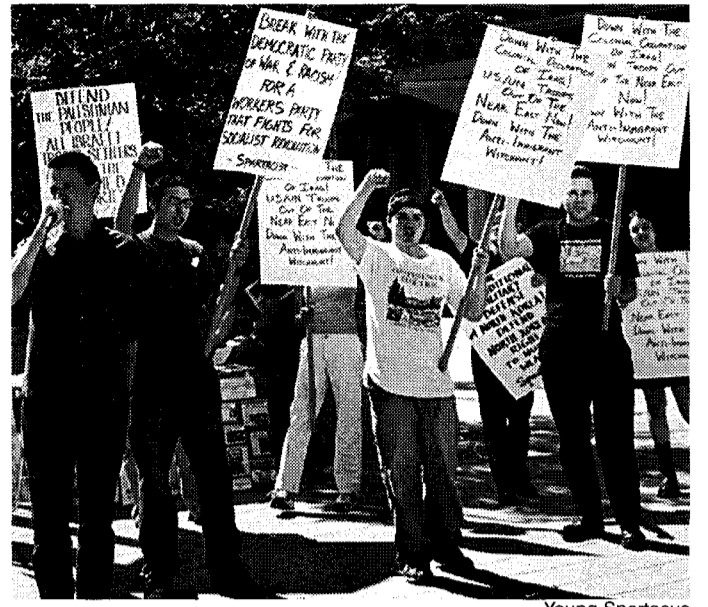
And where were the UIC members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) during our speakout? While dozens of interested students and others gathered at the Lecture Center Plaza listening to our speakers, the ISOers were standing under a tree on the opposite side of the plaza, scowling at us! One

SYC speaker aptly noted:

"The ISO refused to endorse our united-front speakout today. So where is all this 'unity' that the ISO throws around to all the liberals?... Why can't the ISO come out in defense of the oppressed now? They won't touch a protest built by the communists! And they have the nerve to call us sectarian! The ISO's idea of sectarianism is anyone who refuses to betray the struggle of the working class by allying with their own imperialist rulers!"

Unlike the ISO, which seeks to pressure the capitalist rulers, the Chicago SYC pointed the way forward in this rotten, racist, exploitative world that we live in, raising the red banner of the Trotskyist revolutionaries of the International Communist League. We made a splash at the UIC campus and explained that to win the struggle against capitalism requires an organized vanguard party with a revolutionary program that can mobilize and lead the working class in struggle.

The SYC fights to train revolutionary cadre to forge a Bolshevik vanguard party. Join us in the fight for a workers party, for socialist revolution! ■



Young Spartacus

well as a growing representation from within organized labor. It includes Black and Latino groups and women's organizations....

"A large movement is necessary, including a wide range of viewpoints and methods, operating in a democratic and pluralistic fashion."

Open City thought it necessary to be a part of an antiwar "movement" that was based on a bourgeois program and includes bourgeois politicians. This, simply put, is class collaboration, even though Open City looks to act as left-anarchist critics within this "movement."

In its current letter, Open City wants to disappear what it originally advocated. Now it insists that it did nothing different than the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs by building contingents in big antiwar demonstrations. We built our contingents around the demands: *All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers!* We appealed to the working class and explained that opposition to the war had to be based on political opposition to, and independence from, the "antiwar" Democratic Party liberals and the left-reformist organizers behind the coalitions. We sought to polarize the antiwar movement along class lines and to address militant youth and others who were genuinely looking for answers as to how to fight imperialist war. Open City sought to build the "movement," whose leaders made sure it was nothing other than an obstacle to mobilizing the working class in its own struggle against the war.

Open City says that "the only way to win even limited reforms is to build a militant mass movement from below which threatens the capitalists with revolution," citing the Vietnam antiwar movement. *But the Vietnam antiwar movement did not threaten capitalism.* While many youth who protested the war identified with the Vietnamese social revolution, the reformist misleaders like the Socialist Workers Party were able to contain protest within the fold of Democratic Party liberalism and student-based protest politics. They built coalitions based on the single issue of opposition to the war and including bourgeois politicians. As

a result, U.S. imperialism was able to recover fairly quickly from its humiliating defeat on the battlefield in Vietnam.

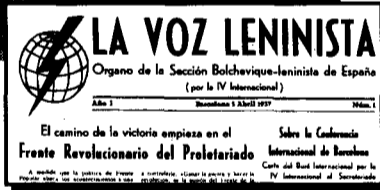
The SL intervened into the Vietnam antiwar protests to win a section to revolutionary working-class politics. We fought for the international proletariat to take a side with the Vietnamese social

U.S. imperialism on the battlefield was made possible only because the Vietnamese Stalinists already held state power in the North of the country, had a centralized military command structure, received military hardware and aid from the Soviet Union (though not enough) and had the implied protection of the Soviet nuclear



Augustí Centelles

Workers militia during Spanish Civil War. Anarchist leaders joined capitalist Popular Front government; Trotskyist press, La Voz Leninista, called for workers to power.



revolution, raising the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" This slogan was aimed not only against the imperialists but also against the Vietnamese and other Stalinists, whose advocacy of "peaceful coexistence" threatened to betray the social revolution in favor of a negotiated deal. We agitated for labor strikes against the war, which by 1970 had become a real possibility.

The social discontent that pervaded U.S. society at the time spilled over into the U.S. Army in Vietnam, contributing to the decision by the American imperialists to cut their losses and withdraw. Open City gives equal weight to the antiwar movement and "the Vietnamese struggle." This belittles the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam, who inflicted a humiliating military defeat on the U.S. in the course of fighting for a social revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist depredation. The defeat of

shield. The Vietnamese victory is a powerful example of the benefits of a centralized workers state, even one that is bureaucratically deformed.

For a Revolutionary Vanguard Party!

Unlike the bourgeoisie, which had significant economic resources within society before it took state power, the only weapons the proletariat has are its organization and consciousness. For these weapons to be wielded, it is essential that the most conscious and self-sacrificing workers combine with declassed intellectuals and organize themselves into a party. The revolutionary proletarian party expresses in its program the long-term interests of the working class and fights for them, in constant battle against agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement. Unlike the trade unions, the economic defense organizations of the working class which demand the greatest possible unity, the vanguard party must be based on a revolutionary program and the selection and testing of dedicated militants.

If the history of proletarian struggle in the 20th century has proved anything, it is that the indispensable condition for victorious proletarian revolution is the existence of a revolutionary vanguard party. One of the best examples is the Spanish Civil War, the most promising proletarian revolutionary opportunity in Europe in the 1930s. Spain is one of the few countries where anarchism did have a historic mass base, and Open City says nothing about the National Confedera-

tion of Labor (CNT), which was led by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). These anarchists played a despicable role, acting every bit like any reformist social democrat sitting atop a mass workers organization.

Open City argues that the workers in Spain did not form "mass organizations (federation of councils) to replace the state." But there did exist factory councils and peasant councils linked to anarchist-organized workers militias. Spreading these committees and consolidating them into an embryonic proletarian state to fight for power was the central task for proletarian revolution. There was no revolutionary party to undertake this task.

The CNT-FAI leaders joined with the bourgeois liberals and Stalinists in a capitalist Popular Front government. They told the workers not to fight for their own state but instead to defend the "democratic" capitalist Republican state against Franco's fascistic forces. The Workers Party of Marxist Unification, the POUM (often mis-identified as Trotskyist), also signed on to the Popular Front. The genuine Trotskyist forces, who formed blocs at times with the left-anarchist Friends of Durruti, were initially too small and then destroyed by the victory of the right-wing Republican and Stalinist forces in Barcelona in 1937.

The leaders of the CNT-FAI were crucial to demobilizing and disarming the proletariat, paving the way for Franco's victory. Yet NEFAC has carried CNT-FAI banners in Boston antiwar demonstrations. Open City may not agree with their Boston comrades on this practice. But they are in the same organization with them.

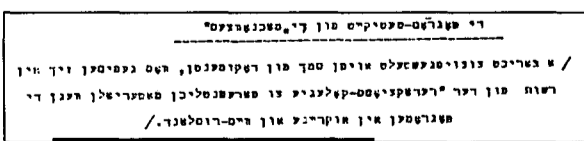
On one level, the entry of the CNT-FAI into the bourgeois government may appear to be a gross violation of anarchist principles. But such idealist "principles" explode at that moment when social contradictions arrive at the point of war or revolution. As then-Trotskyist Felix Morrow noted in his history of the Spanish Civil War:

"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 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."

—*Revolution & Counterrevolution in Spain* (1938)

In the end, anarchism is no guide even on the elementary question of telling the difference between revolution and counter-revolution. The exploited and oppressed of the world need a Marxist-led workers revolution as the first step toward an egalitarian socialist society. ■

Ukrainian anarchist Nestor Makhno's peasant army's anti-Semitic pogroms are well-documented by YIVO Institute accounts.



Каково-би ни било,однако, отношение самог Махно к погромам, создавшееся вокруг его имени и пропаганды повстанческого движения вписало кровавую страницу в летопись погромного движения на Украине.



University of Washington

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

banned federal funding for abortions for poor women, intoning, "There are many things in life that are not fair." The full-scale assault on abortion rights continued under Republicans Reagan and Bush. In 1992, Democrat Clinton won his election largely because of the support he received for his stand for the maintenance of legal abortion. The feminists celebrated Clinton's victory as their own, consciously demobilizing defense of the clinics. But the frightful erosion of functional abortion rights and the attacks on abortion providers continued unabated. Under Clinton, well over 200 state measures were passed—and Clinton himself signed legislation—restricting access to abortion. He also initiated a massive and vicious assault on poor women, black people and workers with the fulfillment of his vow to "end welfare as we know it."

Between anti-abortion terror at the clinics and anti-abortion laws passed with bipartisan support, abortion became increasingly inaccessible to women, especially poor and black women, in most of the country. Today, 87 percent of all counties and 97 percent of all rural counties in the U.S. have no abortion provider, while the price of an abortion is out of reach for many women. Pregnant teenagers are subject to snooping "parental consent" laws. After Dr. Barnett Slepian's assassination in 1998 in Buffalo, 10 percent of clinics reported resignations of physicians or other staff members, diminishing further the already tiny percentage of doctors who provide this

basic health care procedure.

Today, the abortion clinics are under siege and losing ground. Abortion doctors and other staff members are paying a terrible price for their courageous dedication to women's rights: seven have been murdered in the line of duty by "right to life" terrorists since 1993. That no doctors have been killed since the Slepian assassination in 1998 is largely because the anti-abortion agenda is now unambiguously represented by the White House. At the same time, though, according to a Feminist Majority report, in 2002 almost one-quarter of all abortion clinics reported "severe violence," including bombings, gunfire, arsons, bomb threats, stalking, chemical attacks and death threats.

You would never know from the bourgeois feminists that there is a one-sided war against abortion rights. The mobilizations that took place in the early-mid 1990s in defense of the abortion clinics against outfits like "Operation Rescue" were dissipated by the liberals' appeals to Clinton and his attorney general, Janet Reno, for federal legislation to defend abortion, like the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. Feminist groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW) also filed lawsuits against Operation Rescue and others under RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) laws. This has had the effect of ratcheting up the powers of the racist capitalist state while doing nothing to defend the clinics. RICO laws were used not only against the "right to life" killers, ineffectively, but against labor unions, quite effectively. The anti-abortion terrorists, meanwhile, were emboldened by the manifestly impotent legalistic appeals of the

feminists to even more provocatively attack the clinics.

The very fact that the phrase "pro-choice" has become the term of choice for the bourgeois feminists underlines their abandonment of any militant struggle for women's rights. As Rickie Solinger noted in *Beggars and Choosers: How the Politics of Choice Shapes Adoption, Abortion, and Welfare in the United States* (2001):

"The determination of abortion rights advocates to develop a respectable, non-confrontational movement after *Roe* encouraged many proponents to adopt the term 'choice.' In a country weary of rights claims, choice became the way liberal and mainstream feminists could talk about abortion without mentioning the 'A-word.' Many people believed that 'choice'—a term that evoked women shoppers selecting among options in the market place—would be an easier sell; it offered 'rights lite,' a package less threatening or disturbing than unadulterated rights."

Fake socialists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) make occasional criticisms of NARAL and NOW for their reliance on the Democratic Party. But the ISO simply counterposes a more militant version of the same program. The ISO takes NARAL to task for overtly supporting the Democratic Party. However, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (24 January) writes: "When the anti-abortion tide peaked in the late 1980s and early '90s with two Supreme Court cases that threatened to overturn *Roe*, huge pro-choice marches organized by NOW in 1989 and 1992 had a clear impact." In fact, under the leadership of NOW and NARAL these protests that the ISO lauds were street mobilizations designed to help get Democrats elected. It is not sim-

ply a question of taking to the streets, but what you are fighting for.

Roe v. Wade was not a gift from enlightened Supreme Court judges or Democratic politicians. Abortion rights, like other crucial democratic rights, were wrested from the bourgeoisie through tumultuous class and social struggle. The fight to defend the right to abortion—and to make that right meaningful for working-class, poor and minority women—requires a break with the partner parties of capitalism. The drive to reverse access to abortion is part of the "family values" anti-sex campaign, which includes slashing welfare, restricting access to birth control, abolishing high school sex education in favor of "abstinence only" campaigns and funding "marriage incentives" for poor single women. We fight for free abortion on demand as part of the struggle for free, quality health care for all; access to abortion should not be restricted to isolated clinics that can be besieged by anti-abortion forces, but be provided in the hospitals, like any other medical procedure.

The social power of the labor movement must be mobilized in defense of the rights of women as well as blacks, immigrants, gays and all the oppressed. As Marxists, we recognize that women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family which, along with religion, serves the capitalist class as a bedrock of social conservatism, bourgeois morality and submission to authority. It is essential to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in a socialist revolution that sweeps away this system of oppression. **Break with the Democrats! For free abortion on demand!** ■

Zionist...

(continued from page 1)

include Arabs as well as Jews, and the most liberal-minded, secular Jews at that.

Only days before the recent provocations, the Zionist garrison-state was jarred by a dramatic public statement by 27 Air Force officers—including a general, two colonels, nine lieutenant colonels, eight majors and seven captains—that they would no longer carry out attacks on civilian targets in the Occupied Territories. Thus these elite elements of the Zionist military establishment added their voices to a similar statement last year by some 500 ground troops and reservists represented by the Courage to Refuse movement. "Such a thing is unprecedented in Israel," noted Israeli liberal Uri Avnery on the *CounterPunch* (29 September) Web site. "Because of the special standing of the Air Force, the refusal evoked a much louder echo than the refusal movement of the ground troops." Though avowing their loyalty to the Zionist state, the "mutinous" Air Force officers have been denounced as traitors by the whole spectrum of the Zionist ruling establishment—from the military brass and the

right-wing Sharon cabinet to the politicians of the bourgeois Labor and Meretz opposition parties to the daily *Ha'aretz*, mouthpiece of liberal Zionism.

The courageous actions of the "refuseniks" are hardly likely to sway the Sharon government. But they do point to the extent of war-weariness and frustration among significant sections of the Hebrew-speaking population, who have seen their own living standards decline—while some 400,000 settlers are treated lavishly—and who see no end in sight after three years of anti-Palestinian repression and slaughter. Meanwhile, the plight of the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories has reached truly desperate proportions. They have been reduced to near-starvation conditions and seen some 2,600 of their neighbors and relatives murdered, including nearly 500 children. In an unusually candid observation for this apologist for the Zionist state, the *New York Times* (4 October) remarked:

"The West Bank has the appearance of a wasteland. Life is mostly at a standstill, with big cities, as well as the towns and villages, cut off from one another by a maze of Israeli-built 'bypass roads'—open to settlers but closed to most Palestinians—Israeli Army checkpoints and new concrete-slab walls and fencing and piles of bulldozed rubble blocking roads everywhere."

We demand: **All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories! Down with the entire network of settlements, fortified apartheid highways and military checkpoints aimed at suffocating and ghettoizing the Palestinian people!**

The only road to the emancipation of the long-suffering Palestinian people from the jackboot of Zionist repression lies through workers revolutions that topple all the bourgeois regimes of the region and erect in their place a socialist federation of the Near East in which the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking nations is assured.

This necessarily calls for the leadership of internationalist Marxist workers parties, not least to defeat the intruding foreign imperialisms, particularly the American. The Arab working masses must be won from nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism and the Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the death grip of Zionist chauvinism. We have no

illusion that this will be an easy task. But a start must be made by forging a binational Trotskyist nucleus in Israel/Palestine that would seize on every opportunity for class and social struggle to cleave a class divide between the Hebrew workers and their Zionist exploiters and win the former to the defense of Palestinian national rights as an intrinsic component of their own struggle.

The Zionist bourgeoisie's demented ambitions for a "Greater Israel" are of a piece with their exploitation of their "own" working class. In its efforts to break the port strike, the Sharon government has threatened to run scab transport through ports in Egypt and Jordan. Solidarity actions by Arab dockers in Aqaba and Port Said with their Hebrew class brothers and sisters in Haifa and Ashdod would strike a greater blow against the Zionist state and for the eventual liberation of the Palestinian people than any thousand empty United Nations resolutions. **Not Jew against Arab, but class against class! Defend the Palestinian people!** ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

drivers from the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 for the past year, and last spring mobilizing by the thousands in riot gear to arrest and intimidate antiwar protesters!

The labor tops' criminal reliance on the capitalist state is part and parcel of the class-collaborationist program on which they have built the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride nationally, making it little more than an election platform for Democratic Party politicians courting the Hispanic vote. The bureaucrats are not even calling for a campaign to organize immigrant workers in unions. Instead, the purpose of the Freedom Ride, with buses organized nationally from California, Houston, Miami, Boston and other cities, is explicitly to pressure Congress for legislative reform, with the vague goal of promoting an open-ended "road to citizenship" for all immigrant workers. The Freedom Ride rallies have been more like election rallies, with American flags passed out and Democratic Party speakers like Congressman Luis Gutierrez and black

Illinois Secretary of State Jesse White.

This was in sharp contrast to the first labor-centered demonstration in defense of immigrants targeted by the U.S. rulers' "war on terror," initiated by the PDC and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense on 9 February 2002. That demonstration, whose core was a contingent of over 30 members of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, was a mobilization of the working class and the oppressed *independent of the capitalists*, their parties and their state. That demonstration repudiated in action the lie of "national unity" which the racist capitalist rulers have used as the ideological basis for their racist "war on terror." As the LBL speaker at the February 9 demonstration explained:

"To line up the population behind their war-crazed ambitions abroad, both capitalist parties, the twin parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, are fanning the flames of patriotic bigotry through jingoistic 'united we stand' anti-immigrant campaigns. They are fostering the false notion that the ruling class has common interests with the workers even as living standards plunge and the ranks of the unemployed grow. This racist lie means accepting second-class status for black people and denial of citizenship rights for the foreign born. This assault has particularly targeted immigrants of Near Eastern origin. The racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims is promoted by Attorney General John Ashcroft, a lover of the Confederate flag, the bloody flag of slavery and racist terror."

The racist rulers' anti-immigrant witch-hunt has put the wind in the sails of the fascist killers. Chicago is a labor town, a black town, a Latino town! Chicago trade unionists, including members of ATU Locals 241 and 308, have been the backbone of labor/black mobilizations against the KKK and Nazis, such as in Gary, Indiana in 2001, and in Springfield, Illinois in 1994. In June 1982, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization that stopped a Nazi provocation against the Chicago Gay Pride parade. To unleash the power of labor in defense of immigrants and to drive the fascists from the streets, it is necessary to break the stranglehold of the Democratic Party, and forge a revolutionary workers party fighting to overturn the capitalist system which breeds the fascist scum. As we chanted on September 27: **"Democrats, Republicans, no solution! Build a workers party—for workers revolution!"** ■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Opponents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Movement

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Rotterdam...

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who tried to escape were attacked from behind; the police always aimed at their heads. Several workers were left lying unconscious on the ground. At least three—one worker from Hamburg, one from Bremerhaven and one from France—required hospital treatment. Although there are no exact figures, according to the ETF (European Transport Union Federation) 26 port workers, mainly from France and Belgium, were arrested and some of them were injured. Two days later, at least one French worker was still in jail. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Committee for Social Defense calls on trade unions and all organizations of the workers movement and the international left to send protest statements to the Interior Ministry of the Netherlands! Organize union protest meetings demanding the immediate release of all the port workers and that all the charges against demonstrators be dropped! Protest the bloody police attack on the demonstrators against the Port Package!

It is extremely ominous that the capitalists dare to have their police frontally attack a demonstration of workers from across Europe in a strategic industry. Here was a display of social power. Not only Rotterdam, the largest harbor in Europe, was shut down on this day. Antwerp, right around the corner from Rotterdam, was also struck, and on the Belgian-French coast down as far as Rouen, harbors were closed. From the start, police, including mounted police, were at the assembly point, and there were repeated provocations. The Belgian workers, dressed in bright orange and the best-organized of all the contingents, thought correctly that the police had no business being in the demo and defended themselves. The bosses and their newspapers are now particularly going after the militant Belgian port workers, whom they are smearing as violent. They want to play off the German against the Belgian against the French workers, so that tomorrow, if the bosses can't get their ship unloaded in Antwerp because the workers there are striking against the Port Package, they can divert the ship to



Rotterdam protest attracted thousands of dockers from around Europe.

Hamburg or Rotterdam!

Even a half year after the protests against the Port Package at the beginning of March in Brussels, the bosses are still mad with rage over those militant international workers' protests. The attack in Rotterdam was also an act of revenge for the port workers' sacrilege in trying to storm the EU headquarters in Brussels. **Down with the nationalist campaign against our Belgian class brothers!**

A representative of the ILWU (International Longshore and Warehouse Union) received thunderous applause at the demonstration when he reported about the struggle of the longshore workers against the lockout and the Bush government. In April this year at the Oakland port, ILWU members and antiwar demonstrators were the target of a brutal police attack, where demonstrators and dock workers who were standing nearby were sprayed with wooden bullets and concussion grenades. In early January 2000, hundreds of police attacked picket lines of the International Longshoremen's Association in Charleston, South Carolina, in an attempt to smash the union. Afterwards five unionists, the Charleston Five, faced—but beat back—criminal charges for defending their union.

The police attacks in Oakland, Charleston and Rotterdam are in line with the bloody attacks on the anti-globalization protests—first in Göteborg in 2001, where police first shot youth and unionists in the back and the courts then sent the protesters to jail, and then later that

year in Genoa, where the leftist youth Carlos Giuliani was assassinated outright on the street and hundreds of demonstrators were severely injured. As we warned then, this was a bloody message from the capitalists of Europe as to how they will deal with anyone who in some way resists their racist, anti-union Fortress Europe and their imperialist world order. And that's been brutally confirmed—this police terror is ultimately aimed against the unions, which stand in the way of the unlimited greed of the bosses for more and more profit. The attack showed very clearly what the role and task of the police are as the core of the capitalist state: they are the armed fist of the class enemy against the workers movement. They have absolutely no business in the workers movement: **Cops out of the unions!**

This attack is intended to strangle any union resistance to the Port Package, which consists of a series of new EU regulations to make possible, among other things, "self-handling." The largely unorganized, much more poorly paid seamen—and no longer the longshore workers—are to deal with the loading and unloading of ships in the harbors. Apart from that, the "liberalization measures" will help to further increase the profits of the harbor bosses by making it easier for companies paying low wages to compete with those that still have to pay union rates, thus lowering the wages of all port workers. A speaker from Liverpool reported that there are at most a handful of organized dock workers left there after

the union got smashed by the bosses' attacks. In the British Isles, these regulations are already in force and the pace of work has led to one of the highest accident rates of all the European ports.

A speaker from the Romanian seamen explained at the final rally in Rotterdam: "Harbor workers and seamen stand together. We won't allow them to play us off against each other." This was greeted with applause. The slogan put forward by the ITF (International Transport Workers' Federation) leadership, "Harbor work for harbor workers," spurns the harbor workers' logical allies, seamen and transport workers. It is very important to sharply oppose any attempt to turn the foreign-flag seamen into scapegoats, as has occurred over and over again at protests against the Port Package. The same thing applies to campaigns against "Asian living standards." Such a protectionist program divides the workers along national lines. **It is in the direct interest of the port workers to fight for everyone who loads and unloads ships to get the highest possible union wage, regardless of which country he comes from or who he works for. Equal pay for equal work!**

To prevent harbor workers and seamen from being played off against each other, the harbor workers must fight for union wages for the seamen, who generally have less power and are unorganized, wretchedly paid and exposed to bad working conditions. The annual one-week ITF boycott of low-wage ships achieves important improvements for some seamen, but it must be extended and **joined with the Port Package protests, instead of separating them from the Port Package protests, as the ITF tops do. The port workers must defend the seamen in a struggle for union wages and union rights! For a united struggle to organize dockers, seamen, transport workers, day laborers and others working the harbor into industrial unions! For internationalist class struggle! Down with the racist, anti-union Fortress Europe! Full citizen-ship rights for all immigrants!**

* * *

Please fax protest statements with the demand for the release of all workers and the dropping of all charges to the Interior Ministry of the Netherlands, fax: 011-31-70-363-91-53. ■

France...

(continued from page 5)

an identification, capable of sowing only confusion, is much more proper to petty-bourgeois democrats than to Marxists."

The imperialist epoch is marked by the division of the world among a few great capitalist powers who export not only goods but finance capital, based on the private ownership of the means of production. This has nothing in common

with the Soviet Union which had a centralized, socialized and planned economy—the entire capitalist class had been swept away. That is why, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, the USSR could bring progress to the Afghans.

At the time of the withdrawal of the Soviet Union in 1989, LO said that "between the pro-Russian camp and the rebellion, the only difference is that the former are pro-Russian" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 21 January 1989). In contrast, we in the ICL actively solidarized with the Afghan

masses who continued to wage a bitter struggle for their survival against the threat posed by the *mujahedin*. We proposed to organize international brigades in order to help them fight the fundamentalist killers supported by the CIA. Our offer was refused, but we nonetheless responded to a call by the PDPA government for financial aid. We raised over \$44,000 internationally to aid the civilian victims. We knew that it was better to stop counterrevolution in Afghanistan than in the Soviet Union and that, furthermore, a victory in Afghanistan against the fundamentalists would provide powerful inspiration for revolutionary struggle in the whole region, and for political revolution in the USSR.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Those who, tailing the imperialists, refused to defend the gains of the October Revolution will never be able to make a revolution against the imperialists. And not only did LO refuse to defend the gains of the already accomplished revolutions, but they are even incapable of defending Maghrebin girls against the bourgeois state under capitalism. The only way to fight racism, anti-woman discrimination and war is at bottom to fight for socialist revolution against this intrinsically racist and anti-woman capitalist system. In bourgeois society, women's oppression exists because women are chained to the hearth, the bourgeois family and monogamous relationships to assure heirs for private property. In a socialist society, when there is no more want and inequality, the bourgeois family will be replaced. After the Bolshevik Party led the workers to power in Russia in 1917, Lenin made a

speech in which he explained, among other things, the gains of the Russian Revolution for women ("Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women," 19 November 1918):

"One of the primary tasks of the Soviet Republic is to abolish all restrictions on women's rights. The Soviet government has completely abolished divorce proceedings, that source of bourgeois degradation, repression and humiliation.... We have passed a decree annulling all distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children and removing political restrictions. Nowhere else in the world have equality and freedom for working women been so fully established."

What allowed the Bolsheviks to pass laws decreeing complete equality between men and women (even if it was not realizable in practice on the limited scale of backward Russia) was the overthrow of private property.

In order to make a revolution, it is necessary to fight to build a revolutionary party. As we wrote in the latest *Spartacist* in the article "Women and Immigration in France":

"Despite unemployment and layoffs, immigrant workers and their children still occupy a central position in French production. They are also a living link with workers in Africa and Asia. Far from being merely 'oppressed victims,' these immigrant workers possess social power which is key to making a revolution. What's necessary is a revolutionary leadership, a tribune of the people, which fights against the daily racist terror in the suburbs, which fights for jobs for all, especially for the youth of immigrant background, which fights for women's rights, including against forced marriages, against excision and for the right of free abortion on demand. We are dedicated to the construction of a revolutionary party and our beacon is the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution of October 1917." ■

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(213) 380-8239

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WORKERS VANGUARD

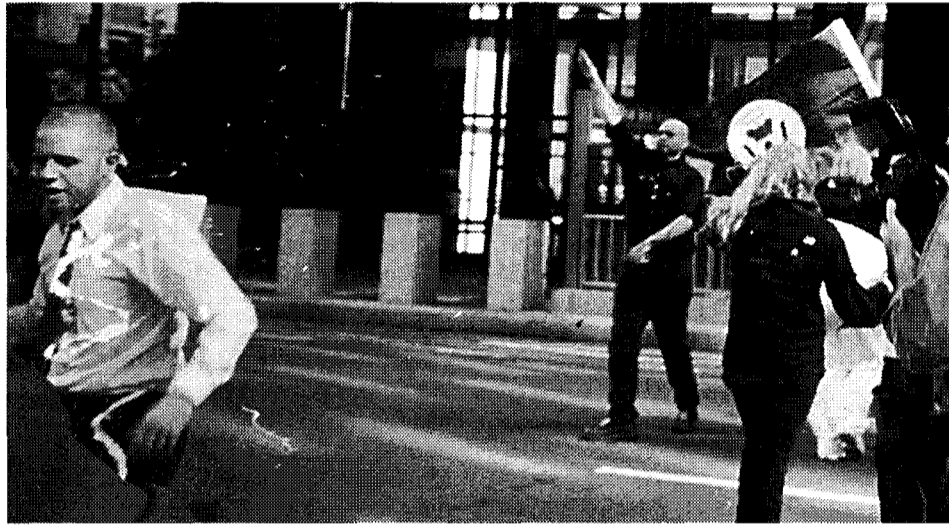
Chicago Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride Rally

Fascist Provocation Spiked

CHICAGO—When some 2,000 trade unionists turned out at Chicago's Federal Plaza on September 27 for the AFL-CIO-sponsored Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, they were faced with the disgusting spectacle of 19 fascists counterdemonstrating across the street. These Hitler-loving thugs, who included members of would-be *führer* Matthew Hale's Creativity Movement, were carrying signs declaring that all immigrants and the entire immigrant rights rally were "illegal." Ominously, these race-terrorists tried to march into the immigrant rights rally two times. But their attempted attacks were thwarted by supporters of the Spartacist League, Labor Black Struggle League and Spartacus Youth Club, along with a few Anti-Racist Action (ARA) activists, who turned the fascists back both times.

The first group of race-terrorists was driven back before the rally began. About an hour later after the cops had set up barricades between the immigrant rights rally and the fascists, a group of ten Hale followers tried to march right into the middle of the immigrant rights demonstration, carrying their flags and giving the *Sieg Heil* salute. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen and supporters quickly formed a human wall and spiked this dangerous provocation, sending these fascists back into the street. Several of the "white power" thugs were given a good shove to help them on their way, and stumbled over each other like bowling pins. One was doused all over his uniform with yellow paint. Cops quickly rushed in to protect the fascist thugs, who scurried back across the street.

At this point our comrades lined the barricades across from the fascist pack and led a section of the rally, including leftists and groups of Latino youth, to chant them down. We called for "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" and "Down with the racist, anti-immigrant, anti-labor Patriot Act!" Many joined in our chant, "Black rights, immigrant rights,



WV Photos

Above: Fascist skinhead, at left, doused with yellow paint, September 27. Below: Spartacist contingent at Freedom Ride rally.



same struggle, same fight, workers of the world unite!" and our comrades received congratulations from supporters of ARA and Progressive Labor Party (PL). WV salesmen highlighted our program for labor/black mobilizations to stop the

fascists, distributing over 100 pieces of literature, and 12 subscriptions to WV and *Espartaco*, newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

The lynch mob terrorists are a deadly threat to black people, immigrants and

labor in Chicago, and it is a damned good thing their provocation was spiked! In 1999, Hale's follower Benjamin Smith went on a killing spree in Illinois, taking the life of black Northwestern University former basketball coach, Ricky Byrdson, and a young South Korean student, Won Joon Yoon. Smith wounded nine others including seven Orthodox Jews. Hale himself is now in prison on charges of plotting to murder a federal judge. Youth around PL and ARA have at times engaged in courageous confrontations with the fascists. But it is the mobilization of the social power of the integrated labor movement, not isolated skirmishes, that can drive the fascist killers back into their holes.

It is an indictment of the AFL-CIO misleaders that with 2,000 trade unionists there at the Federal Plaza, including many Latino and black workers, the Nazi thugs even dared to show their faces in downtown Chicago. It is a further indictment that the Hitler-lovers were not ridden out on a rail when they did show. Earlier in the week when it was first reported that these racist murderers were threatening the immigrants rights rally, the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, contacted the demonstration organizers at the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) to see how they planned to respond. We suggested that union defense guards should be organized to defend the rally.

The union honchos made it absolutely clear that they were relying on the Chicago cops of Democratic Party boss Richard Daley to "protect" the labor rally, and that "nothing is going to happen." Urging the September 27 demonstrators to ignore the fascists, these labor fakers placed all their faith in the same racist, union-busting cops who have been arresting HERE strikers at the Congress Hotel this summer, assaulting black bus
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Protest Police Attack on Port Workers in Rotterdam!

Netherlands

We print below a translation of a 7 October statement issued by the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.

On September 29, police commandos brutally attacked a demonstration of more than 8,000 port workers from the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, France, Germany, Sweden and Romania, who were protesting in Rotterdam against the planned European Union (EU)-wide introduction of the anti-union Port Package. Dockers from all the European countries joined together against their

common enemy: the international shipping companies and the capitalist EU. The militant protests against the Port Package potentially pose a defense against the attacks on the social gains of the working class which are taking place throughout Europe, like the SPD [Social Democratic Party]-Green government's Agenda 2010 in Germany.

This police attack was the bosses' bloody response to this powerful international action by the dock workers unions. In fact, the site planned for the final rally was a police trap: the Wilhelmina Pier is surrounded by water on three sides, and the only exit was sealed off by the police as soon as most of the Rotterdam workers had left the rally. The workers from other countries and their buses were encircled. Mounted police then stormed the workers' lines over and over again, swinging their clubs and beating the workers bloody. Workers
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Reuters

Cops attack September 29 dock workers protest in Rotterdam, arresting 20 demonstrators.